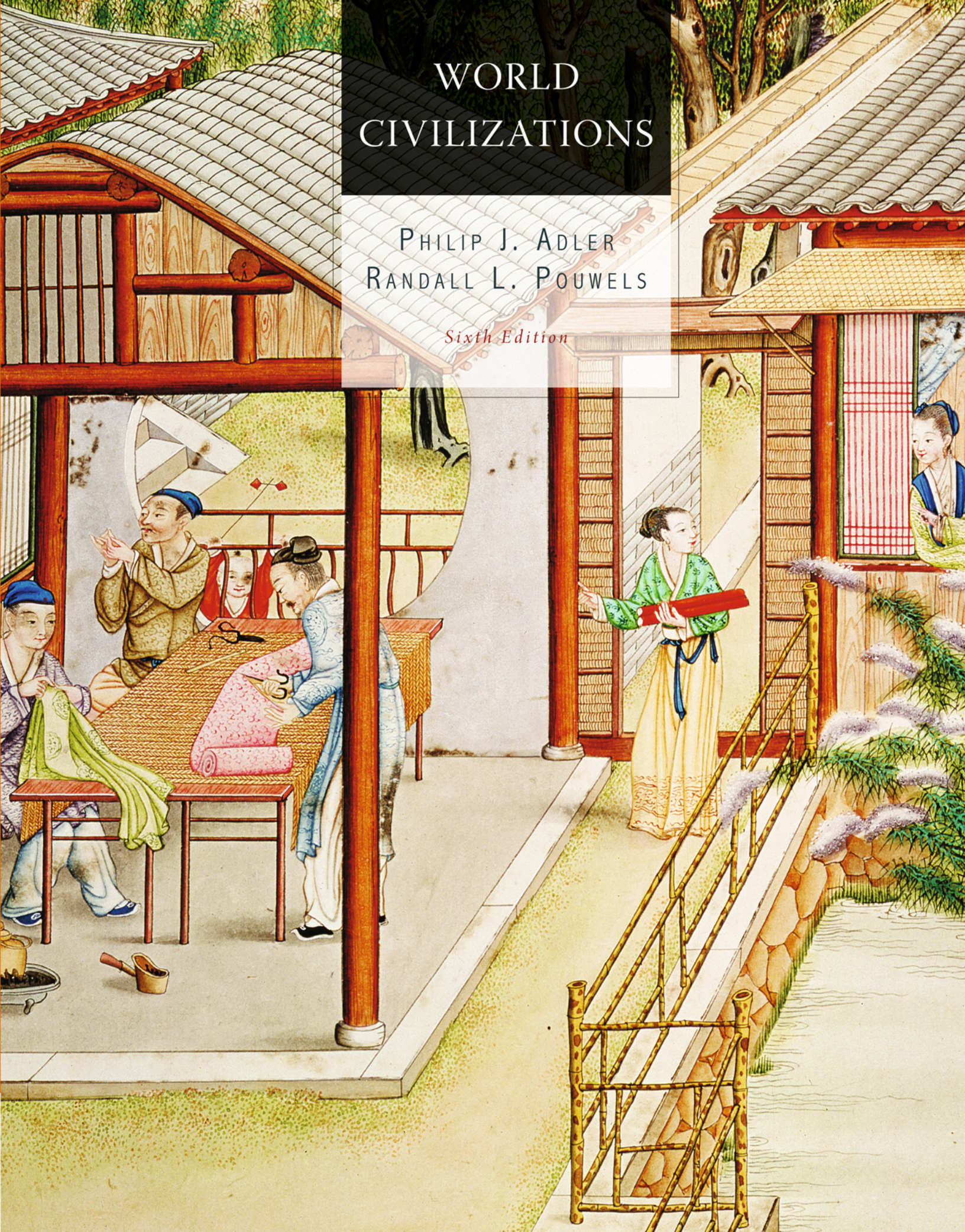


WORLD CIVILIZATIONS

PHILIP J. ADLER
RANDALL L. POWWELS

Sixth Edition



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WORLD CIVILIZATIONS

SIXTH
EDITION

Philip J. Adler

East Carolina University

Randall L. Pouwels

University of Central Arkansas



Australia • Brazil • Japan • Korea • Mexico • Singapore • Spain • United Kingdom • United States



For Gracie, an historical event

—Philip Adler



To Claire Haney Pouwels, in loving memory

—Randall L. Pouwels

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Preface

WORLD CIVILIZATIONS IS A BRIEF history of civilized life since its inceptions some 5,000 years ago. It is meant to be used in conjunction with a lecture course in world history at the introductory level. The authors, who bring nearly sixty total years of classroom experience to its writing, have constantly kept in mind the needs and interests of freshman and sophomore students in two- and four-year colleges and universities.

World Civilizations deals with the history of civilization throughout the globe but attempts to walk a middle line between exhaustive detail and frustrating brevity. Its narrative embraces every major epoch, but the treatment of topics is selective and follows definite patterns and hierarchies. It deliberately tilts toward social and cultural topics, as well as toward the long-term processes that affect the lives of the millions, rather than exclusive attention being given to the acts of “the captains and the kings.” The evolution of law and the formative powers of religion upon early government, for example, receive considerably more attention than wars and diplomatic arrangements. Likewise, the rise of industrial working classes in cities is accorded more space than the trade policies of governments. Such selectivity, of course, is forced on authors of any text, but the firm intent to keep this a concise survey necessitated a particularly close review of the material. Dividing a brief narrative into fifty-four short chapters both gives the instructor considerable leeway for including additional material or expanding the topics and also makes it likelier that students will read the assigned material. This approach has been relatively successful and has found sufficient favor among many teachers to justify the appearance of this sixth edition.

CHANGES IN THIS EDITION

The table of contents in this sixth edition reflects a significantly increased amount of non-Western coverage, has been reorganized more chronologically, and shows increased coverage of worldwide trade and exchange. More material on Native America, Africa, and South Asia has

been added, while we have given less emphasis and space to European political history. New or partly new chapters have been added to accommodate these additions.

A new feature, Images of History, has been added to some (about twenty) chapters as another way to attract students’ interest. Most of these are artifacts in the form of objects, drawings, posters, engravings, and photographs that date to the period and place covered in the text. See also the section on Pedagogy for a list of important updates to the many pedagogical features found within the text.

Following are the many chapter-specific changes in this edition:

Chapter 1 includes a new Evidence of the Past feature describing some of the evidence about Neolithic community life that the archaeological excavation of Çatal Hüyük has provided.

Chapter 2 includes a new Law and Government feature on “Hammurabi and the Mesopotamian Ideal of Kingship.”

In Chapter 3, Egyptian civilization has been repositioned within the framework of Africa’s agrarian origins.

Chapter 7 includes new material covering Early Woodland civilizations of North America and agrarian beginnings in South America.

Chapter 10 has a new Evidence of the Past feature about early Greco-Roman trade and seafaring and trade with India, which draws upon evidence from the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.

A Patterns of Belief feature on Pope Gregory I (“The Great”) and an Evidence of the Past feature on Roman tomb inscriptions have been inserted into Chapter 11.

Significant new information has been added to Chapter 12 concerning the creation of the world’s first “community of discourse” (discussed in the text) and the commercial network that was based on Buddhism. Supporting this is a new Images of History feature that displays visual evidence of the spreading popularity of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara with the expansion of trade in south, southeastern, and eastern Asia, overland and via the Indian Ocean.

Chapter 13 contains a new Law and Government feature concerning the Legalist School and its influence on China’s “First Emperor.”

More information about Woodland civilizations appears in Chapter 14. The discussion about Southwestern

civilizations has been expanded to include the remarkable Hohokam.

Chapter 16 has a new Society and Economy feature on “Travel Within a Community of Discourse: The *Rihla* of Ibn Battuta,” which draws attention to the first premodern “world” civilization—one based on Islam.

A new Evidence of the Past feature in Chapter 17 again takes material from the *Periplus* to shed light on East Africa’s first-century-CE involvement in the Indian Ocean trade network.

A Society and Economy feature in Chapter 20 looks at the excavations at Wharram Percy for evidence concerning village life in medieval England. The accompanying Images of History feature illustrates some of the most noteworthy features of the Gothic cathedral.

Chapter 22 has a new Evidence of the Past feature entitled “Dazzled by the Aztec Capital, Tenochtitlán.” This includes descriptions of the Aztec city as seen through the eyes of Bernal Díaz.

Chapter 25 contains additional material concerning states and kingdoms during Africa’s precolonial era. A Society and Economy feature about the Swahili merchant and traveler, Tippu Tib, provides insight into a number of topics, including the relationship between trade and cultural expansion, the roles some Muslim Africans played in the slave trade, and the spread of Kiswahili (the Swahili language) as the *lingua franca* of East Africa in the ninth century.

An Images of History feature on “Pseudo-Scientific Racial and Class Typologies” in Chapter 28 is intended to provide readers with deeper insights into the psychology of colonialism—in this case, that of colonial Hispanic America.

Chapter 30 also has a new Images of History feature, “Political Propaganda from the American Revolution,” which provides useful material for a discussion about the meaning of events and historical memory.

A new Arts and Culture feature in Chapter 31, entitled “Goya: The Artist as Social Critic,” looks at how the French Revolution left a mark on contemporary European culture.

Chapter 32 contains a new Science and Technology feature on Isambard Kingdom Brunel, the great engineer of Britain’s early Industrial Revolution.

In Chapter 36’s Society and Economy feature on “Women of Colonial Africa,” the sections on Flora Shaw and Karen Blixen have been replaced with a new and longer section on the significance of Mary Kingsley as explorer and anthropologist in Africa’s colonial past.

Chapter 37 is a new chapter on India and Southeast Asia under colonial rule. Its Society and Culture feature spotlights Raja Ram Mohun Roy’s contributions to the “Bengal Renaissance.”

A new Science and Technology feature in Chapter 40 considers the prominence of Joseph Lister in the story of modern hospital care and surgical techniques.

Chapter 41 has a new Society and Economy feature on “Home-Front Cookery” to broaden students’ understanding of what “total war” entailed during World War I.

Chapter 43 contains a new Arts and Culture feature, “From Communism to Personality Cult: A Hymn to Stalin.” Its theme is totalitarianism.

This same theme, with a focus on Nazism, is taken up again in Chapter 44. Its new Patterns of Belief feature spotlights the resistance of some German Christians to Nazi attempts to subordinate their beliefs to Hitler’s political aims.

Japan’s “Rape of Nanjing” is the subject of a new Evidence of the Past feature in Chapter 45.

President Harry S. Truman’s controversial decision to drop atomic weapons on Japan is addressed in a new Images of History feature in Chapter 46.

Mohandas Gandhi is the subject of a new Law and Government feature in Chapter 48.

The political turmoil that surrounded the Vietnam War is evinced in a new feature on the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in Chapter 49.

Chapter 50 has a new Society and Economy feature about the particular importance of the Pan-African movement in the early decades of Africa’s postcolonial years.

Chapter 51 has a new Society and Economy feature entitled “The Human Face of Modern Urbanization.” As suggested by the title, it provides testimonies of individuals who have made the decision to flee rural areas for the false promises of a better life in Latin America’s cities.

In a new Science and Technology feature, Chapter 54 looks at modern discourse as anticipated by Marshall McLuhan in his famous declaration “The medium is the message.”

ORGANIZATION OF THE SIXTH EDITION

We have retained the six-part arrangement of previous editions, but all parts have been renamed to reflect both chronological and global themes. However, the main point of reference is the relative degree of contact among civilizations. This ranges from the near-perfect isolation of the preclassical age (100,000–500 BCE) to close and continual interaction (as in the late twentieth-century world). Within each part, attention is drawn to these themes in the introduction to each chapter and the description of each part. The number of chapters has been reduced to 54.

The second organizing principle is the prioritization of certain topics and processes. We generally emphasize sociocultural and economic affairs, and keep the longer term in perspective, while deliberately minimizing some

short-term phenomena. In terms of the space allotted, we emphasize the more recent epochs of history, in line with the recognition of growing global interdependence and cultural contact.

Although this text was, from its inception, meant as a world history and contains proportionately more material on non-Western peoples and cultures than many others currently in print, the Western nations receive attention consonant with their importance to the modern history of the globe. (In this respect, “Western” means not only European but also North American since the eighteenth century.) After an introductory chapter on prehistory, we look first at Mesopotamia, Africa and Egypt, India, China, and (Native) America. In these river-valley and mountainous environments, humans were first successful in adapting nature to their needs on a large scale. Between about 2500 BCE and about 1000 BCE, the earliest civilizations matured and developed a culture in most phases of life—a fashion of thinking and acting that would be a model for as long as that civilization was vital and capable of defending itself. Elsewhere, in Africa and in the Americas, similar processes were under way. However, in two noteworthy respects, these regions provided exceptions to the pattern by which people learned to produce food for themselves. In Africa’s case, people of the Sahara region domesticated livestock, most likely cattle, before they learned to grow and depend on crops. Also unlike the patterns established in the Old World, early Native American farmers of the Western Hemisphere developed forms of agriculture that did not depend on the flood waters of major rivers.

By 500 BCE, the Near Eastern civilizations centered in Egypt and Mesopotamia were in decline and had been replaced by Mediterranean-based civilizations, as well as new ones in Africa, Asia, and the New World, which drew on the older civilizations to some extent but also added some novel and distinctive features of their own. First the Greeks, then the Romans, succeeded in bringing much of the world known to them under their influence, culminating in the great Roman Empire that reached from Spain to Persia. For Europe, the greatest single addition to life in this era was the combination of Judeo-Christian theology and Greco-Roman philosophy and science.

In the millennium between 500 BCE and 500 CE, the entire globe underwent important change. Buddhism and Jainism challenged India’s Hindu religion and philosophy, while China recovered from political dismemberment to become the permanent chief factor in East Asian affairs. Japan emerged slowly from a prehistoric stage under Chinese tutelage, while the southeastern part of the Asian continent attained a high civilization created in part by Indian traders and Buddhist missionaries.

In the Mediterranean, starting about 800, an amalgam of Greco-Roman, Germanic, and Jewish-Christian beliefs called European or Western Christianity had emerged after the collapse of Roman civilization. At the same time, the emergence of Islam created what many scholars believe was the first truly “world” civilization—at least to the extent that the Eurasian and African landmasses encompassed the “world” that was known to “Old World” peoples at that time. Rivaling the great civilizations of Asia and considerably surpassing that of Europe, the great empire of the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad (750–1258 CE) acted as a commercial and intellectual bridge that transcended regional barriers from China to Africa and Europe. Therefore, among the many lands and peoples bordering the Indian Ocean, the spread of Islam along the highways of commerce contributed to the emergence of sophisticated maritime civilizations in Western Asia, Southeast Asia, India, and East Africa. In West Africa, the great Sudanic civilizations of Mali and later Songhay and Bornu were likewise solidly based on an Islamic foundation. Despite isolation from the Old World, Native Americans of the New World created a series of highly sophisticated civilizations in the high Andes Mountains of South America, in Mesoamerica, and in the southwestern and eastern parts of what now is the United States.

By 1500, Western civilization began to rise to a position of a temporary worldwide domination, marked by the voyages of discovery and ensuing colonization. In the next three centuries, the Europeans and their colonial outposts slowly wove a web of worldwide commercial and technological interests, anchored on military force. Our book’s treatment of the entire post-1500 age gives much attention to the impacts of Western culture and ideas on non-Western peoples, and vice versa. In particular, it looks at the African civilizations encountered by early European traders and what became of them, southern Asia under the “Raj,” and the Native American civilizations of North and Latin America and their fate under Spanish conquest and rule.

From 1700 through World War I, Europe took the lead in practically every field of material human life, including military affairs, science, commerce, and living standards. This was the age of Europe’s imperial control of the rest of the world. The Americas, much of Asia, Oceania, and coastal Africa all became formal or informal colonies at one time, and some remained under direct European control until the mid-twentieth century.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the pendulum of power swung steadily away from Europe and toward first North America, then Russia, Japan, and the non-Western (particularly Asian) peoples. As we enter a new millennium, the world not only has shrunk but has again been anchored on multiple power bases.

A degree of equilibrium is rapidly being restored—one that combines Western science and technology with those Asian, African, and Native American social values and intellectual traditions that go back to the preclassical era and whose resilience has enabled them to endure the West's imperial era.

Our periodization scheme, then, is a sixfold one:

- From Human Origins to Agrarian Communities, c. 100,000–500 BCE
- Classical Civilizations of the World, 500 BCE–800 CE
- The Post-Classical Era, 800–1400 CE
- Expanding Webs of Interaction, 1400–1700 CE
- Revolutions and the Age of Empire, 1700–1914
- Towards a Globalized World, 1914–Present

PEDAGOGY

An important feature of *World Civilizations* is its division into a number of short chapters. Each of its fifty-four chapters is meant to constitute a unit suitable in scope for a single lecture, short enough to allow easy digestion and comprising strong logical coherence. Each chapter contains a variety of pedagogical elements intended to help students learn and retain important information.

- Thematic features and photographs are keyed to the five broad text themes: Society and Economy, Law and Government, Patterns of Belief, Science and Technology, and Arts and Culture. All chapters have one or more boxed feature inserts, some of which are based on biography, many others on primary sources. To encourage readers to interact with the material as historians would and to compare themes across chapters, each boxed feature concludes with Analyze and Interpret questions. And, to provide readers with access to additional readings, many document excerpts are keyed to the full document or related documents available online through the *World History Resource Center*.
- Two additional boxed features, Evidence of the Past and the new Images of History feature, spotlight artifacts and material culture. Oral traditions are also highlighted in the Evidence of the Past features as source materials for historical study. Once writing became common, of course, some materials that you will see in Evidence of the Past are written primary sources, but we point out to you, where appropriate, their roots in oral traditions. We also include some eyewitness accounts for analysis.
- A chapter outline and a brief chapter chronology help students focus on the key concepts in the material they are about to encounter.

● chapter summary encapsulates the significance of the chapter's concepts.

● A Test Your Knowledge section at the end of the chapter provides a brief—and unique—self-test. Reviewers tell us that their students rely on these tests to assess their understanding of each chapter and to prepare for quizzes and exams.

● New to this edition is the For Further Reflection section at the end of each chapter, following the objective Test Your Knowledge questions. The intent of these essay-type questions is to impel students to think beyond the “merely” objective knowledge required for successfully completing the Test Your Knowledge section. The idea, of course, is to exhort them to review, interpret, and apply that knowledge as a technique for arriving at a better understanding of developments as seen from the perspective of their regional and (possibly) global implications. These questions vary in difficulty. They ask students to use their imaginations, as well as their fact-based understanding of the subject, and they sometimes require that students search for additional information outside of what the text affords (for example, in class lectures).

● Key terms appear in boldface type and are repeated at chapter end in an Identification Terms list.

● Parenthetical pronunciation guides of unfamiliar names appear within the text, facilitating ease of reading. A sampling of the documents available online in the *World History Resource Center* also appears at the end of each chapter.

● Color illustrations, many of them new, and abundant maps appear throughout the text. We include Worldview maps that show global developments. Many maps are keyed with icons to indicate that there is an online interactive version of the map in the *World History Resource Center*. Descriptive map and photo captions encourage readers to think beyond the mere appearance of each visual and to make connections across chapters, regions, and concepts. And critical-thinking questions encourage students to work with and read maps as a historian might.

Additional text-specific pedagogical elements include the following:

● An end-of-book Glossary with a pronunciation guide provides explanations of unfamiliar terms and pronunciation guidance for the more difficult among them.

● Part introductions and Worldview maps highlight the major civilizations discussed in that part of the text. At the end of each part, there is a Worldview chart comparing the same civilizations, color-coded to the same groups in the part-opening map and affording a nutshell review of their accomplishments according to the text's five major themes. A Cross-Cultural

Connections section at the end of each Worldview encourages thinking beyond regional borders.

● Finally, like the For Further Reflection questions placed at the end of each chapter, essay questions have been added to each Worldview section to exhort students to think “globally,” to draw upon their understanding of two or more chapters contained in each part. Appropriately, we have called this review section Putting It All Together.

SUPPLEMENTS

A wide array of supplements accompanies this text to assist students with different learning needs and to help instructors master today’s various classroom challenges.

INSTRUCTOR RESOURCES

PowerLecture CD-ROM with ExamView® and JoinIn®

This dual platform, all-in-one multimedia resource includes the Instructor’s Resource Manual; Test Bank (includes key-term identification and multiple-choice, essay, and true/false questions); Microsoft® PowerPoint® slides of both lecture outlines and images and maps from the text, which can be used as offered or customized by importing personal lecture slides or other material; and JoinIn® PowerPoint® slides with clicker content. Also included is ExamView®, an easy-to-use assessment and tutorial system that allows instructors to create, deliver, and customize tests in minutes. Instructors can build tests with as many as 250 questions using up to twelve question types; and using ExamView’s complete word-processing capabilities, they can enter an unlimited number of new questions or edit existing ones.

eInstructor’s Resource Manual

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Writing for College History, 1e

Prepared by Robert M. Frakes, Clarion University. This brief handbook for survey courses in American history, Western civilization/European history, and world civilization guides students through the various types of writing assignments they encounter in a history class. Providing examples of student writing and candid assessments of student work, this text focuses on the rules and conventions of writing for the college history course.

The History Handbook, 1e

Prepared by Carol Berkin of Baruch College, City University of New York, and Betty Anderson of Boston University. This book teaches students both basic and history-specific study skills such as how to take notes, get the most out of lectures and readings, read primary sources, research historical topics, and correctly cite sources. Substantially less expensive than comparable skill-building texts, *The History Handbook* also offers tips for Internet research and evaluating online sources. Additionally, students can purchase and download the **eAudio** version of *The History Handbook* or any of its eighteen individual units at www.cengagebrain.com to listen to on the go.

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About the Authors

PHILIP J. ADLER taught college courses in world history to undergraduates for almost thirty years prior to his recent retirement. Dr. Adler took his Ph.D. at the University of Vienna following military service overseas in the 1950s. His dissertation was on the activity of the South Slav émigrés during World War I, and his academic specialty was the modern history of Eastern Europe and the Austro-Hungarian empire. Fulbright and National Endowment for the Humanities grants have supported his research. Adler has published widely in the historical journals of this country and German-speaking Europe. He is currently Professor Emeritus at East Carolina University, where he spent most of his teaching career.

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NOTE ON USAGE AND SPELLING

Throughout the work, the Pinyin orthography has been adopted for Chinese names. The older Wade-Giles system has been included in parentheses at the first mention and retained in a few cases where common usage demands it (Chiang Kai-shek, for example).

Introduction to the Student: Why Is History Worth Studying?

HUMAN ACTIONS TEND TO FALL into broad patterns, whether they occurred yesterday or 5,000 years ago. Physical needs, such as the need for food, water, and breathable air, dictate some actions. Others stem from emotional and intellectual needs, such as religious belief or the search for immortality. Human action also results from desires, such as literary ambition or scientific curiosity, or the quest for political power over others, rather than from absolute needs.

History is the record of how people have tried to meet those needs or fulfill those desires. Many generations of our ancestors have found that familiarity with that record can be useful in guiding their own actions. The study of past human acts also encourages us to see our own present possibilities, both individual and collective. This may be history's greatest value.

Many people are naturally attracted to the study of history, but others find it difficult or (even worse) "irrelevant." Some students—perhaps yourself—dread history courses, saying that they can see no point in learning about the past. My life, they say, is here and now; leave the past to the past. What can be said in response to justify the study of history?

People who are ignorant of their past are also ignorant of much of their present, for the one grows directly out of the other. If we ignore or forget the experience of those who have lived before us, we are like an amnesia victim, constantly puzzled by what should be familiar, surprised by what should be predictable. Not only do we not know what we should know, but we cannot perceive our true possibilities, because we have nothing to measure them against. The nonhistorical mind does not know what it is missing—and, contrary to the old saying, what you don't know can definitely hurt you!

A word of caution here: this is not a question of "history repeats itself." This often-quoted cliché is clearly nonsense if taken literally. History does *not* repeat itself exactly, and the difference in details is always important. But history does exhibit general patterns, dictated by common human needs and desires. The French Revolution will not recur just as it did 215 years ago. But, as we know all too well, people still depose their leaders and rise up in arms to change the way they live. Some knowledge of and

respect for those patterns has been a vital part of the mental equipment of all human societies.

But there is another, more personal reason to learn about the past. Adults who are historically unconscious are confined within a figurative wooden packing crate, into which they were put by the accident of birth at a given time and in a given place. The boards forming the box restrict their freedom and block their view in all directions. One board of the box might be the prosperity—or lack of it—into which they were born; another, their physical appearance, race, or ethnic group. Other boards could be their religion, whether they were born in a city slum or a small village, or whether they had a chance at formal education (about three-fourths of the world's children never go beyond the third year of school). These and many other boards form the boxes into which we are all born.

If we are to fully realize our potential as human beings, some of the boards must be removed so that we can see out, gain other vistas and visions, and have a chance to measure and compare our experiences with others outside. And the smaller our "global village" becomes, the more important it becomes to learn more about the world beyond the campus, city, state, and country in which we live. An introductory course in world history is an ideal way to learn about life outside the box.

As a good student, your best resource is your own sense of curiosity. Keep it active as you go through these pages. Remember, this and every other textbook is the beginning, not the end, of your search for useful knowledge. Good luck!

P. J. A.

R. L. P.

Note: Some of you may at first be confused by dates followed by BCE, meaning "before the common era," and CE, meaning "common era." These terms are used to reflect a global perspective, and they correspond to the Western equivalents BC (before Christ) and AD (*anno Domini*). Also, a caution about the word *century* is in order: the phrase *seventeenth century CE* refers to the years 1601 to 1699 in the common era, and the phrase *first century BCE* refers to the years 99 to 0 BCE. With a little practice, these terms become second nature and will increase your fluency in history.

Part I



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FROM HUMAN ORIGINS TO AGRARIAN COMMUNITIES, c. 100,000–500 BCE

WHAT EXACTLY DO MOST people mean when they talk about *civilization and history*? This question is problematic because, for the most part, the particular civilization in which people live and how they record their history shape their general notions about what these terms mean. Since we live in a literate and technologically advanced civilization, for example,

we naturally associate history with writing and civilization with relatively high levels of technology. But is it really fair to judge other civilizations only by one's own? More importantly, is it accurate? You may best answer these questions from the knowledge you will acquire from your studies of the world's civilizations and their places in history. Rather than providing facile answers, your authors hope that as you learn more about world civilizations—and there have been many that differed significantly from our own—you will return to these crucial questions repeatedly. However, we shall provide you with two clues: It is important that you approach this study with an open and inquiring mind, and that you be ready to assume a small measure of intellectual risk so that you benefit from your class discussions.

How and when did the first known civilizations begin? To answer that question, the first seven chapters of this book examine the growth of organized ways of life in five quite different areas of the globe before 500 BCE and how each region saw the early development of civilizations that were at once distinctive yet similar in many respects. The first chapter deals with the period between the spread of *Homo sapiens* throughout much of the earth, around 100,000 years ago, and 5000 BCE, by which time many societies had mastered the ability to produce food for themselves. The commitment to growing—rather than chasing or gathering—food gradually took root among widely scattered groups in the late Neolithic Age (c. 10,000–5000 BCE). This Agricultural Revolution is one of the two epoch-making changes in human life to date—the other being the Industrial Revolution commencing in the late eighteenth century. From this sprang the first settled communities, usually of small hamlets that grew

to towns, and sometimes cities, with the passing of time. Once regions where food was grown or husbanded and where production had grown in scale and complexity to the point where more elaborate forms of community organization were needed, the first civilizations appeared. Because these civilizations were organized for and around agriculture and animal husbandry, scholars call these earliest civilizations *agrarian*. Agriculture generated the material basis for further developments like urban living, government by officials, writing beyond mere record keeping (such as recorded law), military forces, art, trade, and ever-greater social complexity.

Chapters 2 through 7 examine the establishment and development of agriculture and agrarian societies, as well as urban life and trading networks in western Asia, the Americas, Africa, India, and China. First in chronology was the Fertile Crescent, but it was quickly rivaled by development in the Americas and the Nile Valley. Mesopotamian and Nile Valley cultures began to take definite form about 3500 BCE and reached their apex between about 1500 and 1200. About this same time, the transition to agriculture began in northeast Mexico and the coastal regions of Peru. Somewhat later, the plains of the Indus River in India's far west produced a highly organized, urban society that prospered until about the middle of the second millennium BCE, when it went into decline. About the time that the Indus Valley civilization went into decline, the north-central region of China gave birth to a formal state ruled by the Shang Dynasty. Like the others, this society was founded on a mastery of irrigated farming. Unlike the Mesopotamians and the Indus peoples, both the Egyptians and the Chinese maintained the major elements of their early civilizations until modern days.

Part One also provides brief accounts of a few of the other major contributors to world civilizations before 500 BCE. Chapter 5 puts the warlike Assyrians and the first of the several Persian empires into perspective and examines the small but crucially important nation of the Jews and its religious convictions. Chapter 7 looks at the first stirrings of agriculture and organized community life in North and South America.

We open Part One—and each of the other five parts in this book—with a Worldview map that highlights the

civilizations and cultures during the era covered by that part. The map provides readers with a big-picture overview of the places and peoples to be discussed in that section, as a general frame of reference before they begin to study. At the end of each part, readers will find a Worldview chart, designed to provide a thumbnail comparison of the text's themes playing out across the various peoples of the subject epoch. The cultures in the Worldview maps are color coded to match those listed in the end-of-part charts.

1

The Earliest Human Societies

A FEW DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

THE EVOLVING PAST

THE PALEOLITHIC AGE

Human Development During the Paleolithic

THE NEOLITHIC AGE: AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK BREEDING

Agrarian and Irrigation Civilizations

METAL AND ITS USES

Civilization is a movement
and not a condition, a voyage
and not a harbor.

—Arnold J. Toynbee

HISTORY, IN THE STRICTEST sense, means a methodical study of evidence of the human past, in whatever form it exists—as written records or the spoken word, for example. But most people don't use "history" in the strict sense. They define the word *history* more simply as whatever has happened in the past to human beings, which, of course, is a much bigger proposition. Humans, however defined, have inhabited the earth for a long time. Before the invention of writing, an extremely lengthy period of time elapsed during which human beings gradually mastered the various abilities of mind and body that together enabled their survival as a species on Earth. This period of human existence lasted for several million years. During this time, humans slowly and sporadically evolved from beings who were only slightly different from their genetic cousins among the great apes to creatures who have proven marvelously resourceful and adaptable. Tens of thousands of years before the beginning of recorded history, they populated the entire Earth (except Antarctica), developed religions, made tools, created art forms, mastered agriculture, and demonstrated many other talents and achievements.

The development of human creatures, called *Homo sapiens*, from their earliest origins has become one of the most controversial of modern sciences. Every year, it seems, new evidence comes to light that purports to extend the age of the genus *Homo* farther back in time, and with a more tangled ancestry. Whereas until recently it was assumed that *Homo* evolved through a process called **natural selection** along a clear-cut and single-stemmed line, it is now generally accepted that human beings' family tree is more like a bush with many branches, of which almost all have died (see Table 1.1).

A humanlike creature, or **hominid**, was walking about in East Africa perhaps as early as 4.5 million years ago, by latest reckoning. For the purposes of contemporary science, the fundamental differences between humans and

c. 200,000–100,000 BCE	<i>Homo sapiens</i> appears
c. 75,000–15,000 BCE	Humans migrate out of Africa and populate the major continents
c. 10,000 BCE	Neolithic Age commences
c. 7000 BCE	Bronze Age begins
c. 3500 BCE	Agrarian civilizations in Mesopotamia, Egypt
c. 1500 BCE	Iron Age begins

TABLE 1.1 Evolution of the Genus *Homo*

<i>Homo habilis</i> (toolmakers)	3.5–4 million years ago
<i>Homo erectus</i> (bipedal walkers)	1.5–1.8 million years ago
<i>Homo sapiens</i>	200,000–100,000 years ago
<i>Homo sapiens</i> (modern humans)	30,000 years ago

apes are certain deviations in bone structures of the foot, the hip, and the hand, the size of the brain, and the use of language. Because language necessarily could leave no traces until the invention of writing, physical anthropology depends primarily on skeletal remains to establish the age and source of animal life, including humans. Bone fragments recovered at different sites in East Africa since the 1970s indicate that upright-walking (bipedal) animals possessing the essential anatomical attributes of modern humans were extant millions of years ago. A recent discovery shows bipedalism in a foot bone dating to more than 4.5 million years ago. This would put the creature it

belonged to near the epoch when current anthropology places the genetic division between the genus *Homo* and its closest relations, the great apes.

It is almost universally believed that the earliest form of *Homo sapiens* originated in Africa. Called *Homo ergaster*, these earliest humans probably appeared in that continent's eastern regions. From there, they and their descendants expanded into southwest Asia and Europe, and into East Asia by perhaps 75,000 years ago. The most recent Ice Age froze sufficient water in the Pacific Basin to enable crossing by land into North America by about 17,000 years ago. The rapid ensuing migration southward carried *Homo sapiens* into South America by no later than 13,000 years ago. The last great human passage, to the Pacific islands, happened between about 1200 BCE and 1250 CE. Worldview Map 1.1 shows the spread of *Homo sapiens* across the globe.

A FEW DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Let's start our exploration of the past with some definitions of certain key words and phrases:

History is the record of what people have done in the past. In this context, the past can mean 10,000 years ago

WORLDVIEW MAP 1.1 THE SPREAD OF *HOMO ERGASTER*

Anthropologists disagree on the details but agree that human beings entirely similar to us probably existed in every continent but Antarctica by 10,000 BCE. Their origin seems to have been in East Africa. From there they expanded into Southwest Asia and Europe, and into East Asia by perhaps 75,000 BCE. The most recent Ice Age froze sufficient water in the Pacific Basin to enable crossing

by land into North America by about 15,000 BCE. The rapid ensuing migration southward carried *Homo sapiens* into South America by no later than 10,000 BCE.



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

or yesterday. History depends on evidence of the past. What has happened but been forgotten, or for which no evidence exists—which is, of course, the vast majority of what has happened—is technically not history.

Historiography is the systematic study of history, as processed through an author's brain and bias, working with the raw materials he or she has found.

Archaeology is the study of past cultures and civilizations through examination of their artifacts (anything made by humans). The name means “the study of origins,” and like almost every other scientific name in the English language, it is derived from Greek.

Anthropology refers to the science that studies humans as a species rather than studying a special aspect of their activity. Its name, too, is derived from Greek.

Archaeologists are crucial to the study of human societies that existed before recorded history. In that transitional period when the remembered and recorded past are just beginning to develop, *paleoanthropologists* (students of human evolution from a multidisciplinary point of view), *paleoenvironmentalists* (students of ancient natural environments), and *paleographers* (students of old writing) are also essential to the historian.

THE EVOLVING PAST

Probably no other science—not even nuclear or genetic biology—has evolved so swiftly in the last forty or fifty years as archaeology and its associated *paleoanthropology*. Each season brings its new discoveries about the age, the nature, and the locales of early humans, both before and after the emergence of *Homo sapiens*.

Toolmaking ability is a primary indicator of the development of the hominids and human beings. Recently, the archaeological evidence we are discussing has been brought forward from southern Africa's Blombos cave complex. It shows that refined tools of both bone and stone were being made much earlier than previously thought, dating back well into the Paleolithic, some 70,000 years ago. Some of the stone materials bear regular markings that have no discernible functional purpose and must therefore have been made for decoration or the aesthetic pleasure of the maker. In other words, they were rudimentary art forms, and as such, they predate by many thousands of years the earliest previously dated art, found in the Paleolithic caves of France and Spain.

THE PALEOLITHIC AGE

The lengthy period extending from about the appearance of the first toolmaking hominids to about 10,000 BCE is known as the Paleolithic Age, or Old Stone Age, so called because tools were made of stone and other natural materials and were still quite crude (*paleo* = old; *lithos* = stone).

By the end of the Paleolithic, humans inhabited all the continents except Antarctica. Late Paleolithic peoples were hunters and foragers, but life was not easy, and famine was always near at hand.

Paleolithic hunting and gathering was done in groups, and success depended more on organization and cooperation than on individual bravery or strength. The family was the basic social unit, but it was normally an extended family, or clan, that included uncles, aunts, in-laws, and other relatives rather than the nuclear family (mother, father, children) that is common today. A unit larger than the nuclear family was necessary for protection. But the total number able to live and hunt together was probably quite small—no more than forty or so. More people than that would have been difficult to sustain when hunting was poor or wild fruits and seeds were not plentiful. Close family relations and interchange with other similar groups among the Paleolithic hunters were critical to their survival, a fact that we will see reflected in many other locales in later history. The Society and Economy boxes throughout the book refer to this theme.

Although conflicts frequently arose over hunting grounds, water, theft, or other problems, the Paleolithic era probably saw less warfare than any time in later history. So much open space capable of sustaining life was available that the weaker units probably just moved on when they were confronted with force or threats. Violence tempered and controlled by consensual authority was a constant factor in determining historical and prehistoric life. The Law and Government boxes throughout the book will help us follow this theme.

Human Development During the Paleolithic

During the Paleolithic, both the physical appearance of humans and their vital capacity to reason, plan, organize, make tools, and even—as we shall see—create art changed considerably. Because of the extensive work of anthropologists since World War II, we know that at least seventeen varieties of hominid evolved during this time. Much evidence uncovered in East Africa and the Near East, as well as in Europe, indicates that all of these species of *Homo* came to an evolutionary dead end, except for *Homo sapiens*. Sometime between 30,000 and 10,000 years ago, *Homo sapiens* seems to have become the sole species of *Homo* to survive anywhere.

Why this occurred is problematic. Some believe that bloody warfare erupted between competing species of hominids; others posit a peaceable, gradual absorption by the more advanced species. A good example of these failed species is the famous **Neanderthal Man**, who flourished in many parts of Europe until 30,000 years ago and then disappeared soon after *Homo sapiens* appeared in Europe.

During the Paleolithic, hominids became more upright, and their skulls enlarged and became more rounded to



Kenneth Garrett/National Geographic Image Collection

FOOTPRINTS FROM 3.5 MILLION BCE. The Leakeys found these fossilized prints at the Laetoli site in present-day Tanzania in East Africa. The stride and distribution of weight on the foot indicate that these creatures were walking upright and were thus some of the earliest hominids.

encompass a gradually enlarging brain. Their bodies grew less hairy and their arms shorter. Hip structure changed to allow a more erect gait and became enlarged among females to permit delivery of infants with larger heads (as well as brains). Eyesight grew sharper and the sense of smell less so. Gradually, too, the shape of the lower jaw altered, and the larynx shifted into its present location to allow for speech. All of these modifications and many others were adaptations that reflected humans' changed physical environment, their increasing manipulation of that environment, and perhaps most human of all, sophisticated forms of communication and social organization.

The changed physical environment was reflected in the substitution of semipermanent shelter for the nomadism of an earlier day. By the late Paleolithic (c. 100,000–10,000 years ago), groups were living in caves, lean-tos, and other shelters for long periods of time—perhaps several months. Whereas earlier a group rarely remained more than a few weeks at a given locale, now it could stay in one place several months to await the ripening of edible grasses and roots or the migration of animals. Even more important, humans' ability to master their physical environment was constantly increasing as they learned to make clothing for cold seasons, kindle fire where and when it was needed, and devise new tools fashioned specifically for new tasks (for example missile heads, hammers and axes, chisels, awls, scrapers, drills). The earliest human artwork came in the late Paleolithic. Certain caves of southern France (Lascaux) and Spain (Altamira) are world famous for their lifelike portraits of deer and other animals, as shown in the

Evidence of the Past box. Throughout this book, in Evidence of the Past boxes, we will broaden the usual definition of *primary sources* (original documents of the time) to include objects, artifacts, and nonwritten sources such as the spoken word, human genetic history, and the study of past languages (called *linguistic history*). Other human explorations of the aesthetic, whether in art, architecture, sculpture, music, or literature, are the subjects of Arts and Culture boxes throughout the text.

In such ways, humans began to bend the physical world to their will. As they developed human speech 80,000–100,000 years ago, they acquired the ability to plan and remember what had been successful in the past so that they could repeat it. Humans in the late Paleolithic were making rapid strides toward the remembered past, or “history.” Soon after, they would reach the state of advanced mastery of toolmaking and innovative problem solving that we call the Neolithic Age.

THE NEOLITHIC AGE: AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK BREEDING

Although the Paleolithic saw notable developments, it was in the **Neolithic Age** (meaning “New Stone” Age) that humans made the breakthrough to more complex forms of civilization. As we saw, Paleolithic groups were essentially nomadic. Before about 800,000 years ago, they were scavengers. In the later Paleolithic, they depended more on hunting and gathering wild plants and animals for food. These hunter-gatherers had a mobile life. They moved with the seasons and the migration of the animals they hunted; therefore, they had no reason to attempt to settle down and every reason not to. In the Neolithic, this situation changed. The gradual adoption of agriculture demanded more sedentary, or settled, ways of life. Moreover, even societies that lived primarily as nomadic pastoralists typically migrated within regions that included only those pasturelands and other resources they claimed against the claims of other societies.

The beginnings of humans' ability to grow or breed their food used to be called the **Agricultural (or Neolithic) Revolution**. Now we know that if this was a revolution, it was a very slow one. Most peoples took about five to ten generations (200–400 years) to complete it. Gradually, gathering and hunting as the primary ways to acquire food gave way to livestock breeding and herding, sowing and harvesting. Usually, such domesticated ways of obtaining food continued to go hand in hand with hunting for a long, long time. Some members of the group would hunt while others raised some form of grain from wild grasses—the usual form of agriculture—or raised livestock. When plant and animal husbandry became the primary ways of getting something to eat, the Neolithic

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

PALEOLITHIC ART

Paleolithic art in its most striking forms has been found in southern France and northern Spain, in caves that bear many marks of ancient human occupancy. Paintings of horses here were found on one side of a large room in the recently discovered Chauvet Pont-d'Arc cave in the southwest of France. Such images push back the time frame of European art by more than 15,000 years, to approximately 31,000 BCE. It is a section of a large mural depicting many different animals.

The reasons why these paintings came into existence are much guessed at by modern researchers. Many believe that the prehistoric hunter was attempting to capture the spirit of the animal prey he would seek in future hunts. Some believe that the animals pictured were the totemic protectors of the inhabitants of the caves, like the “medicine” of the Native Americans. And others think that, apart from any religious or magical qualities, the pictures display early humankind’s strong aesthetic urge—much as men and women have done ever since by capturing lifelike representations of the living things around them.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What do you believe might be the most persuasive argument for early artists’ motivations?



French Ministry of Culture and Communication, Regional Direction for Cultural Affairs, Rhône-Alps region, Regional Department of Archaeology

HORSES. The Paleolithic artist demonstrates a mastery of his or her material that is the envy of any observer. These horses are a detail of a much larger fresco of animal sketches covering most of one side of a large room at the recently discovered Chauvet Pont-d'Arc cave in southern France. The painting pushes back the framework of European art by more than 15,000 years, to approximately 31,000 BCE.

Revolution was complete for that group. Throughout this book, we shall be watching traditional beliefs and lifestyles giving way, however grudgingly, to the challenges brought forth by changes in the natural or the manmade environments. The Neolithic Revolution was one of the vastest of such changes. The Science and Technology boxes will provide a perspective on others.

With such a slow transition, is *revolution* an appropriate word to describe the adoption of food production? Archaeologists now know that humans were managing their environments in ways that included limited stock-breeding and plant growing long before the appearance of the settled ways of life commonly associated with the Neolithic Revolution. Therefore, what actually was “revolutionary” was not the transition to growing and breeding their food sources, but rather *the dramatic series of changes in human societies* that resulted from this changeover.

First, it often—but not always, in cases where people had to rely principally on herding livestock—meant that people settled down in permanent locations. To be near the

area used for cultivation, people settled in villages and then in towns, where they lived and worked in many new, specialized occupations that were unknown to pre-Neolithic society. These settlements could not depend on the luck of hunting or fishing or on sporadic harvests of wild seeds and berries to supply their daily needs. Only regularized habits of farming and herding could support the specialists who populated the towns, and only intensive methods could produce the dependable surplus of food that was necessary to allow the population to grow. Of course, occasional years of famine still occurred. But the lean years were far less frequent than when people depended on hunting-gathering for sustenance. Thus, one major result of the food-producing revolution was a steadily *expanding population* that thrived primarily in *permanent settlements*.

Second, food production was the force behind creating the concept of *privately owned property* in land or livestock. Until farming and livestock breeding became common, there was no concept of private property; land, water, game, and fish belonged to all who needed them. But once a group had labored hard to establish a productive farm



Musée National du Bardo, Tunis, Tunisia/© Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY



MODERN HUNTER-GATHERER. This hunter-gatherer in Namibia, Southern Africa, takes aim at his quarry. His Khoisan kin are some of the last of the world's hunting-gathering folk. They range the Kalahari Desert much as their ancient forebears did.

and grazing rights to land, they wanted permanent possession. After all, they had to clear the land, supply water at the right time, and organize labor for preparing the soil, planting, weeding, and harvesting or for tending their livestock. Who would do that if they had no assurance that next year, and the next, the land would still be theirs?

Third, food production necessitated the development of *systematized regulation* to enforce the rights of one party over those of another when disputes arose over access and use of resources, including land and water. Codes of law, enforced by organized authority (or government officials), were important results of the introduction of agriculture and animal husbandry. The function of law is to govern relations between individuals and groups so that security is established and the welfare of all is promoted. Law and the exercise of lawful authority is one of the recurrent themes in this book, and we will look at it in the Law and Government boxes.

A fourth change was the increasing *specialization of labor*. It made no sense for a Neolithic farmer to try to be a soldier or carpenter as well as a food grower. Efforts were more productive for the entire community if people specialized; the same principle applied to the carpenter and the soldier, who were not expected to grow or breed the food supply.

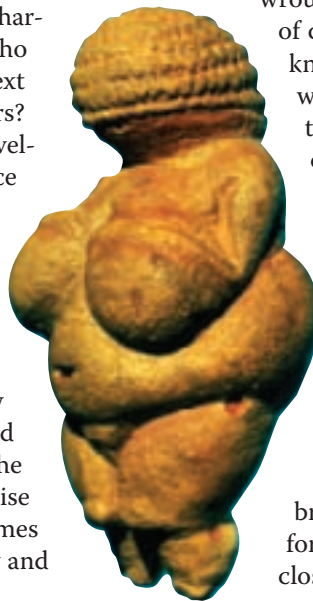
Some believe that agriculture also led to an *enlarged public role for women* in Neolithic societies based on

farming—apparently a direct result of the fact that the first farmers were probably women. There is even some evidence of **matriarchy** (female social and political dominance) in Neolithic China, the Near East, and West Africa, as well as among many Native American societies. The association of women with fertility, personified in a whole series of Earth Mother goddesses in various cultures, was certainly related to this development. As those who brought forth life, women were seen as the key to assuring that the Earth Mother would respond to the villagers' prayers for food from her womb. In many areas where agriculture became important, fertility-centered religious rituals, female priestesses, and graphic reenactments of human reproduction were crucial components of cults intended to promote human, animal, and plant fertility. Changes in religious belief and practice carry the widest-ranging consequences for any society, ancient or modern. Often, they have been manifested in the concepts of good and bad that dictated public and private behavior patterns, or morality. We will observe many such changes as we progress through this world history, and the Patterns of Belief boxes will reinforce the theme.

Generally, most of us who live in the modern world think of the Neolithic Revolution and the changes it wrought in positive terms, as an inevitable series of changes that led straight to "civilization" as we know it. But were such developments always one way? Actually, there are instances in world history where hunting-gatherers adopted breeding or growing their food supply, then later abandoned it. Some Khoi-khoi-speaking groups in southern Africa, for example, fluctuated between lifeways of hunting and gathering sometimes and cattle herding at other times. Some pastoralists like the Huns and the Mongols stoutly resisted incorporation into the farm-based societies they conquered in the fifth and thirteenth centuries, respectively.

The adoption of food-producing lifeways brought significantly harmful consequences for humans. As humans domesticated and lived closer to their livestock, diseases jumped from animals to people. Once this happened, disease-bearing vectors found it easier to spread through entire societies (and later regions, and now the world) as people lived in ever-larger communities. And, while people were generally better fed, their quality of life and health often declined. Consequently, death came earlier for them.

Alterations in lifestyle came about gradually, of course, as a group learned to depend on domesticated crops and animals for its main sources of food. When that change took place varied



Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria/Ali Meyer/Bridgeman Art Library

VENUS OF WILLEMSDORF. Unearthed near the small Austrian village of Willesdorf one hundred years ago, this is one of the better-known "Earth Mothers" found in excavations throughout central and eastern Europe. Its age is approximately 28,000 years. The emphasis on fertility aspects and the de-emphasis of individual features tells us something of the value of women in Neolithic societies.

sharply from one continent or region to the next. In a few places, it has still not occurred. Even today, a few nomadic hunter-gatherer groups can be found in regions that are

useless for crop growing or animal grazing, although they are fast disappearing due to the intrusions of modern communications and technology.

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

ÇATAL HÜYÜK

At a location named Çatal Hüyük (chat-ahl hoo-yook) in central Turkey, archaeologists have discovered one of the world's earliest Neolithic communities. From about 7200–6300 BCE, the earliest occupants subsisted by hunting and gathering. Gradually, however, they domesticated food crops that were native to the region, and as time passed they adopted these as their main food source. Once this happened, they began construction on a densely occupied town of rectangular, flat-roofed houses. These mud-brick structures were joined together in a rabbit warren-like community that lacked streets. Walls lacked doors and windows, and entry was through rooftop openings.

The dimensions of a typical dwelling measured around twenty feet by thirteen feet. White lime plaster coated earthen floors and brick walls, while benches, platforms, small niches, and baking ovens were built into the walls. Virtually every dwelling had bins, and occasionally an added room for food storage. Homes seemed to have served religious purposes, because most came equipped with a shrine made from auroch (wild bovine) skulls. Wall murals were painted in red, usually in geometric shapes, but also depicting various animals. Shrines and wall niches ordinarily contained figurines of humans and animals.

Çatal Hüyük's occupants lived mainly by mixed farming, but hunting for wild game never entirely disappeared. Being a dry region, the main food sources included the usual cereals—emmer wheat and barley—and lentils. Other crops that supplemented this basic subsistence diet were hackberries, chickpeas, acorns, and almonds. Sheep and goats were the most commonly bred livestock, with some chickens, and later cattle and donkeys added.

Artifacts excavated at Çatal Hüyük include technology that one typically encounters at Neolithic sites. The early farmers of this area created tools and craft items from stone, obsidian, bone, clay, and natural fibers and dyes. There were arrowheads and spearheads, as well as an assortment of flint daggers and obsidian blades. Bone was used to make awls, needles, and pins of various kinds. Common household items included woven baskets and mats, as well as pottery made from fired clay. Red clay and dyes were used to paint wall murals and to add color to figurines.

One discovery that has created a lot of speculation is a splendid seated “Mother Goddess.” James Mellaart, who excavated Çatal Hüyük nearly forty-five years ago, interpreted this image and others like it as proof that Neolithic communities like Çatal Hüyük were matriarchies whose principal object of worship was a great Earth Mother. Ian Hodder, who has been working at Çatal Hüyük since 2005, believes that the overall picture is more ambiguous. Clearly, females figured prominently in the fertility cults of early agrarian societies and played important roles in daily life. He points out, however, that figurines of males with erect penises suggest that males also had parts in fertility cults. Other kinds of evidence, such as mortuary studies and DNA-based examinations of diets, suggest that both sexes enjoyed equal status in these early farming communities.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What explanations can you give for the unusual architecture of Çatal Hüyük? What do you think family life was like? Why do you think both male and female images were used in fertility-based religions like those of Çatal Hüyük?

BULL WORSHIP AT ÇATAL HÜYÜK. Numerous wall paintings, statues, and the heads of oxen and bulls on the walls in many rooms at Çatal Hüyük attest to the importance of religion. Bull veneration was common in Western Asia during Neolithic times. In addition to the art at Çatal Hüyük, evidence of bull worship has been found at ancient Egypt and Crete. Even today, bull veneration exists in India and as a sport in Spain.



Credit: to come



Where were the first food-producing societies? For many years, researchers believed that agriculture must have emerged first in a region of the Near East called the *Levantine Corridor* and spread gradually from there into Asia and Africa. According to this **diffusion theory** of cultural accomplishment, knowledge of new techniques spreads through human contacts, as water might spread on blotting paper. But it is now known that by 7000 BCE, agriculture had developed in at least seven separate areas, independent of outside influences: the Near East, Central America, South America, northern China, southern China and Southeast Asia, northeast Africa, and West Africa.

About the same time or slightly later, the first domesticated animals were being raised. The raising of pigs, sheep, cattle, goats, guinea fowl, dogs, and turkeys for food and work goes back at least as far as 4000 BCE. (The horse and donkey come considerably later, as we shall see.) World-view Map 1.2 shows where some common plant and animal species were first cultivated or domesticated.

Agrarian and Irrigation Civilizations

Wherever ancient gathering-and-hunting peoples discovered how to grow and breed their food, populations swelled dramatically; surplus wealth supported more complex societies; craft production and trade appeared; new farming technologies evolved, such as the use of draft animals and irrigation; urban life developed; ruling elites emerged; and the need to maintain records necessitated the invention of writing. In short, the most ancient civilizations known to us arose. As we shall see, each of these civilizations acquired and elaborated its own unique characteristics and “style” of life. Yet, as distinctive as each of these earliest civilizations was, to varying extents they shared eight attributes. Together, these features comprise a type of civilization called **agrarian civilization**. As we study a few of the earliest world civilizations, see how many of these features you can find in each one. These eight features are:

- ◆ **They were primarily rural societies.** Most people lived in country villages and had rural outlooks and ways of life. This does not mean that these civilizations had no cities. Because they were socially complex (stratified), cities were the locales where members of the ruling classes—as well as priests, craftspeople, merchants, and nobles—lived. Relationships between rural villages and cities were complex, but generally the city dwellers directed the productive activities of rural folk through their control of religious beliefs and rituals thought to be essential to fertility and through the enforcement of laws, customs, and traditions.
- ◆ **They were based primarily on peasant agriculture and/or livestock breeding.** The overwhelm-

ing majority in such civilizations relied on farming and herding to sustain themselves and their families, as well as to support nonfood-producing members of society such as craftsmen, merchants, and ruling elites. They employed relatively simple technologies to perform their labors. They crafted their tools out of materials at hand: mud, clay, grasses, leather, wood, wattle, and stone. Wind, water, human strength, or animals powered what simple machinery they fashioned, such as irrigation devices and ploughs. The rulers often skimmed off as taxes what surpluses they produced, keeping the people poor.

- ◆ **Most people maintained life in balance with their natural environment.** In civilizations that relied on simple technology, people’s survival and ability to produce food hinged on their understanding of their natural world. It was this ability, acquired from many generations of observation and experiment, that enabled them to work with what these surroundings provided them.
- ◆ **Their religion was based heavily on gods and spirits that controlled their natural environment.** Because the earliest civilizations relied so much on agriculture, the ability of humans to control natural phenomena was crucial to life. One way this was achieved was through an intimate understanding of the natural environment. But because total understanding and predictability were impossible, people came to believe that capricious gods and spirits controlled natural forces. Frequently, people believed that these spirits could assume human and animal forms.
- ◆ **Their religion emphasized ritual and sacrifice as ways to control the deities.** Because the gods and spirits could control nature, people thought they could control nature by controlling the spirits. Communal religion centered on complex rituals and sacrifices to the gods to win their cooperation in controlling rainfall, river floods, soil and animal fertility, births, and even death.
- ◆ **They relied on religious specialists to communicate with the gods.** The rituals and sacrifices on which so many people relied were complicated and had to be carried out with great precision to be effective. Only trained specialists—priests, priestesses, spirit mediums, and medicine men and women—could perform them flawlessly.
- ◆ **They believed time to be cyclic.** Farmers and animal pastoralists lived their lives according to the rhythms of nature. Consequently, they perceived the workings of time and the universe as occurring in endlessly repeating rounds of birth and death, death and renewal.
- ◆ **Their social values emphasized kinship and the clan.** Another strategy employed as a hedge against natural disaster was to create wide social contacts

among kin, fellow clanspeople, clients, and allies. These extensive groupings constituted networks of mutual rights and responsibilities as a form of “social insurance” that helped guarantee the survival of individual members. A corollary to this was a veneration of elders and the spirits of dead ancestors.

Several of the earliest civilizations in the world developed in the plains bordering on major rivers or in the valleys the rivers created. They depended on intensive, productive agriculture, and the development of agriculture depended in turn on the excellent soil and regular supply of water provided by the river. In ancient Mesopotamia, the dual drainage of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers made possible the first urban civilization. In Egypt, the Nile—the world’s longest river, at more than 4,000 miles—was the life-giving source of everything the people needed and cherished. At a slightly later date, the Niger River nurtured the early development of agriculture and city life in West Africa.

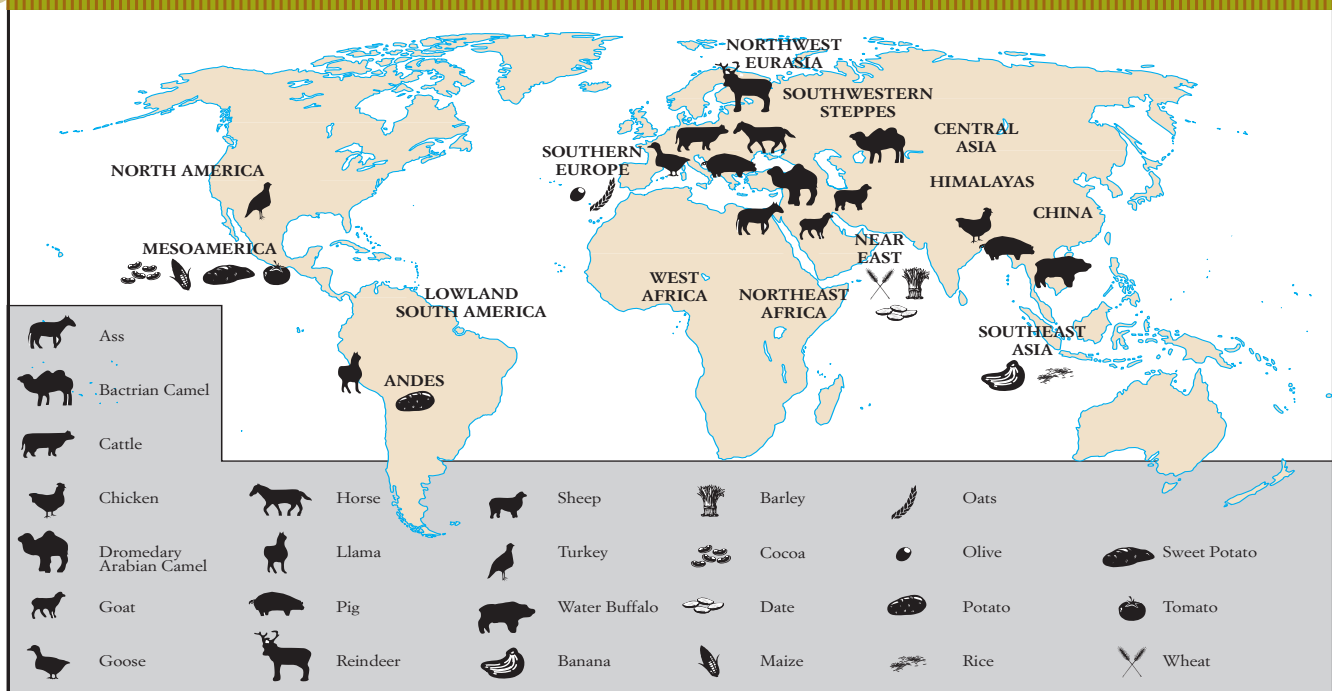
The earliest available evidence of the beginnings of Indian civilization is found in the extensive fields on both sides of the Indus River, which flows more than 2,000 miles from the slopes of the Himalayas to the ocean. In northern

China, the valleys of the Yellow River (which is about 2,700 miles long) and the Yangtze River were the cradles of the oldest continuous civilization in world history. Worldview Map 1.3 shows four of the above-mentioned civilizations. Recent studies in the western valleys of the Andes in Peru also show that an advanced ceramic-making civilization, previously unsuspected, flourished in the third millennium BCE.

What else did the rivers provide besides good crops and essential water? They also offered a sure and generally easy form of transport and communication, allowing intervillage trade and encouraging central—usually city-based—authorities to extend their powers over a much greater area than would have been possible if they had had only overland contacts. The interchange of goods and services between individuals or groups is a constant motivating force in human history as a strategy to avoid the catastrophic effects of crop failure through the creation of supplementary forms of wealth. (We shall look at this theme in differing contexts in later chapters.) Moreover, it was trade as well as migrations that provided the usual means by which early societies established and maintained connections with each other. Trade and other forms of human contact, such as migration and conquest, will be common themes throughout this text.



WORLDVIEW MAP 1.2 ORIGIN OF CROPS AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS

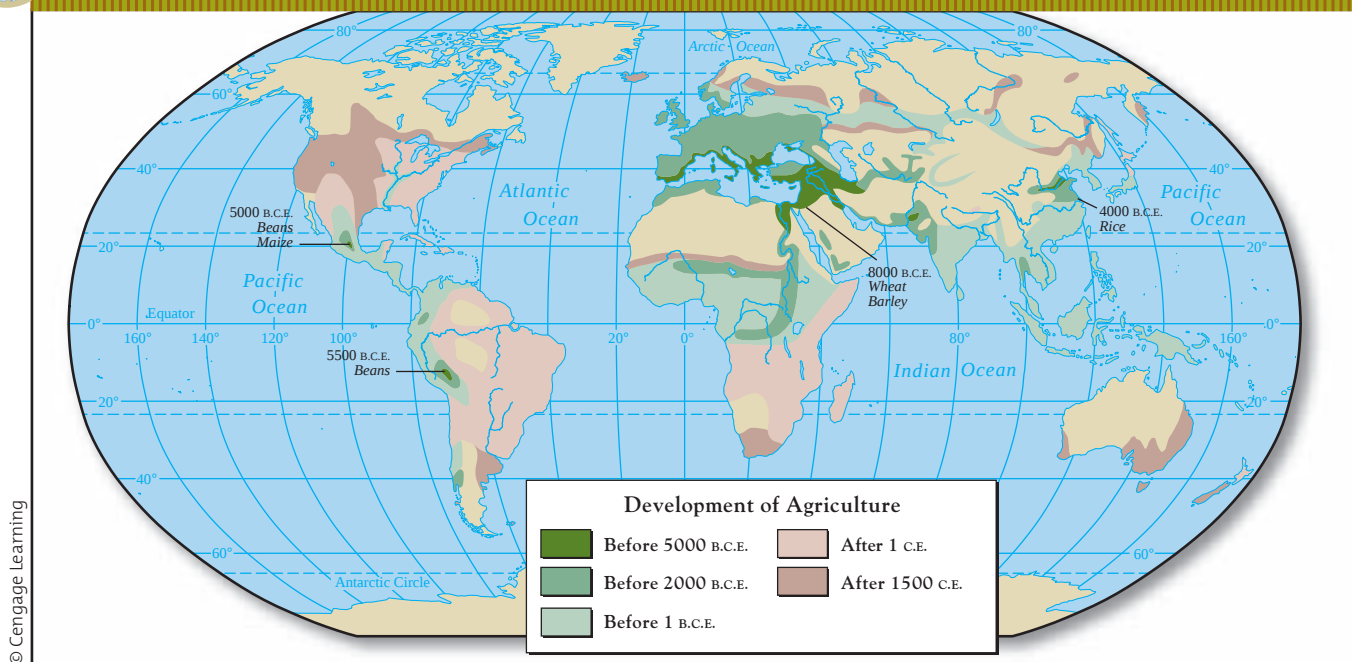


This map shows where particular plant and animal species were first cultivated or domesticated. Did these practices arise independently in different areas, or did they appear by diffusion? In the case of some species (for example, the pig), there seems

to have been independent development in different areas. In most cases, however, the contact between neighboring cultures facilitated the rapid rise of plant and animal cultivation around the globe.



WORLDVIEW MAP 1.3 EARLY AGRICULTURE



Several of the earliest civilizations were centered around rivers, which provided good soil and water for agriculture. Ancient Mesopotamia grew up around the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Egyptian civilization flourished along the Nile. Indian civilization began in fields along the Indus. The Yellow River supported early Chinese agrarian civilization.

MAP QUESTIONS

What do you suppose the new science of paleobotany might involve as its study, and how does it assist in dating early agriculture?



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

The rivers had very different natures. The Tigris and the Yellow were as destructive in their unpredictable flooding as the Nile, the Niger, and the Indus were peaceful and predictable. The Yellow River was so ruinous at times that its ancient name was the “sorrow of China.” But without its water, early farming in northern China would have been impossible.

Climate, too, created differences among the earliest civilizations. Egypt and most of the Indus Valley, for example, have temperate climates that change little over the course of the year and are suitable for crops all year long. It is not unusual for an Egyptian family farm to grow three crops annually. Northern China and Mesopotamia, on the other hand, experience much more severe changes in weather—not only from season to season, but also from day to day.

In deserts and steppe lands where soils or drier conditions made farming harder, people were forced to rely more (or exclusively) on stockbreeding for food and clothing. Conditions usually made settled life impossible, so groups continually had to be on the move in search of water and pasturelands for their livestock. Their homes in the deserts and grasslands usually bordered on terrain where farming was the principal mode of production and

where farmers and their food stores were valuable as trading partners or, alternatively, as targets of raids.

As a rule, the pastoralists’ way of life made them heartier people, and their methods of mounted warfare made them formidable opponents whose movements and raiding could be held in check only by powerful, highly centralized states. As we shall see in the following chapters, the tension and frequent warfare between pastoralist tribesmen—such as Semitic-speaking nomads, Indo-European Iranians, and Turco-Mongolian peoples—and neighboring agrarian civilizations forms one of the important constants in world history.

METAL AND ITS USES

The first metal used by humans seems to have been soft copper. When combined with lead and tin ores, copper becomes the more useful bronze. Bronze has some advantages over copper: It is harder (and therefore more suitable for weaponry) and more resistant to weathering. But it has several disadvantages when compared with other metals: It is relatively difficult to make, its weight is excessive for

many uses, and it cannot keep a fine edge for tools and cutting weapons. Above all, bronze was difficult to obtain in the ancient world. The period when bronze art objects and bronze weapons predominated in a given part of the world is called its *Bronze Age*. In western Asia, where the earliest known civilizations appeared, the Bronze Age extended from about 7000 BCE to about 1500 BCE, when a major innovation in human technology—the smelting of iron—made its first appearance.

The discovery of how to smelt and temper iron tools and weapons was a major turning point in the development of every people, ushering in an *Iron Age*. Iron has been the key metal of history. Wherever it has come into common use, certain advances have occurred. Iron plowshares opened areas to cultivation that previously could

not be tilled. Iron weapons and body armor gave warfare a new look. Iron tools enabled new technical progress and expanded production. Iron utensils were cheaper than those of other metals, lasted longer, resisted fiery heat, and did not easily shatter or lose their edge.

Iron ore is one of the more common metallic ores, and it is often found on or near the earth's surface (unlike copper and lead). It is easily segregated from the surrounding soils or rock. The crucial breakthrough was learning how to temper the ore—that is, how to purify it so that the iron could be formed and used without shattering. The Indo-European people known as Hittites, who lived in modern-day Turkey, apparently were the first to smelt and temper iron. By 1200 BCE, this knowledge was spreading rapidly among Middle Eastern and Egyptian peoples.

SUMMARY

THE PREHISTORY OF THE HUMAN race is immeasurably longer than the short period (5,000 years or so) of which we have historical knowledge. During the last 50,000 years of the prehistoric period, men and women became physically and mentally indistinguishable from ourselves and spread across the earth. Developing agriculture to supplement hunting and gathering, humans slowly attained more advanced stages of development in the later part of the Neolithic Age, around 3000 BCE. Urban life was

now possible, a system of government and record keeping evolved, and advanced weapons and tools of metal were invented.

In the next chapters, we examine four of the earliest known centers of civilization one by one and look at the reasons why each became a center. The similarities and contrasts among these civilizations gave each a particular character that would last for thousands of years and, in some cases, until the present day.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

agrarian civilization
Agricultural (or Neolithic)
Revolution
anthropology
archaeology
diffusion theory
historiography
history

hominid
Homo ergaster
Homo sapiens
matriarchy
natural selection
Neanderthal Man
Neolithic Age

For Further Reflection

1. What is natural selection? How does it explain how species, like that of *Homo*, undergo change over long periods of time?
2. The text claims that the human tree resembles a bush more than a tree. What does that mean? What does it say about the various hominids that paleoanthropologists have discovered from the human past?
3. How do you think changes in the earth's climate might have played a part in human evolution? What strategies and "cultural" adaptations did hominids (and humans) make in order to cope with changes in their natural environments?
4. Was farming an easier way of life than hunting and gathering? What factors would have led humans to

give up nomadic hunting and gathering to grow or breed their food?

5. Can you think of more benefits brought by the Neolithic Revolution? On the other hand, what changes

might the food-producing revolution have brought that were injurious to people and the lives they led?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- One term that is used to denote "thinking or skillful man" is
 - Cro-Magnon.
 - Homo sapiens*.
 - Paleolithic.
 - Neanderthal.
 - Australopithecus*.
- Human beings seem to have acquired speech about ____ years ago.
 - 4.5 million
 - 1 million–4.5 million
 - 500,000–1 million
 - 100,000–250,000
 - 80,000–100,000
- Which of the following statements most aptly describes Paleolithic society?
 - The hunt was the only way to regularly obtain food.
 - There was constant fighting among families and clans.
 - The individual was more important than the group.
 - Cooperation was necessary for survival.
 - Extended family units usually numbered about sixty.
- The Agricultural Revolution first occurred during the
 - Neolithic.
 - Bronze Age.
 - Paleolithic.
 - Mesozoic.
 - Iron Age.
- Among the major changes that occur as a result of the adoption of agriculture by any group is
 - the abandonment of traditional village life.
 - a decrease in trading.
 - an increase in population.
 - a reduction in animal raising.
 - an increase in the percentage of people living in rural areas.
- The first farmers were probably
 - Andean.
 - nomads.
 - women.
 - Indian.
 - hunter-gatherers.
- Which of these factors was of decisive importance to Neolithic agriculture?
 - Use of beasts of burden for plowing
 - Mastery of irrigation techniques
 - Development of natural insecticides
 - Existence of large cities as marketplaces
 - Development of heavy iron plows for cultivation
- The increase in the number of humans during the Neolithic Age was primarily caused by
 - the disappearance of epidemic disease.
 - a surplus of food.
 - decreased intergroup violence.
 - a greater respect for the aged.
 - increasing understanding of the use of herbs for medicinal purposes.
- The site of the oldest known continuous civilization in world history is in
 - southern Africa.
 - western Africa.
 - the Nile River valley.
 - Mesopotamia.
 - northern China.
- The use of bronze as the primary metal for tools and weapons
 - came after iron.
 - was dictated by its ease of making.
 - started about 7000 BCE in western Asia.
 - came after urban civilizations were established in the Near East.
 - predated the use of copper.



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Mesopotamia



NEOLITHIC SOUTHWEST ASIA

SUMERIAN CIVILIZATION

Earning a Living
Religion and the Afterlife
Mathematics and Chronology
The Evolution of Writing
Law
Government and Social Structure
Women's Rights, Sex, and Marriage

TRADE AND AN EXPANSION OF SCALE

SUCCESSORS TO SUMERIA

THE DECLINE OF MESOPOTAMIA IN WORLD HISTORY

THE POPULATION INCREASE due to the Agricultural Revolution led to the creation of farming villages, often in the same locations where nomadic hunter-gatherers had previously settled temporarily to plant their crops and graze their livestock. Grains were the usual basis of early agriculture, and the residents of those areas with fertile soil, sufficient rain, and a temperate climate to support wild grains were the pioneers of village development. From the farming village slowly evolved the much more socially differentiated town, with its various economic divisions and occupational specialties. From some small settlements grew the larger centers (called *cities*) of governmental power, religious ritual, manufacturing, trade, and cultural sophistication. A combination of agrarianism, city life, social complexity, government, trade networks, and writing produced the earliest known civilizations in world history. One of these was **Sumeria**, in southern Mesopotamia.

NEOLITHIC SOUTHWEST ASIA

Around 15,000 BCE, the world's climate began warming after centuries of Ice-Age conditions, melting glaciers in the northern hemispheres, raising sea levels, and covering the planet's landmasses with vast inland lakes, streams, and forests. In southwestern Asia, giant stands of oak and pistachio forests and the bounteous herds of game replaced Ice-Age grasslands. Hunter-gatherers of the Near and Middle East, called **Natufians** (nah-TOO-fee-ans), stalked antelope

They see the cedar-mountain,
the abode of the gods, . . .
On the mountain the cedars
uplift their abundance.
Their shadow is beautiful, is all
delight.
Thistles hide thereunder, and
the dark prick-thorn,
Sweet-smelling flowers hide
under the cedars.

—*Epic of Gilgamesh*

c. 15,000–10,000 BCE	End of the last Ice Age
c. 10,000 BCE	First evidence of agriculture in the Levantine Corridor
c. 5000 BCE	Sumerians arrive in Mesopotamia
c. 3500 BCE	Cuneiform writing
c. 3000 BCE	Sumerian city-states develop
c. 2300 BCE	Sargon of Akkad
1700s BCE	Hammurabi/Oldest surviving law code
c. 1500 BCE	Hittites conquer Mesopotamia
c. 900 BCE	Rise of Assyria
539 BCE	Conquest by Persia

and Persian gazelle and harvested wild nuts and grasses, using flint-bladed sickles, enabling them to expand their populations dramatically. However, around 11,000 BCE, a catastrophe occurred. Known to archaeologists as the *Younger Dryas Event*, glacial melt water that had accumulated in a colossal, freshwater lake in northern Canada suddenly burst into the Atlantic Gulf Stream, triggering a thousand-year-long regression in Europe and southwestern Asia to the cooler and drier conditions of the late Ice Age.

The abundant sources of water and plant foods previously available to humans and animals alike disappeared, forcing Natufians to congregate in small, semipermanent villages near surviving streams and rivers. Coming after a time when populations had grown dramatically, these catastrophic events forced small groups of these western Asians to adopt more intensive ways of managing their food resources. Basically, this encouraged them to switch from gathering and hunting to planting and domesticating cereals like barley and wheat, which grew in wild forms in their natural environment. Thus, the world's first farming settlements appeared in a section of the Near East called the **Levantine Corridor**, an arc of land that was endowed with especially high water tables and included much of present-day Turkey, Israel, Syria, and the Euphrates River valley. Here, by 8000 BCE, cereal agriculture had become widespread and people had

added to their food stocks by domesticating and breeding goats and sheep. Later still, cattle were introduced, possibly from Africa.

The switch to agriculture and livestock breeding provided an abundance that allowed people to grow their populations and congregate in towns and cities for the first time in history; and wherever this transformation occurred, the world's earliest recorded civilizations also appeared. The first of these was in a part of the Levantine Corridor that included the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers—a land that the ancient Greeks called **Mesopotamia** (“land between the rivers”), now the southeastern portion of Iraq.

SUMERIAN CIVILIZATION

Along with early evidence of agriculture and herding, some of the earliest towns and cities archaeologists have discovered are in southwestern Asia. The Euphrates and Tigris Rivers originate in present-day Turkey and flow parallel to each other for about 400 miles before joining together to flow into the head of the Persian Gulf (see Map 2.1). In the third millennium BCE, the first urban civilization of the world developed in the lower courses of these rivers. This agrarian civilization was supported by extensive irrigation farming, pioneered by a people called the Sumerians (soo-MAY-ree-ans), who came into Lower Mesopotamia from somewhere to the east about 5000 BCE. Gradually, the Sumerians created a series of small, competing kingdoms, or city-states. Here they developed a series of ideas and techniques that would provide the foundation of a distinct and highly influential civilization.

The Sumerians were the first people to do a number of highly significant things.

- They created the first large cities, as distinct from towns and small cities like Jericho. The largest of



JERICO. Located in the West Bank, Palestinian Territory, the ruins of Jericho date to about 8000 BCE, making it one of the oldest Neolithic cities in the world. This is a view of the round tower of the city, which the biblical prophet, Joshua, is said to have toppled. Archaeologists believe that an earthquake in the second millennium BCE actually destroyed the fortifications.



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MAP 2.1 The Ancient Near East

The Mesopotamian city-states were concentrated in the rich agricultural plain (shown here in green) created by silt from the Tigris and Euphrates rivers as they flowed toward the head of the Persian Gulf. The wide belt of land reaching from Mesopotamia to Egypt along the Mediterranean coast is known as the Fertile Crescent.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

How did the location of the Sumerian urban centers facilitate trade?



[View an interactive version of this or a related map online.](#)

these may have contained upward of 100,000 people. All early civilizations had advanced centers such as these—ones that drew their sustenance from a surrounding countryside that they had subjected to their rule. Each city was encircled for miles by villages of farmers who built the canals and provided the agricultural surplus on which the city elite depended. Most of these **city-states** began as places of ritual prayer and sacrificial offerings that honored one or more of their gods, whose goodwill was purchased so agriculture could flourish. Gradually, the ceremonial aspects of the shrines and their priests were joined by commercial and governmental pursuits, so it became a place in which a growing population of labor-specialized

people was supported by sophisticated irrigation agriculture.

- They developed the first sophisticated system of *writing*.
- They built the first monumental buildings, using sun-baked bricks and the post-and-lintel system (beams held up by columns, used today in structures as varied as monkey bars and bridges) as the basic elements of support.
- They probably invented the wheel as a load-bearing transportation device.
- They were the first to design and build an irrigation system powered by the force of gravity.
- They were the first to use the plow and among the first to make bronze metal utensils and weaponry.

What we know of the Sumerians is extremely impressive. We know a good deal not only because they left extensive records and physical evidence of their own, but also because they had enormous influence on their neighbors and rivals—such as the Akkadians and Egyptians—as well as on their several conquering successors in Mesopotamia.

The early history of Mesopotamia under the Sumerians is a tale of great technological and cultural advances, marred by strife, disunion, and unceasing warfare among the principal city-states. Trade wars and disputes over water assured that no centralized governing power was possible. Whenever one city managed to seize control of substantial supplies of water and trade, the others upstream or downstream would band together against it or its subjects would rebel. Conflicts seem to have been the order of the day, with city-state vying against city-state in a constant struggle for mastery over precious irrigated lands.

Not until about 2300 BCE was the land between the rivers brought under one effective rule, and that was imposed by a Semitic invader known as Sargon the Great, who conquered the entire plain. Sargon established his capital in the new town of Akkad, near modern-day Baghdad, capital of Iraq. Although the Akkadian Empire lasted less than a century, its influence was great, for it spread Sumerian culture and methods far and wide in the Near and Middle East, through that wide belt of land reaching from Mesopotamia to Egypt that is called the **Fertile Crescent** (see Map 2.1).

Although the separate Sumerian city-states never united until outsiders overwhelmed them, their cultural and religious achievements and beliefs would be picked up by their conquerors and essentially retained by all their successors in Mesopotamia.

Earning a Living

Most Mesopotamians at this time drew their livelihood from the land either directly, as farmers and herders, or indirectly, as carters, wine pressers, millers, or any of the dozens of other occupations that transformed agrarian products into food and drink and delivered them to the consumer. For every person who lived in an urban setting and did not have to grow his or her own food, there were ten or twenty who lived in the agrarian villages that surrounded the cities and spent most of their labor in the fields or the pasture.

As we know from both historical and archaeological evidence of many kinds and from many places, commerce was also primarily concerned with trade in foodstuffs—grain above all—although other commodities essential to living had to be imported. It is easy for us to forget just how much of the time and energy of early civilizations went into the pursuit of sufficient caloric intake! Three square meals a day were often the

exception, and the ordinary person rarely took them for granted.

Not all occupations involved farming or foodstuffs, however. A few required education and a degree of formal training: scribes, bookkeepers, and the priesthood, for example. Although each civilization had some learned occupations, they varied in prestige and in the number of persons who practiced them. Mesopotamian city dwellers seem to have been literate to an unusual degree and took writing for granted as a normal part of daily life. Many other occupations did not require literacy, but they did demand a lengthy period of apprenticeship. Most of these occupations were found in the towns. They included metalworking, leatherwork, jewelry making, and all types of ceramics, as well as fine and rough carpentry, masonry, and other building trades.

Besides these skilled jobs, there were shopkeepers, their clerks and errand boys, casual laborers available for any type of manual task, and a large number of trades connected with the production of clothing and textiles. Many people were also involved in the preparation, distribution, and sale of food, whether in shops or at eating places such as taverns and street booths. One crucial task, which we in the present-day United States rarely think about, was obtaining a regular supply of water. This was one of the most important tasks of women and children, and it took great amounts of time and labor.

Some civilized centers employed more of one type of labor than others, but overall there was a rough parity. Most jobs were in very small-scale enterprises. These were usually family owned and staffed, with perhaps two or three paid or slave laborers. Slavery was less common in some places, but slaves made up a sizable portion of the working population in all ancient societies except early Egypt and China. They sometimes performed much of the particularly unpleasant or dangerous work (mining and handling the dead, for example).

Religion and the Afterlife

Our knowledge of the Sumerians' religion is sketchy and unsure. As in most agrarian civilizations, they believed in a host of nature gods (**polytheism**—Greek for “many gods”) of various ranks. There were many male and female deities, each with specific competencies in natural and human affairs. Among the most important were *Innana*, the goddess of love and fertility, and the water god, *Enki* (ENG-kee). These gods were much like super humans, with all the faults and weaknesses of men and women. Some were immensely powerful: Their will affected all the Sumerian settlements, and they were believed to rule over all of nature and humanity.

In addition, each city-kingdom had its local gods and spirits of the land and sky who were crucial to the prosperity of the citizens and who had to be carefully placated by



ZIGGURAT. The stepped pyramidal form has been used from one end of the earth to the other for religious monuments. It combines an overpowering sense of mass and permanency with a mystical projection of divine superiority over earthbound humans. Pyramids like this Mesopotamian ziggurat can also be found in Egypt, South and Central America, and, in modified form, Southeast Asia. The Mesopotamian variety was constructed of earthen bricks, which demanded frequent renovation lest they dissolve into ruins through time's erosive force or an enemy's vandalism.

professionally trained priests. The gods were thought to reside at times in the great temple complexes crowned and protected by the **ziggurats** (ZIHG-goo-rahts), or stepped pyramids. Here, hundreds of priests and their dependents ritually prayed and made offerings to them on behalf of the city-state's welfare. The best-known ziggurat, erected by the powerful city of **Babylon** long after the Sumerian Epoch, was the Tower of Babel of biblical fame.

The two features of Mesopotamia's natural environment that stood out the most were the aridity of the climate and the unpredictability of the rivers' annual floods, on which everyone relied for growing food. Like nature, which they controlled, the Mesopotamian gods were frequently cruel toward their human creatures and highly unpredictable. Men and women were the slaves of their god-creators, intended as the providers of the labors that the gods didn't wish to perform. Every religious function was performed on behalf of the community; hence, there is little evidence of a personal, loving relationship between deities and humans.

Nor is there any trace of ethics in Mesopotamian religion. The demands of the gods had

no intrinsic connection with doing good or avoiding evil on Earth beyond what offerings and ritual acts could win from them to assure the regularity of the natural cycles on which a farm-based economy depended. The gods often punished humans, but not for "moral" failings, or what we would call *sin*. Being nature gods, the punishments often took the form of natural catastrophes, such as droughts or floods that harmed the entire community. To avert punishment, the gods had to be appeased with frequent, costly rituals and ceremonies, which were the responsibility of a hereditary priesthood and, to a lesser extent, the rulers.

The priests used their power as interpreters of the will of the gods to create large and wealthy temple communities supported by the offerings of the citizens. In some Sumerian cities, the priests seem to have been the true rulers for a time. This practice ended with the conquest by Sargon the Great, who made the royal throne—supported by a powerful army—the undisputed center of authority.

The religion was certainly not an optimistic one, and it seems to have had no clear ideas on the nature of the afterlife or who, if



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WARKA VASE. Sumerian priests from Uruk (3500–3000 BCE) used vases like this one to make offerings to the gods. The vase depicts water, wheat or barley growing from the water, and naked priests gratefully presenting the "first fruits" of a successful crop to Innana, the goddess of fertility.

anyone, could enjoy immortality. The best approach seemed to be to honor and obey the gods as well as you could, appease them by making offerings through their powerful priests, and hope to prosper in this life and the afterlife, if there was one. Much of what is known about Mesopotamian religious belief derives from their literature, in which several major myths of Western

civilization—including the Flood and the Garden of Eden—find their first expression.

Particularly important is the creation myth embraced in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (GIL-gah-mesh), the first epic poem in world literature. Gilgamesh is a man, a king of one of the city-states, who desires the secret of immortal life; but the gods, jealous of his power, defeat him. The

PATTERNS OF BELIEF

THE EPIC OF GILGAMESH

The collection of stories that is termed the *Epic of Gilgamesh* is one of the earliest approaches to analyzing the relations of gods and humans. It portrays a society in search of a religious basis for human action. Stories of the Flood occur in many ancient cultural traditions, such as the Noah story in the Hebrew Bible, the creation myths of the Hindus, and some of the North American Indian creation accounts. In each case, the story tells of a disastrous flood that engulfed the entire earth and nearly annihilated humanity.

In the Middle Eastern tradition, the narrative of the Flood is first found in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. In this version, the main focus of the story is on the inevitability of death and the defeat of the hero as he attempts to achieve immortality. The Mesopotamian counterpart of the biblical Noah is Utnapishtim. Here his description of the flood is contrasted with the version recounted in Genesis:

Gilgamesh

The gods of the abyss rose up; Nergal pulled out the dams of the netherworld, Ninurta the war-lord threw down the dikes . . . a stupor of despair went up to heaven when the god of storms turned daylight into darkness, when he smashed the earth like a teacup. One whole day the tempest raged, gathering fury as it went, and it poured over the people like the tide of battle; a man could not see his brother nor could the people be seen from heaven. Even the gods were terrified at the flood, they fled to the highest heaven . . . they crouched against the walls, cowering . . . the gods of heaven and hell wept . . . for six days and six nights the winds blew, tempest and flood raged together like warring hosts. . . . I looked at the face of the earth, and all was silence, all mankind was turned into clay. . . . I bowed low, and I wept. . . .

Genesis

All the fountains of the great deep burst forth and the floodgates of the heavens were opened. And rain fell on the earth for forty days and forty nights. . . . The waters increased and bore up the ark, and it rose above the earth. The waters rose higher and higher, and increased greatly on the earth . . . the waters rose higher and

higher, so that all the highest mountains everywhere under the heavens were covered. All flesh that moved on the earth died: birds, cattle, wild animals, all creatures that crawl upon the earth, and all men. Only Noah and those with him in the ark were saved.

Gilgamesh is a grim tale that speaks of death and the afterlife in pessimistic and fearful tones. Indicative is this description by Gilgamesh's companion Enkidu of a vivid dream he had had, foreshadowing his approaching death:

I stood alone before an awful Being; his face was somber like the blackbird of the storm. He fell upon me with the talons of an eagle, and he held me fast, pinioned by his claws until I smothered; then he transformed me so that my arms became wings covered with feathers . . . and he led me away, to the house from which those who enter never return . . . whose people sit in darkness, dust their food and clay their meat. They are clothed like birds with wings for coverings, they see no light, they sit in darkness.

The epic ends with the failure of Gilgamesh's quest for the secret of immortal life. The somber funeral chant seems to underline the poet's sense of resignation and futility:

The king has laid himself down, and will not rise again. The Lord of Kullab [that is, Gilgamesh] will not rise again, He overcame evil, but he will not rise again, Though he was strong of arm, he will not rise again, Possessing wisdom and a comely face, he will not rise again.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What does the emphasis on defeat and death in the *Gilgamesh* story signify in terms of the beliefs of the peoples who created these myths? Read the full accounts of the flood in *Gilgamesh* and Genesis. What do you make of the differences?

Source: Reprinted with permission from Penguin Classics, 1960, 2d rev. ed., 1972. © N. K. Sanders, 1960, 1964, 1972.



You can read the entire *Epic of Gilgamesh* online.



Monastery, Goettweig, Austria/© Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

excerpts in the Patterns of Belief box show the similarity between the flood stories in *Gilgamesh* and the book of Genesis of the Judeo-Christian scripture.

Mathematics and Chronology

Like almost all agrarian civilizations, Mesopotamians' sense of time was shaped by the cyclic nature of seasonal change. The year was based on the passage of seasons, and their way of reckoning this was by observing and recording the positions of heavenly bodies as well as the recurring changes in their surroundings. Their calendar was subdivided into lunar months, corresponding to the period between one full moon and the next. In calculating the year's length, the Sumerians arrived at a figure close to our own—although not quite as close as the Egyptians—by employing their solar calendar. All in all, Sumerian math (along with its further development by the Babylonians and Persians) has held up very well and has been influential in all later Western science, including that of the Greeks.

After the invention of writing, perhaps the most dramatic advances made by these early inhabitants of Mesopotamia were in mathematics and chronology. Sumerian math was based on units of 60 and its divisors, and this, of course, is the reason that we still measure time in intervals of 60 seconds and 60 minutes. Much of our basic geometry and trigonometry, such as the 360 degrees of a circle, also stems from the Sumerians.



© Accounts Table with cuneiform script, c.2400 BC (terracotta), Mesopotamian. Louvre, Paris, France/The Bridgeman Art Library International

CUNEIFORM WRITING. This example of cuneiform writing is an astrological tablet from Uruk in Sumer. Probably recorded by a priest, it serves as a reminder of the linkage that existed between religious ritual and timekeeping in ancient agrarian societies.

The Evolution of Writing

Spoken language was one of the key achievements of early human beings, enabling an intensity and variety of communication that was previously unknown. We have no certain idea when modern forms of speech occurred, but linguists theorize that this was around 80,000 years ago. Not until sometime in the fourth millennium (4000–3000 BCE), however, was oral language joined to a written form, and so remained permanently accessible.

Perhaps the most important and lasting of all the Sumerian accomplishments was the gradual invention of a system of writing, which evolved from their need to have good records. This was for the purpose of keeping their calendar and predicting seasonal changes, as well as for commercial and religious taxation, marital and inheritance contracts, and some other activities in which it was important to have a clear, mutually agreed-upon version of past events. Some type of marks on some type of medium (clay, paper, wood, stone) had been in use long, long before 3500 BCE. What did the Sumerians of that epoch do to justify the claim of having invented writing? Significantly, they moved beyond pictorial writing, or symbols derived from pictures, into a further phase of conveying meaning through abstract marks.

All writing derives originally from a simplified picture. This is called *pictography*, and it has been used from one end of the earth to the other. Pictography had several obvious disadvantages, though. For one thing, it could not convey the meaning of abstractions (things that have no material, tangible existence). Nor could it communicate the tense of a verb, the degree of an adjective or adverb, or many other things that language has to handle well.

The way that the Sumerians (and later peoples) got around these difficulties was to expand their pictorial writing gradually to a much more sophisticated level so that it included special signs for abstractions, tenses, and so on—signs that had nothing to do with tangible objects. These are called *conventional signs* and may be invented for any meaning desired by their users. For example, if both of us agree that the sign *cc* stands for “the boy in the blue suit,” then that is what it means when we see it on a piece of paper, or a rock surface, or wherever. If we further agree that by adding the vertical stroke *!* we make a verb into a future tense, then it is future tense so far as we’re concerned. Very slowly, the Sumerians expanded their pictographic vocabulary in this way, while simultaneously simplifying and standardizing their pictures so that they could be written more rapidly and recognized more easily by strangers.

A big breakthrough came sometime in the third millennium, when a series of clever scribes began to use written signs to indicate the sounds of the spoken language. This was the beginning of the *phonetic written language*, in which the signs had a direct connection with the oral language. Although the Sumerians did not progress as far as

an alphabet, they started down the path that would culminate in one about 2,000 years later.

The basic format of the written language after about 3500 BCE was a script written in wedge-shaped characters, the **cuneiform** (KYOO-neh-form), on clay tablets about the size of your hand. Tens of thousands of these tablets covered by cuneiform writings have been dug up in modern times. Most of them pertain to contracts between private parties or between a private party and officials. But other tablets contain prayers of all sorts, proclamations by officials, law codes and judgments, and some letters and poetry. Sumerian cuneiform remained the basic script of most Near and Middle Eastern languages until about 1000 BCE, when its use began to fade out.

Law

One of the earliest known complete codes of laws originated in post-Sumerian Mesopotamia in the 1700s BCE, during the reign of the emperor Hammurabi (ham-moo-RAH-bee). He is the first of the historic lawgivers whose work has survived into our times. His code certainly had predecessors that have been lost, because its legal concepts and vocabulary are much too sophisticated for it to have been a first effort. The code is based on two distinctive principles: Punishment depended on the social rank of the violator, and offenders were subjected to the same damages or injury they caused to others. These ideas would be incorporated into many later codes over the next 2,000 years, although rejected by modern democratic theory. A commoner would get a different, more severe punishment than would a noble or official for the same offense. And a slave (of whom there were many) would be treated more harshly still. If in the same social class as the victim, the offender would have to give “an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.”

Another basic principle of Mesopotamian law was that the government should act as an impartial referee among its subject citizens, seeing to it that the wronged party got satisfaction from the wrongdoer. The victim had the right to demand personal compensation from the person who had caused him grief—a legal concept that is being reintroduced into American criminal law.

People were not equal before the law: Husbands had a great deal of power over wives, fathers over children, rich over poor, free citizens over slaves. Nevertheless, a definite attempt was made to protect the defenseless and to see that all received justice.

Much of **Hammurabi's law code** dealt with social and family problems, such as the support of widows and orphans, illegitimacy, adultery, and

rape. Clearly, the position of women was inferior to that of men, but women did have certain legal rights and were not just the property of their male relatives. A wife could divorce her husband, and if the husband was found to be at fault, the wife was entitled to the property she had brought into the marriage. Women could also enter into contracts and have custody over minor children under certain conditions—two rights that many later civilizations denied them.

Government and Social Structure

Government in Mesopotamia can be divided into two types: the **theocracy** (rule by gods or their priests) of the early city-states of the Sumerians and the kingdom-empires of their successors, starting with Sargon the Great of Akkad. A king, assisted by noble officials and priests, ruled the cities. In Sumerian times, the kings were no more than figureheads for the priests, but later they exercised decisive power.

The city, ruled by an elite headed by a king, was quite different in its social subdivisions from the village. In the village, social equality was rarely challenged, and a leveling interdependency in everyday life was taken for granted. In the urban areas, on the contrary, distinctions among people were essential and expected to be displayed in many fashions and activities. Above all, the lower classes supported the far-less-numerous upper classes through both labor and taxes.

The Mesopotamian civilization apparently had but three classes of people, the first of which were the small groups of priests and noble landlords (often two branches of a single group) who were large landowners and had a monopoly on the higher offices of the city. Behind the priesthood stood the immense power of the high gods of the Sumerians and their successors: the deities of earth, sky, fire, freshwater, salt water, and storm.

The second group, the freemen, was the most numerous class. They did the bulk of the city's work and trading, and owned and worked most of the outlying farmlands. The relatively protected position of freemen is attested to by Hammurabi's code and by the thousands of other documents recovered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from the ruins of Sumerian cities. Both priests and nobles depended on their skills and their labor, which was presumably given on a more-or-less voluntary basis.

Finally, the slaves—who at times were very numerous—often possessed considerable skills and were given some responsible positions. Freemen had some political rights, but slaves had none. As we will see repeatedly, slaves were common in most ancient

HAMMURABI'S EMPIRE



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LAW AND GOVERNMENT

HAMMURABI AND THE MESOPOTAMIAN IDEAL OF KINGSHIP

The Emperor Hammurabi, who ruled Babylon in Mesopotamia from about 1792 to 1750 BCE, erected a monument to his reign on a stone pillar. Called the Stela of Hammurabi, the monument proclaimed his accomplishments and claims to greatness.

... When the deities of old
who allot the destinies of the world,
Gave the rule of human beings to [the god] Marduk,
[and] set him over all other deities,
... [and] made Babylon the foremost city-state in all
the earth
and the capital of an everlasting kingdom,
with foundations laid strong as those of heaven and
earth,

At that time I, Hammurabi,
the pious, god-fearing prince,
... was called forth by name for the welfare
of the people:

To cause justice to appear in the world,
to destroy the evil and the wicked
so that the strong should not oppress the
weak,
and to rise like Shamash to give light to the
land.

... I, Hammurabi, the shepherd,
have gathered abundance and plenty,
have stormed the four quarters of the world,
have magnified the fame of Babylon,
and have elated the mind of Marduk my
lord.

... To me has been given the authority,
and I have been faithful to Shamash.
I am like a god among kings,
endued with knowledge and wisdom.
I have provided plentiful offerings for the
deities
... and built their temples.
I am pure of mind,
and the deities listen to my prayers.

Louvre, Paris, France/Bridgeman Art Library



I am the wise ruler
who bears the responsibility of
government,

... who has attained the source of wisdom,
who has enlarged the kingdom,
and who has established pure sacrifices forever.

I am first of all kings;
I have conquered all peoples.

... I am the shepherd of the people
who causes the truth to appear,
guiding my flock rightly.

I am the pious prince,
deep in prayer to the great deities.

... I am the mighty king, the sun of Babylon,
who causes light to appear in the land,
who brings all the world to obedience.

I am the favorite of the deities.

When Marduk commanded me

... to establish justice for the people of the land
and to provide orderly government,
I set forth truth and justice throughout the land,
and caused the people to prosper.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Based on this memorial, what requirements did a king like Hammurabi have to satisfy to measure up to the Mesopotamian ideal of a great king? From what god did a king have to obtain his right to govern?

Source: From the Hammurabi Stele, translated by Stan Rummel at the "Photo Gallery of Ancient Mesopotamia and Persia," by K. C. Hanson. The Ancient History Sourcebook.



You can read the entire Code of Hammurabi online.

THE HAMMURABI STELA. The stela is about five feet high. Its top depicts King Hammurabi standing before the god Shamash.



societies, and enslavement was by no means the morally contemptible and personally humiliating condition it would frequently become later. Slavery had nothing much to do with race or ethnicity and everything to do with bad luck, such as being on the losing side of a war or falling into debt. Most slaves in Mesopotamia—and elsewhere—had run up debts that they could not otherwise repay. It was not at all uncommon to become someone's slave for a few years and then resume your freedom when you had paid off what you owed. Hereditary slavery was rare. Many owners routinely freed their slaves in their wills as a mark of piety and benevolence.

Maltreatment of slaves did occur, but mostly to fieldworkers, miners, or criminals who had been enslaved as punishment and had no personal contacts with their owner. On the other side, in all ancient societies many slaves engaged in business, many had advanced skills in the crafts, and some managed to accumulate enough money working on their own accounts that they could buy their freedom. The conditions of slaves in the ancient world varied so enormously that we cannot generalize about them with any accuracy except to say that slaves were politically and legally inferior to free citizens.

Women's Rights, Sex, and Marriage

Historians generally agree on some categorical statements about the women of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt. In the earliest stage of civilization, women shared more or less equally with men in social prestige and power. This egalitarianism was undermined and overturned by the coming of militarized society (armies), the heavy plow in agriculture, and the establishment of large-scale trade over long distances. The trend toward **patriarchy** (PAY-tree-ahr-kee)—a society in which males have social and political dominance—proceeded at varying speeds in different societies but was impossible to reverse once it started.

Because children and the continuity of the family were the real reasons for marriage, the marital bed was an honorable and even sacred place, and what took place there was in no way shameful. But the male and female had desires that went beyond the creation of children, and these were also nothing to be ashamed of, for they were implanted in humans by the all-wise gods. Everywhere in the Near East—apparently starting with the Sumerians and continuing long after—the rites of the Sacred Marriage between a god and his high priestess, celebrating the fertility of the earth and of all creatures on it, were central to religious practice. The result was a fundamentally different attitude toward sex than we commonly find in civilized society today. Whether sexual pleasure outside marriage was permissible, however, depended on the status of the individuals concerned.

Adultery was always considered the worst of all possible offenses between husband and wife because it put

the children's parentage under a cloud of doubt and thus undermined the family's continuity. Punishment for wifely adultery could be death, not only for her but also for her lover if he were caught. Note that in Hammurabi's code, adultery as a legal concept was limited to the wife's acts. The husband's sexual activity with slave girls or freeborn concubines, as he saw fit, was taken for granted. The double standard has existed since the beginnings of history.

Marriage was always arranged by the two families; something so important could never be left to chance attraction. A great many of the clay tablets dug up in Mesopotamian ruins deal with marital contracts. Some of them were made when the bride and groom were still babies. Such early arrangements were especially common for girls, who normally were considerably younger at marriage than their husbands.

Marriage usually involved the exchange of bride money and a dowry. Bride money was a payment by the groom's family to the bride's family as specified in the marital contract. The dowry was also specified in the contract and was paid by the bride's family to the groom when the couple began to live together. The dowry remained in the husband's control as long as the marriage lasted. When the wife died, the dowry was distributed among her children, if she had any.

Every ancient culture insisted that brides should be virgins. This was one of the reasons for the early marriage of women. Although many literary works and folktales describe the social condemnation that awaited a woman who lost her virginity before marriage, it is still quite clear that lovemaking between young unmarried persons was by no means unheard of and did not always result in shame. Loss of virginity was regarded as damage to the family's property rather than a moral offense. As such, it could be made good by the payment of a fine. Punishment for seducing a virgin was less severe than for adultery or rape. Some authorities believe that civilizations in the early stages in all areas were more tolerant of nonvirginal marriage for women than were later ones. If premarital relations were followed by marriage, very little fuss was made.

TRADE AND AN EXPANSION OF SCALE

The Sumerians were not the only settlers of the broad plain on either side of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. In fact, they probably were not the first people in those regions. Unlike most of their neighboring tribes, the Sumerians were not members of the **Semitic** (seh-MIH-tic) language family. (*Note:* A language group or family is related by its grammar and sometimes by its vocabulary and alphabet. The Semitic family is one of the major language families in the world and includes Hebrew and Arabic as well as many others.)

By 3000 BCE, the Sumerians had extended their domain upriver into Semite-inhabited regions, as far as

the future city of Babylon. Trade grew rapidly, not only between food-growing villages and the towns but also with Semitic-speaking communities scattered for hundreds of miles along the banks of the rivers. Out of these, large towns grew, with neighborhoods of craftspeople, merchants, and laborers. Sumerian civilization took root and matured among these so-called *barbarians* (a Greek word simply meaning people who speak a different language and are supposedly inferior).

In the period of Sumerian greatness (to about 2000 BCE), political development never exceeded that of warring city-states. So, ironically, it was their Semitic-speaking stepchildren—the Akkadians, the Babylonians, and the Assyrians—who unified Mesopotamia and expanded the reach of Mesopotamian civilization over a considerably wider region than anything the Sumerians had ever imagined.

In the earliest days of Mesopotamian trade, Sumerian cities depended on importing basic materials like obsidian, wood, and later copper and more exotic goods from regions both east and west of the Tigris-Euphrates valleys. Mesopotamian trade eventually extended across a broad expanse that stretched from the Indus Valley in modern-day Pakistan (Chapter 3) to the Nile Valley and the lands bordering the eastern Mediterranean. Scholars think that this region comprised the earliest global trade network in world history.

Eventually, in many places where Sumerian commercial tentacles reached, Sumerian culture followed. Many centuries after the passing of Sumeria's greatness, its cuneiform system of writing and its literature continued to be the foundation of Mesopotamian culture. Epics like *Gilgamesh* remained popular, and the Creation account in the Hebrew book of Genesis originated in Mesopotamia, quite likely from as far back as Sumerian times.

SUCCESSORS TO SUMERIA

After the conquest of Sumeria by Sargon of Akkad, nomadic peoples eager to enjoy the fruits of civilized life subjected Mesopotamia to a long series of foreign invasions and conquests. These barbaric nomads generally adopted the beliefs and values of those they conquered. After the Akkadians, the most important of them were as follows, in sequence:

1. The **Amorites**, or *Old Babylonians*, were a Semitic people who conquered the plains under their great emperor Hammurabi in the 1700s BCE.
2. The **Hittites** were an Indo-European group of tribes who came out of modern-day Turkey and constructed an empire there that reached as far into the east and south as the Zagros Mountains and Palestine. The first people to smelt iron, the Hittites were

a remarkable group who took over the river plain about 1500 BCE. They were skilled administrators and established the first multiethnic state, which worked fairly well.

3. After the Hittites fell to unknown invaders about 1200 BCE, the Assyrians gradually rose to power around 900 BCE, operating from their northern Mesopotamian center at Nineveh. We will discuss the imperial Assyrian Period from about 800–600 BCE in Chapter 4.
4. The **Hebrews** were another important Semitic people. According to the Hebrew Bible, or the **Tanakh** (the “Old Testament” in the Christian Bible), they originated in Mesopotamia. After centuries of wandering, they settled in Canaan, or Palestine (see Chapter 5).
5. Finally, after a brief period under the *New Babylonians* (or *Chaldees*, as the Old Testament calls them), the plains fell to the mighty *Persian Empire* in the 500s BCE and stayed under Persian (Iranian) rule for most of the next thousand years (see Chapter 5).

THE DECLINE OF MESOPOTAMIA IN WORLD HISTORY

The valley of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers ceased to be of central importance in the ancient world after the Persian conquest. The Persians did not choose to make their capital there, nor did they adopt the ideas and the cultural models of their new province, as all previous conquerors had. The Persians were already far advanced beyond barbarism when they conquered Mesopotamia and perhaps were not so easily impressed.

Various problems contributed to the decline of Mesopotamia, but it is certain that it proceeded in part due to one of the first known examples of long-term environmental degradation. Significantly, the cities' food supply declined as the irrigated farms of the lower plains no longer produced abundant harvests. Thanks to several thousand years of salt deposits from the evaporated waters of the canals and ditches, the fields—unrenewed by fertilizers and exposed to a gradually harshening climate of sandstorms and great heat—were simply not capable of producing as much as the population needed. The once-thriving city-states and rich fields were gradually abandoned, and the center of power and culture moved elsewhere.

Mesopotamia slowly receded into the background of civilized activities from the Persian conquest until the ninth century CE, when for a time it became the political and spiritual center of the far-flung world of Islam. But it was not until the mid-twentieth century, with the coming of the Oil Age, that the area again became a vital world center.

SUMMARY

SOON AFTER THE GREAT THAW that came at the end of the last Ice Age, the first Neolithic villages and small towns sprouted up in the Levantine Corridor. Soon this new way of life spread to northern Mesopotamia. Sometime around the middle of the fourth millennium BCE, mutually dependent agglomerations of agriculturalists and skilled trades that we call towns and cities were founded in Mesopotamia, when an Asian people, the Sumerians, created them.

Originally headed by a theocratic priesthood and later by warrior-kings, the Sumerian city-states left their

various successors a rich variety of new techniques and viewpoints, including the load-bearing wheel, the first sophisticated writing system, an accurate chronology and mathematics, and impressive architectural skills. Their religion seems harsh and pessimistic to us now, but it apparently reflected their perceptions of the dangerous world around them, in which natural and man-made disasters were common and the gods cared little for their human slaves.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Babylon
city-states

cuneiform
Epic of Gilgamesh

Fertile Crescent
Hammurabi's law code
Hebrews
Hittites
Levantine Corridor
Mesopotamia
Natufians

patriarchy
polytheism
Semitic
Sumeria
Tanakh
theocracy
ziggurats

For Further Reflection

1. Explain why channel irrigation would have been crucial to Mesopotamian agriculture.
2. Give a narrative explanation as to why population growth would have encouraged people to create urban settlements.
3. Why would large-scale urban life have necessitated the concentration of power in the hands of temple priests and kings?
4. Can you think of any reasons why Mesopotamian civilization evolved over the centuries from city-states to small empires?
5. What factors might have encouraged the creation of written law codes like that of King Hammurabi?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The founders of ancient Mesopotamian civilization were the
 - a. Sumerians.
 - b. Amorites.
 - c. Semites.
 - d. Babylonians.
 - e. Hittites.
2. The Tigris and Euphrates rivers were important to Mesopotamians primarily because
 - a. they kept out potential raiders.
 - b. they made irrigation possible.
 - c. they drained off the water from the frequent storms.
 - d. they brought the people together.
 - e. they provided transportation to the sea.

3. The Mesopotamian ziggurat was a
 - a. military fort.
 - b. temple of worship.
 - c. household shrine.
 - d. royal palace.
 - e. burial tomb.
4. Pictographs are a form of writing that
 - a. uses pictures and words.
 - b. uses agreed-upon signs to make pictures.
 - c. puts abstract ideas into pictorial form.
 - d. uses pictures of material objects to form meanings.
 - e. uses conventional signs to designate parts of speech.
5. Mesopotamians considered their gods to be
 - a. about equal in power.
 - b. the creators of people and the universe.
 - c. responsive to human needs and wants.
 - d. disembodied spirits.
 - e. always concerned with the well-being of human beings.
6. The *Epic of Gilgamesh* deals with the
 - a. struggle between good and evil.
 - b. details of death and the afterlife.
 - c. proof of the existence of gods.
 - d. conflict between men and women.
 - e. conflict between humans and the gods.
7. The law code of King Hammurabi
 - a. ensured equal treatment for all offenders.
 - b. was the first law code ever written.
 - c. used fines and financial punishments exclusively.
 - d. ordered punishments in accord with the social rank of the offender.
 - e. dealt mainly with matters of business.
8. In the Sumerian and later government in Mesopotamia,
 - a. theocracy succeeded the rule of kings.
 - b. a warrior aristocracy was the rule from the beginning.
 - c. a monarchy succeeded the rule of priests.
 - d. the common people always had the last word.
 - e. kings and priests usually worked together to create laws.
9. Becoming enslaved in Mesopotamia was most often the result of which of the following causes?
 - a. Commission of crime or personal violence
 - b. Being a prisoner of war or in debt
 - c. Blasphemy
 - d. Rebellion
 - e. Defiance of the gods
10. A major reason for the decline of Mesopotamia in importance after the Persian conquests seems to have been
 - a. an environmental change.
 - b. unceasing warfare among the Persians.
 - c. the conquest of the area by barbarians.
 - d. the technological lag from which the area had always suffered.
 - e. an alteration in trade routes which drew people elsewhere.



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Early Africa and Egypt

AFRICAN GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATES

AFRICA'S NEOLITHIC REVOLUTION

The Bantu Expansion into Subequatorial Africa
Early Civilizations of the Nile Valley
The Land and People of Egypt

THE PHARAOH: EGYPT'S GOD-KING

Government Under the Pharaoh
The Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and New Kingdom

CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Philosophy, Religion, and Eternal Life
Trade and Egypt's Influence on Africa
Kush and Meroe

AFRICA IS A HUGE PLACE—the second largest of the world's continents—and the chief characteristic of its history is its variety. Most of its several different climates and topographies have produced civilizations of various levels of sophistication. More than elsewhere, Africa has repeatedly demonstrated that racial categorization has little meaning generally and even less so as a way of explaining the successes or failures of peoples all over the world in their struggles to achieve better lives and to create distinctive civilizations. Rather than race, the natural environment in which people live and their location on routes of trade and travel have usually proved to be the more decisive factors in their history.

AFRICAN GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATES

The African continent rises from the surrounding waters like an inverted saucer, with its coastal lowlands quickly giving way to deserts (in the north, northwest, and southwest), inland plateaus, and to highlands and mountains (in the east and southeast) that dominate the vast interior (see Map 3.1). A coastal strip along the Mediterranean Sea rises sharply to meet the Atlas mountain range, while the enormous Sahara Desert divides the continent into its North African and sub-Saharan components. The coastal areas stretching from modern-day Liberia to Angola are marked by rain forest, which restricted travel to the rivers until recent times.

Where the great rivers of the eastern interior flow from high grasslands of the interior to low-lying coasts, tremendous waterfalls and rapids block human

They [Egyptian priests] have told me that 341 generations separate the first King of Egypt from the last. Reckoning three generations as a century . . . a total of 11,340 years.

—Herodotus, *Histories*, Book II

8000–3000 BCE	Food-producing revolution in Africa
c. 4000–3000 BCE	Nile Valley village-based civilizations
c. 3100–2200 BCE	Egypt's Old Kingdom
2500–1000 BCE	Desiccation of the Sahara begins; first permanent settlements south of the Sahara
c. 2600–2100 BCE	Pyramid-building age
c. 2200–2100 BCE	First Intermediate Period
c. 2100–1650 BCE	Middle Kingdom
c. 1650–1570 BCE	Second Intermediate Period
1500s BCE	Hyksos invasion
c. 1550–770 BCE	New Kingdom
c. 1550–1250 BCE	The Empire
1300s BCE	Akhnaton's monotheist experiment Tutankhamen
525 BCE	Egypt's conquest by Persia
c. 1500 BCE–350 CE	Kingdom of Kush
c. 500 BCE	Iron making at Meroe and Nok Beginnings of sub-Saharan urbanization

travel and transport. The inland plateaus and rolling country could, until recently, be reached only after a dangerous and lengthy overland journey from the eastern coast. Long reaches of the continent's Atlantic coast lack good harbors, and heavy surf makes the open beaches unusable by small craft almost everywhere except the Mediterranean. The coastal lands on the eastern side of the continent—those facing the Indian Ocean—however, have many excellent natural harbors that have served as places of trade and settlement for at least 2,000 years, as we shall see.

Although geography plays a major role, part of the reason for Africa's interior isolation is climate. The continent is divided into five climatic and vegetative zones (see Map 3.1). One of these, the desert, has been unsuited to sedentary life for any concentrated number of people, and a second part, the Sahel or Sudan, is frequently afflicted with extreme droughts. Perhaps 55 to 65 percent of the total area falls into one of these categories, in which sustenance for humans was (and is) difficult.

The five zones are as follows:

1. The Mediterranean and extreme southern coasts lie outside the tropical zones and enjoy temperate weather and good soil.
2. The Sahel, or the dry, mainly treeless steppes (semi-arid grass-covered plains between the desert and the savanna) that cross Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans.
3. The deserts, of which the enormous and growing Sahara is the chief but not the only one, the others being the Namib and Kalahari deserts of the southwest.
4. The rain forest, which extends on either side of the equator in the west and center.
5. The savanna (the grassland regions of the interior plateaus) are mainly south of the Sahara Desert, north of the rain forest in West Africa, and in most of East, Central, and South Africa.

Depending on the climatic zone where they lived, the various peoples of Africa developed different ways of life. For most of its history, the Mediterranean coast has been closely linked to Europe and the Middle East. Egypt was almost a land unto itself in its isolated but benevolent Nile Valley (see below). In the center and west, the rain forest's infestation by the tsetse fly (the cause of sleeping sickness) and the presence of a multitude of other diseases has hindered large-scale development almost to the present time. In the Sahara desert, nomadic pastoralism and small-scale oasis agriculture were the only possible lifestyles in historical times, and vast areas were left uninhabited. The Sahel steppe land could only support a pastoral economy. Beyond the coastal strip, only the equatorial rain forests and the savannas of the west and the eastern plateaus had reasonably good soil and precipitation sufficient to sustain crop agriculture and village life.

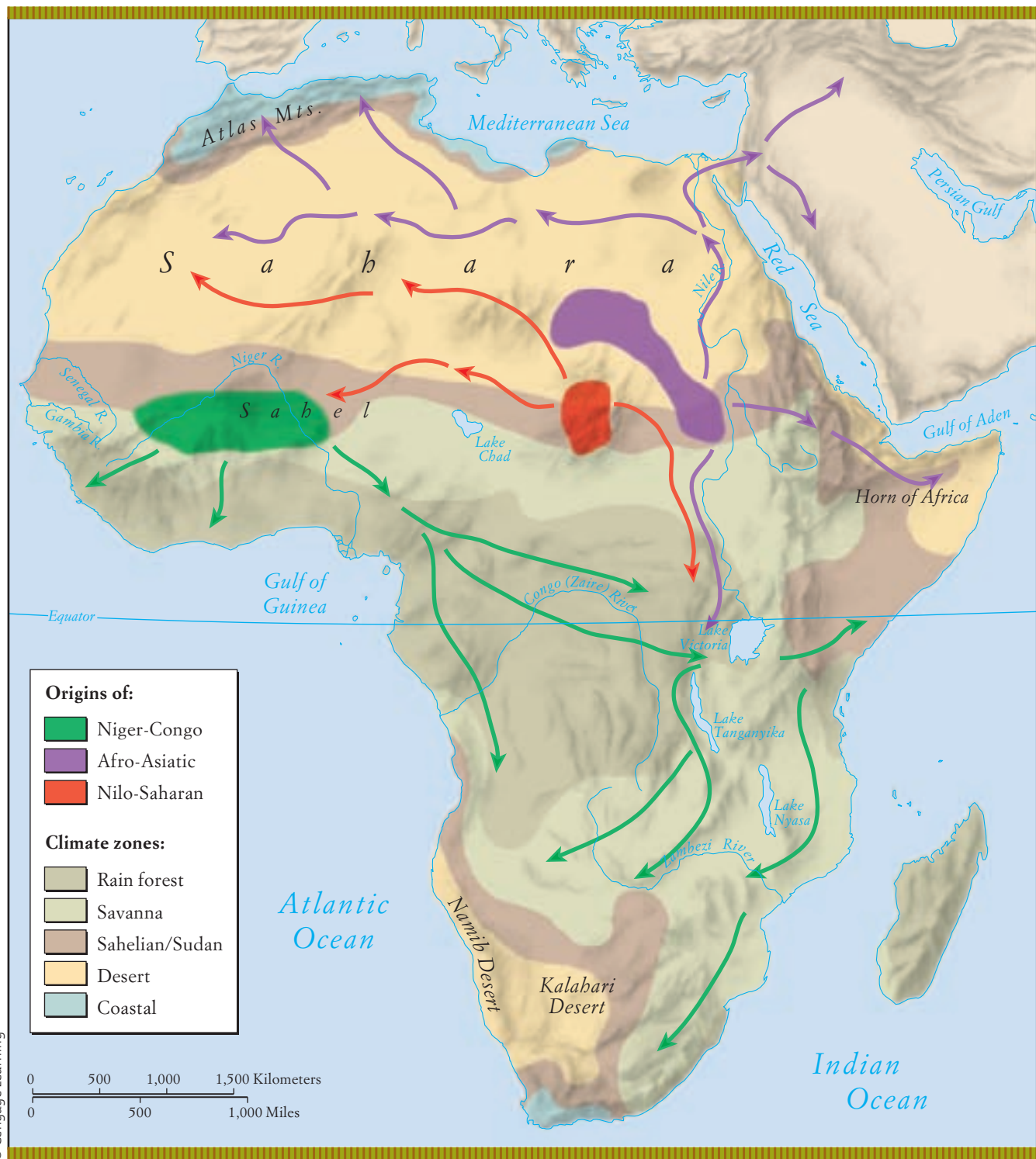
AFRICA'S NEOLITHIC REVOLUTION

Paleoclimatologists have determined that, between 11,000 and 3000 BCE, Africa entered a period of much higher rainfall levels than today; consequently, grassy steppe lands, woodlands, and abundant lakes and rivers covered what was a “wet” Sahara. As far as human populations went, evidence from historical linguistics, archaeology, and rock paintings reveal that three separate groups of ancient Africans introduced somewhat different ways of producing food in the Sahara between 9000 and 5500 BCE. We do not know what they called themselves, but linguists have identified them by the languages they spoke. (See the Evidence of the Past box.)

Two of these groups, called the **Nilo-Saharan speakers** and the **Afro-Asiatic speakers**, originally inhabited the Nile River valley, far south of what later became Egypt (see Map 3.1). Prior to the wet phase, they had survived as typical hunters and gatherers, but the wet phase brought with it an abundance of wild fauna and seed grasses, which enabled them to spread westward and southward from the Nile Valley; eventually, they occupied most of the Sahara. (Around 10,000 to 11,000 BCE many of them crossed the Sinai Peninsula and became known as the Semites—the people who spoke Akkadian, Arabic, Aramaic, and Hebrew.) In the ninth millennium, they domesticated cattle. Within about a thousand years, they began using stone pottery and cultivating indigenous seed crops like sorghum, pearl millet, and fonio. By 5500, they had added watermelons, gourds, calabashes, and cotton to their crop inventories. Those who lived along the banks of rivers and lakes largely abandoned hunting in favor of settling in permanent communities of fishers and farmers.

Niger-Congo speakers, the third group, inhabited the southern Sahara woodlands West Africa during the wet phase. There, around the sixth millennium BCE, they converted to farming native varieties of yams and rice; soon they supplemented these staples with guinea fowl and oil palm, which they used to make palm wine. In addition, they cultivated the raffia palm because they could weave its bark into an exceptionally fine textile. In later centuries, these Niger-Congoans added black-eyed peas, okra, groundnuts, and kola (used in a beverage) to their crops.

The period after 5500 saw a slow reversal of the climatic trends of the previous 3,500 years, and by the late Pre-Common Era the Sahara had reverted to desert. This set off a steady drift of peoples southward and northward. Some descendants of the Afro-Asians, the Berbers, altered their lifestyle to farming the desert fringes or to desert nomadism. Other Afro-Asians and Nilo-Saharans continued to farm and fish along the riverbanks and shores of surviving lakes. Still others wandered southward into the highlands of Ethiopia or along East Africa's two rift valleys, settling into a way of life that emphasized cattle



MAP 3.1 The African Continent and Egypt

Africa, the second-largest continent, has a highly diverse geography and climate. This map shows the five major subdivisions of climate and vegetation. The enormous Sahara Desert divides the continent into its North African and sub-Saharan components.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

While the text mentions three major language families of Africa, what was the fourth one?

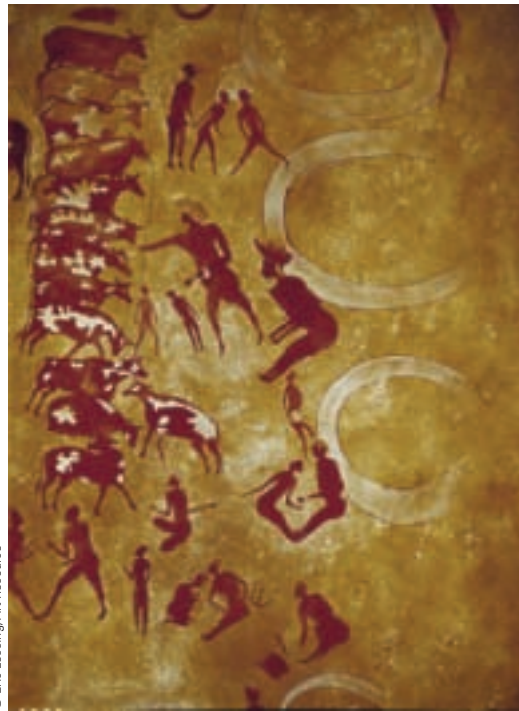
Historically, this fourth group's known descendants have continued to live as hunters and gatherers. Why do you suppose their descendants survive as a separate (or fourth) language group only in the Kalahari Desert of South Africa?

pastoralism supplemented by the continued farming of cereals like teff (Ethiopia) and finger millet.

The Bantu Expansion into Subequatorial Africa

With the spread of desert conditions, the ancient Niger-Congoans also moved southwards into the savannas of West Africa. Furthermore, as skilled boatbuilders, they could easily navigate the numerous rivers and streams of the rain forest. With the use of polished stone axes, they cleared openings in the forest and continued living in large communities and cultivating their yam gardens. One subgroup in particular, the **Bantu speakers**, profited from these technologies to begin a steady expansion south and east from the general region of present-day Nigeria and Cameroon in West Africa, through the rain forest of the Congo basin. About 1000 BCE, they emerged from the forest into the drier savannas that lay to the south of the river basin and to the west of Lake Victoria. Around this time, they acquired iron technology and learned to breed livestock and grow grain crops (most likely from Nilo-Saharan), which did better than yams in the grasslands. These innovations helped them enlarge their numbers, primarily through natural increase and the absorption of other peoples. By these means, they succeeded in establishing a series of small kingdoms that stretched across eastern, central, and southern Africa; and by 400 CE, they had reached the southern tip of the continent in present-day South Africa.

The bulk of the Bantu-speaking inhabitants of central, eastern, and southern Africa are thought to be the descendants of these migrants. As the Bantu had no written language and built few monuments that have survived, most of what we know about this process has been inferred from archaeological and linguistic research. Only when they reached the Indian Ocean and built the port cities of the Swahili coast do we learn more than that they had created kingdoms dependent on agriculture and trade in the interior. Some of these states and kingdoms existed when the Portuguese arrived in the 1500s, and accounts of Portuguese travelers yield valuable information that supplements what archaeological and linguistic data provide. We cover these developments in Chapter 17.



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SAHARAN ROCK PAINTING. This rock art from Tassili n'Ajjer in the central Sahara shows women and children tending cattle. The white ovals represent their huts. This indicates that cattle pastoralism originated in what is now desert.

Early Civilizations of the Nile Valley

After 5500 BCE, the Afro-Asians who migrated further down the Nile Valley (i.e., towards the Mediterranean Sea) settled as farmers along its floodplain. It was they who were the ancestors of the ancient Egyptians. In time, they abandoned growing native African sorghum and millets in favor of wheat and barley, which they obtained from their Semitic-speaking relatives in Palestine and Mesopotamia. By 5000 BCE, the first villages appeared along the Nile's banks, and initially these first Afro-Asiatic-speaking settlers lived by a combination of river fishing and growing wheat and barley. A thousand years later, their descendants had cleared the Nile floodplain, and several late Neolithic states competed for control over a region that stretched from the delta in the north (called Lower Egypt), southwards to the first cataract (called Upper Egypt). Later still,

the southern borders were extended to the third cataract, into Nubia.

Much like Mesopotamia, Egypt was unified only gradually. By the middle of the fourth millennium BCE, three kingdoms had emerged as the main players for political leadership in the Upper Nile Valley: Nekhen, Naqada, and This. Around 3100 BCE, after a centuries-long effort at unification through diplomacy and conquest, these tiny Nilotic states came under the control of the king of This, a **pharaoh** (FAYR-oh, meaning "from the great house"). He ruled in the name of the falcon god, **Horus**, who symbolized the forces of order. Egyptian traditions claimed that this first pharaoh was named Horus-Aha or Menes.

The Land and People of Egypt

Like Mesopotamia, Egypt depended on the waters of a great river system. Egypt is, and has always been, the valley of the Nile—a green strip averaging about thirty miles wide, with forbidding desert hills on either side. The 4,000-mile-long river—the world's longest—originates far to the south, in the lakes of central Africa, and flows north until it empties into the Mediterranean Sea at Alexandria.

Unlike the unpredictably flooding Tigris and Euphrates, the Nile is a benevolent river, and without it, life in

PATTERNS OF BELIEF



THE EGYPTIAN HYMN TO THE NILE

Often called “The Gift of the Nile,” more than anything else, Egypt owed all life, all existence, to the Nile River. As the bringer of life, little wonder that Egyptians not only made a god of the river itself, but even attributed gods and goddesses to the river in its several aspects, as seen in this ancient hymn. For example, *Anuket* was the goddess of the river itself; *Khnum* was the god of the source of the river and Anuket’s husband; while *Satis* was the goddess of the flood. Other gods mentioned in the poem include *Ra*, the universal god who subsumed and incorporated all others. *Seb* was the god of earth; *Ptah*, god of the primordial mound from which all life came, represented birth, life, and the renewal of life, like the god *Nepera*. *Maat* did not represent a specific thing, but rather the concepts of order, regularity, rectitude, and justice. (See Philosophy and Religion, below.)



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EGYPTIAN IRRIGATION. Life in rural Egypt preserves many of the habits and simple peasant technologies of its ancient past. Channel irrigation, maintained by farmers making use of the simplest hand implements (as seen here), goes back at least 4,000 years.

Hail to thee, O Nile! Who manifests thyself over this land, and comes to give life to Egypt! Mysterious is thy issuing forth from the darkness, on this day whereon it is celebrated! Watering the orchards created by [Ra], to cause all the cattle to live, you give the earth to drink, inexhaustible one! Path that descends from the sky,

loving the bread of Seb and the first-fruits of Nepera, You cause the workshops of Ptah to prosper!

Lord of the fish, during the inundation, no bird alights on the crops. You create the grain, you bring forth the barley, assuring perpetuity to the temples. If you cease your toil and your work, then all that exists is in anguish. If the gods suffer in heaven, then the faces of men waste away.

.....

He shines when He issues forth from the darkness, to cause his flocks to prosper. It is his force that gives existence to all things; nothing remains hidden for him. Let men clothe themselves to fill his gardens. He watches over his works, producing the inundation during the night. The associate of Ptah ... He causes all his servants to exist, all writings and divine words, and that which He needs in the North.

It is with the words that He penetrates into his dwelling; He issues forth at his pleasure through the magic spells. Your unkindness brings destruction to the fish; it is then that prayer is made for the (annual) water of the season; Southern Egypt is seen in the same state as the North. Each one is with his instruments of labor. [No one] remains behind his companions. None clothes himself with garments, The children of the noble put aside their ornaments.

The night remains silent, but all is changed by the inundation; it is a healing-balm for all mankind. Establisher of justice [Maat]! Mankind desires you, supplicating you to answer their prayers; You answer them by the inundation! Men offer the first-fruits of corn; all the gods adore you! The birds descend not on the soil. It is believed that with your hand of gold you make bricks of silver! But we are not nourished on lapis-lazuli; wheat alone gives vigor.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

The Nile is personified in the poem in several ways and with several names, all in conjunction with each other. How do you interpret this? What does the author have to say about ritual and sacrifice? What does she infer about the connection between the River and order and justice (Maat)?

Source: Oliver J. Thatcher, ed., *The Library of Original Sources, Vol. I: The Ancient World* (Milwaukee: University Research Extension Co., 1907), 79–83. From the Internet Ancient History Sourcebook.

Egypt would have been unthinkable. In contrast to the Tigris, the Nile would annually swell gently in late summer until it overflowed its low banks and spread out over the valley floor, carrying with it a load of extremely fertile silt. Two or three weeks later, the flood would subside, depositing the silt to renew the valley with a fresh layer of good topsoil. The Egyptians trapped receding waters in a series of small reservoirs connected to an intricate system of gated ditches, which would later convey the water into the surrounding fields for irrigation.

The Egyptian population was composed overwhelmingly of peasants, who lived in the villages that crowded along the Nile. Most were free tenant farmers, working on the estates of large landholders or government officials who had been granted the land as payment for services to the crown. Each village followed a similar pattern: The houses were set close together within, and the fields lay outside. Farm life was possible only on the Nile's floodplain, so fields and villages alike were seldom located more than a few hundred yards from the riverbanks. Each day, the peasants would go out to work in the fields, care for the irrigation works, or tend the animals. As agrarian farmers, their implements were simple, typically fashioned by themselves or village craftsmen from materials available to them in their natural surroundings. There was little mechanization, so all farm work was labor intensive; the sweat of humans or animals was the only energy source available to perform essential chores like digging or repairing channels, turning the soil, planting, weeding, and harvesting.



© Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

EGYPTIAN PEASANTS. Agriculture was the foundation of Egypt's great wealth. The overwhelming majority of the population were peasant farmers who made the land productive and built the system of channel irrigation with simple hand tools like those in this picture. Here they can be seen winnowing grain.

As in Mesopotamia and other agrarian civilizations, Egypt's peasants had an intimate relationship with their natural environment that had grown from centuries of experience working it, making it productive, and passing on their accumulated understanding to their descendants. Soil, plants, insects, and animal life were known and exploited for all the life-giving secrets they held. Equally crucial to their success was the protection strong governments afforded them and the regularity of the seasonal cycles they could count on for making farming dependable and predictable. Above all, it was this regularity and predictability of all that man and nature could provide that was the secret of Egyptian civilization. It was such an important principle that Egyptians personified it as a goddess named **Maat** (MAHT; see Philosophy, Religion, and Eternal Life below).

THE PHARAOH: EGYPT'S GOD-KING

As was true of most early civilizations, the Egyptians' religious beliefs reflected their environment to a considerable degree, and the fully developed religion had an enormous impact on the nature of their government.

The period from 3100 to about 1000 BCE was Egypt's foundation period and the time of its greatest triumphs and cultural achievements. During these centuries, the land was ruled by an unbroken line of native Egyptian divine kings who apparently faced no serious threats either inside or outside their domain.

It is important to recognize that the pharaoh was not *like* a god. Instead, he *was* a god—a god who chose to live on Earth among his favored people for a time. From the moment that his days-long coronation ceremony was completed, he was no longer a mortal man. He had become immortal, a reincarnation of the god of order, Horus. His was not an easy life: He was surrounded by constant protocol and ceremony to protect him from profane eyes and spiritual pollution. The pharaoh's will was law, and his wisdom made him all knowing. What he desired was, by definition, correct and just. What he did was the will of the almighty gods, speaking through him as one of them. His regulations must be carried out without question. Otherwise, the gods might cease to smile on Egypt. His wife and family—especially his son who would succeed him—shared to some degree in this celestial glory, but only the reigning pharaoh was divine.

Government Under the Pharaoh

The pharaoh governed through a group of officials, composed mainly of noble landowners and temple priests, who were responsible to him but who were granted great local powers. In his human and divine aspects, the pharaoh was *directly* responsible for the welfare of Egypt. This meant

that, as king, he had to provide effective administration to protect his subjects, maintain order, and even direct their productive efforts—for example, by seeing to it that the irrigation system was built and maintained and by informing the farmers of impending seasonal changes. As a divinity, he was the mystical embodiment of the land and the people. His good relations with the gods assured prosperity and prevented natural catastrophes like droughts, insect infestations, and epidemics. When a weak pharaoh came to the throne, the prestige of the central authority could—and occasionally did—break down, and everyone suffered.

There were two short intervals in Egypt's long history when the pharaoh's powers were seriously diminished: in the so-called Intermediate Periods of 2200–2100 BCE and 1650–1570 BCE. The causes of the first breakdown remain unclear, but it was due partly to the pharaohs' loss of control over the governors of the southernmost provinces (called *nomes*: NOH-mays). The second of these periods is known to have been triggered by the invasion of the mysterious **Hyksos** (HICK-sohs) people, who crossed the Sinai Peninsula and conquered the Nile delta. In both cases, a new native Egyptian dynasty appeared within a century and reestablished effective central government. The monarchy's grip on the loyalties of the people was sufficient so that it could reform the government in the same style, with the same values and officials as before.

What enabled the pharaoh to retain such near-magical power over his subjects for so long? For almost 2,000 years, the belief in the divinity of the king (or queen—there were at least three female pharaohs) persisted, as did the conviction that Egypt was specially favored and protected by the gods, whose favor, Egyptians thought, was assured by the pharaoh and his priests. However, this was equally the result of the happy situation that Egypt enjoyed through climate and geography. Nature provided, as nowhere else, a perpetual agricultural abundance, making Egypt the only place in the known world at that time to be able to export grain surpluses. Furthermore, for 3,000 years of civilized life, until about 1000 BCE, Egypt was only rarely touched by war and foreign invasion. Until the Empire Period, no regular army—that great eater of taxes—was necessary.

The Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and New Kingdom

It has long been customary to divide Egypt's ancient history into *dynasties* (periods of monarchic rule by one family). In all, there were thirty-one dynasties, beginning with the legendary Narmer and ending with the dynasty that fell to the Persian invaders in 525 BCE. The greatest were those of the pyramid-building epoch and those of the Empire—about 1500–1300 BCE. The dynasties are traditionally grouped under three kingdoms: Old, Middle, and New.

Old Kingdom. The **Old Kingdom** (3100–2200 BCE), which extended from Narmer to the *First Intermediate*

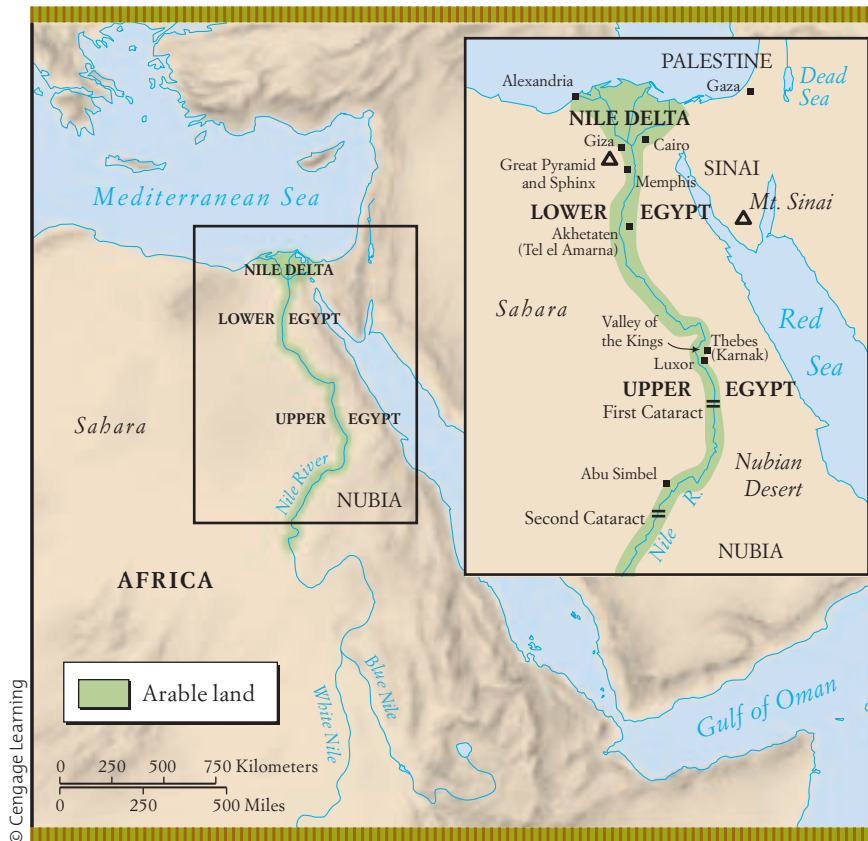
Period, was ancient Egypt's most fertile and successful era. During these 900 years, both form and content were perfected in most of those achievements that made Egypt remarkable: art and architecture, divine monarchy, religion, social and economic stability, and prosperity. The pharaohs of this epoch governed from Memphis and seem to have been unchallenged leaders who enjoyed the willing loyalty and labor of their people. This was the period that saw the construction of Egypt's greatest monuments to the pharaohs, the pyramids of Giza. Later cultural and intellectual developments were almost always only a slight variation or a deterioration of the pattern established during the Old Kingdom.

Middle Kingdom. The **Middle Kingdom** (2100–1650 BCE) followed the First Intermediate Period with 500 years of political stability and the continued refinement of the arts and crafts. The country under the pharaoh's rule was extended further up the Nile to the south. Trade with neighbors, including Mesopotamia, Phoenicia (Lebanon), Crete, and Nubia (see Map 3.2), became more extensive. The condition of the laboring poor in the hundreds of Nile-side villages seems to have gradually worsened, however. Religion became more democratic in its view of who could enter the afterlife, and a small middle class of officials and merchants began to make itself apparent.

New Kingdom. The **New Kingdom** (1550–700 BCE) is also called the *Empire*, although the name really belongs only to its first three centuries (1550–1250). The New Kingdom began after the defeat of the Hyksos invaders in the 1500s (the *Second Intermediate Period*). It lasted through the years of imperial wars against the Hittites and others for control of Mesopotamia, which ended with Egyptian withdrawal. Then came long centuries of sporadic weakness and resurgence that ended with the Egyptian civilization's permanent conquest by foreigners.

The Empire was an ambitious experiment in which the Egyptians attempted to convert their eastern neighbors to their lifestyle and government theory. However, no one else was able to understand the Egyptian view of life or wanted it to be imposed on them. The Empire did not last because of both military reversals, starting around the time of Pharaoh **Akhnaton** (Akh-NAH-tun: 1300s BCE), and internal discontent. By 1100, the pharaoh again ruled only the Nile Valley.

During their last 300 years of independent existence, the Egyptians were frequently subjected to foreign invasion, both over the Sinai Desert and from the south, by way of the great river. Before the Persians arrived in 525, others such as the Kushites (KUHSH-ites) and the Assyrians had invaded repeatedly. But even after the Persian conquest, which marked the real end of ancient Egypt's existence as an independent state, the life of ordinary people in the fields and orchards saw no real change. Only the person to whom taxes and rents were paid was different. The cultural forms and beliefs of the inhabitants were by now so deeply rooted that no foreign overlord could alter them.

**MAP 3.2 Ancient Egypt and the Nile**

The first tourist to leave an account of Egypt was the Greek Herodotus in the fifth century BCE. He called Egypt “the gift of the Nile,” a phrase that still describes the relationship of the river and the people.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Where did most of Egypt’s village population live? Why was this so? Who do you suppose lived outside the Nile River Valley?

CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS

The wealth of the pharaoh and the willingness and skill of his people allowed the erection of the most stupendous monuments put up by any people or government anywhere: the pyramids and temples of the Old Kingdom. Visitors have marveled at these stone wonders ever since. The Great Pyramid of Khufu (KOO-foo), located a few miles outside present-day Cairo, is easily the largest and grandest commemorative edifice ever built. The pyramids (built between 2600 and 2100 BCE) were designed as tombs for the living pharaohs and were built while they were still alive. Much is still unknown about the pyramids’ true purposes, but the perfection of their construction and the art of the burial chambers show Egyptian civilization at its most impressive.

The pyramids were not the only stone monuments erected along the Nile. In the period around 1300, several warrior-pharaohs celebrated the fame of their empire by erecting enormous statues of themselves and their favored gods—and even larger temples in which to put them. At the Nile sites of *Karnak* and *Tel el Amarna*, some of these still stand. Most losses of artistic and architectural wonders in Egypt have been caused not by time or erosion but by vandalism and organized tomb and treasure robbers over many centuries. All of the pharaohs’ tombs discovered to date, except one, have long since been robbed of the burial treasure interred with the mummies of the

dead god-kings. The exception is that of the famous King **Tutankhamen**—King Tut—whose underground burial chamber was discovered in the early 1920s. Tutankhamen (Too-TAHNK-ah-men; ruled 1347–1339 BCE) died at the age of eighteen without having done anything of consequence during his short reign. The world would probably never have noted him had not the British archaeologist Howard Carter stumbled upon his grave 3,000 years later.

Egyptian monarchic statuary is distinguished by the peculiar combination of graceful and natural lines associated with great dignity and awesomeness. This awe is reinforced by the art and architecture that surround the great statues, which are designed to impress all onlookers with the permanence and power of the Egyptian monarchy. The Egyptians’ mastery of stone is rivaled in Western civilization only by the artistry of the classical Greeks and Romans. And artists and architects who did not know the principle of the wheel and had only primitive tools and what we would consider very clumsy math and physics apparently created most of this art!

Egyptian writing developed differently from that of Mesopotamia. **Hieroglyphics** (high-roh-GLIH-fiks; literally, “sacred carvings”) were pictographs that could convey either an idea, such as “man,” or a phonetic sound, by picturing an object that begins with a strong consonant sound. The word for *owl*, for example, began with the consonant *m* sound in spoken Egyptian, so a picture of an

PATTERNS OF BELIEF



THE EGYPTIAN PRIESTHOOD

With their belief in cyclic time, one of the most important duties of priests in ancient civilizations was devising and maintaining a calendar. Ancient peoples needed it to know when to anticipate crucial events like seasonal changes; the yearly rains or floods; dry seasons; changes in wildlife behavior; and, of course, the unfolding of the annual “liturgical” year when they had to honor certain gods associated with seasonal cycles. They based their calendars on astronomical phenomena and associated specific deities with heavenly events. They combined astronomy with astrology and believed that the constellations not only foretold earthly changes, but caused them.

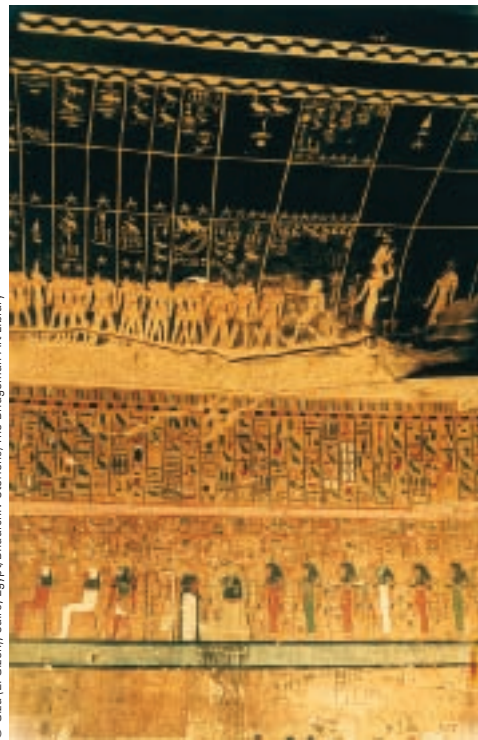


Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

A PRIEST PRAYING TO AN EGYPTIAN GOD. New Kingdom period.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What would have made the priests who mummified and interred Seti I in his tomb paint images of constellations of the northern sky? Could the painting have represented a map of some kind for Seti's soul? The four cardinal directions frequently had symbolic meaning in many ancient cultures. What particular significance could the north have had for a soul?



© Giza (El Gizeh), Cairo, Egypt/Bildarchiv Steffens/The Bridgeman Art Library

EGYPTIAN CONSTELLATION FIGURES. These figures were painted on the ceiling in the sarcophagus chamber of the powerful New Kingdom pharaoh Seti I. They show the stars and constellations of the northern sky.

owl could be used to indicate that sound. This beginning of an alphabet was not fully developed, however. The use of hieroglyphics, which began as far back as 3000 BCE, was confined to a small group of educated people and gradually faded out after Egypt lost its independence in the sixth century BCE. The complete repertory of 604 hieroglyphic symbols is now deciphered, enabling the reading of many thousands of ancient inscriptions.

Philosophy, Religion, and Eternal Life

Egypt's religion was almost infinitely polytheistic. At least 3,000 separate names of gods have been identified in Egyptian writings, many of them the same deities but with different names over the centuries. Chief among them were the gods of the sun, *Amun* (AH-mun) and *Ra* (Rah), who were originally separate but later combined into one being, **Amun-Ra**,



EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS. The Rosetta Stone was discovered by French scientists accompanying Napoleon's army during its occupation of Egypt in the 1790s. It contains three versions of the same priestly decree for the second century BCE: in hieroglyphic Egyptian, demotic (cursive) Egyptian, and Greek. By comparing the three, the brilliant linguist Jean François Champollion was able (in 1822) to finally break the code of hieroglyphic symbols and commence the modern study of the Egyptian language.

and came to represent the embodiment of all the gods. Other important deities included *Anuket* (Ah-NEW-keht), goddess of the Nile and of fertility; *Osiris* (Oh-SIGH-ris), ruler of the afterlife; and *Anubis* (Ah-NEW-bihs), his consort, goddess of the underworld, who weighed the souls (*ka*) of the dead; their son, *Horus* (HAW-ruhs), made visible as the ruling pharaoh; and **Ptah** (similar to thah), who came from the primordial mound under the earth from which all living things emerged. As time passed, Ptah came to represent the rebirth and renewal of all life.

The Egyptians firmly believed in the afterlife. Originally, it seems to have been viewed as a possibility only for the upper class, but gradually the afterlife was democratized. By about 1000 BCE, most Egyptians apparently believed in a scheme of eternal reward or punishment for their *ka*, which had to submit to the moral Last Judgment by Osiris. **Ka** (kah) referred to the life essence that could return to life, given the correct preparation, even after the death of the original physical body.

Once again, it was nature that weighed most heavily not only on how ancient peoples understood earthly phenomena but also on what they imagined the structure of the cosmos to be and the kinds of gods that governed it. For this reason, the gods of the Mesopotamians were capricious and angry (Chapter 2). But in the land that was “the Gift of the Nile”—where Ra, the sun god, shined year in and year out and where Satis, the goddess of the flood, was represented by the *ankh*, the symbol of fertility and life—Egyptians believed order and stability to be a fundamental governing attribute of the cosmos. They incarnated this feature in the goddess Maat (maht).

The impact of natural time, with its circularity, implied that no event, no life, was unique and that all were consigned to endless repetition in a cosmic order that had no beginning or end. While Egyptians did not believe in reincarnation as Hindus did (Chapter 4), they did believe in an afterlife where mortals went to dwell forever after leaving their earthly existence. There, judgment was passed on each soul when it was weighed against the feather of Maat. This was not a judgment that included any notion of morality as modern people would understand it (particularly by those who believe in a monotheistic God), but rather how it weighed against universal order and “rightness.”

Mostly, it seems, Egyptians expected reward. They thought of eternity as a sort of endless procession by the deceased's *ka* through the heavens and the gods' abodes there. In the company of friends and family, watched over by the protective and benevolent gods, the individual would proceed in a stately circle around the sun forever. There was no need to work and no suffering. Such was heaven. The notion of hell as a place where the evil paid for their sins came along in Egypt only during the New Kingdom, when things had begun to go sour.

The priests played an important role in Egyptian culture, although they were not as prominent as in several other civilizations. At times, they seem to have been the power behind the throne, especially when the king had made himself unpopular or was unusually weak in character.

In the reign of the young and inexperienced Akhnaton; 1367–1350 BCE), the priests vehemently opposed a unique experiment: the pharaoh's attempt to change the basic polytheistic nature of Egyptian religion. Why the young Akhnaton (aided by his beautiful wife Nefertiti) chose to attempt to introduce a monotheistic (one-god) cult of the sun god—newly renamed Aton—we can only guess. This attempt at **monotheism** was a great novelty in ancient civilization, and it was not to be heard of again until the emergence of Judaism five or six centuries later. The pharaoh announced that Aton was his heavenly father and that Aton alone was to be worshiped as the single and universal god of all creation. The priests naturally opposed this revolutionary change, and as soon as Akhnaton was dead (possibly by poison), they denounced his ideas and went back to the old ways under boy-pharaoh Tutankhamen.



THE FEATHER OF MAAT. Maat was the embodiment of many things: Among them was truth and justice. A feather represented her, and when artists painted her, she always had a feather in her hair. Egyptians believed that, when a person died, her soul passed into the underworld, where Anubis weighed it against truth, Maat, to determine its fate. In this painting, the *ka*, shown as a heart, is being weighed in the scales against the feather of Maat.

Trade and Egypt's Influence on Africa

As a wealthy land, Egypt needed few imports. But there were some items Egyptians did need to import, and trade provided rare items whose monopoly was an important pillar of the monarchy. Wood was hard to find in a land where every acre of arable land was needed for agriculture, so large-scale projects like palaces, pyramids, and temples required the importation of timber. As early as the Old Kingdom, the pharaohs spent a great deal of time building trade, especially with timber-rich Byblos in Phoenicia, which provided valuable cedar. To the south, successive pharaohs sent expeditions into **Nubia** to obtain ivory and gold. Known to the Egyptians as the “Land of the Bowmen,” Nubia also provided slaves whom Egypt’s generals employed in special auxiliary units of archers in the pharaohs’ powerful armies.

The pharaohs of the Middle and New Kingdoms embarked on ever-more-ambitious campaigns to expand Egypt’s trade throughout southwestern Asia and south of the first cataract, deep into the chiefdoms of Nubia. When bronze technology caught on, pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom extended conquests into the Sinai Peninsula where copper and gold were mined. And when the eastern Mediterranean emerged as an important commercial region (see Chapter 8), Egypt competed fiercely with other kingdoms of southwest Asia to maintain control of its lucrative trade routes. Yet it was trade to the south of Egypt that remained the most valuable to Egypt.

The pharaohs organized naval expeditions to the Land of **Punt**, where there was trade in luxuries like spices, frankincense, myrrh, and gold from India, southern Arabia, and

eastern Africa. The New Kingdom pharaohs pushed their conquests down to the third cataract of the Nile, into the Nubian land of **Kush**. At Thebes, a high court official (the “King’s Son of Kush”) administered Kush as an Egyptian province until 1070 BCE, when it achieved independence. With the might of Egypt weighing on it for so many centuries, it was in Nubia where Egypt’s cultural influence was the most substantial. The population gradually became Egyptianized, its kings ruled in a style redolent of Egypt’s pharaohs, its religion incorporated Egyptian gods, and its royalty were even interred in small pyramids.

Kush and Meroe

Up the Nile (which is actually south) from the lush, irrigated ribbon that is Egypt, the river flows across a series of cataracts (rapids) and makes a huge S-turn through what is now one of the harshest deserts in the world. This region—which the pharaohs never brought under their rule despite numerous attempts—is modern southern Egypt and northern Sudan. In ancient terminology, it was called Nubia. Here there appeared the flourishing civilization of Kush (“cush” as in *cushion*) was an African kingdom that emerged in the fifteenth century BCE and prospered until its overthrow in the fourth century CE. Its original capital was **Kerma**; then, when Assyria conquered Egypt around 900 BCE, the capital was moved further south to Napata (nah-PAH-tah), near the fourth cataract of the Nile. Later still, it was moved to **Meroe** (MEHR-oh-way). Archaeologists, who commenced work there only about seventy years ago, have unearthed the extensive ruins of its cities—especially its last capital at Meroe. The Kushites had a written language. Archaeologists have uncovered Kushite script inscribed on many stone monuments, but it remains undeciphered.

Kush was at once the partner and the rival of the pharaohs in keeping open the busy maritime trade routes that



Martin Gray/National Geographic 1033733

PYRAMIDS AT MEROE. Standing from 50 to 100 feet high, this roofless shrine and its surrounding pyramids are thought to be part of a royal tomb complex in the last of the ancient capitals of the Kushites.

spanned the eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the western reaches of the Indian Ocean. These routes connected the Mediterranean basin with southern Asia. They became increasingly profitable as the Hellenistic and Roman rulers developed a taste for the gold, spices, and aromatics like frankincense and myrrh from East Africa, India, and China.

Egypt exercised a dominant influence on the culture and religion of Kush early in its history. When the capital was moved for the second and final time to Meroe, the kingdom cut most of its ties with Egypt and became increasingly African in character. From the sixth century BCE, Meroe was a major industrial center whose prin-

cipal product was iron, thus making it one of the earliest sub-Saharan sites to show evidence of iron making. Archaeologists have discovered numerous iron-smelting furnaces and large mounds of slag, an industrial by-product of iron making. By the third century BCE, Meroe was at its height. Its strength derived from its grip on the trade coming downriver from the African interior and on the equally important trade with southern Arabia across the Red Sea. The most valuable commodities were gold and slaves, followed by such exotic luxury wares as animal hides, ostrich feathers, spices, ebony, and ivory, all of which were destined for the Mediterranean region or Arabia.

SUMMARY

THE NILE VALLEY PRODUCED A civilized society as early as any in the world, thanks to an unusual combination of favorable climate and geography. Even before the emergence of central government under a god-king called a pharaoh, the farmers along the river had devised an intricate system of irrigated fields that gave Egypt an enviable surplus of food. The unification of the villages was accomplished about 3100 BCE, giving rise to the highly centralized civilization of the Old Kingdom and its awesome monuments celebrating the linkage of Egypt and the protective gods. Aside from the abnormal collapse of central government in the brief Intermediate Periods,

the rulers of Egypt were uniquely successful, maintaining two thousand years of prosperity and isolation from contacts with others, except on their own terms. This success allowed the reigning group to assume a superiority that, although originally justified, gradually became a clinging to tradition for its own sake. When the misguided attempt at empire failed, Egypt faced the challenge of repeated foreign invasions after about 1000 BCE. The divine kings lost their stature, and the static civilization of the Nile fell under the sway of once-disdained aliens from the east and south. The Persian conquest in 525 BCE completed the decline of the pharaohs' state into dependency.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Afro-Asiatic speakers
Akhnaton
Amun-Ra

Bantu speakers
hieroglyphics
Horus

Hyksos
ka
Kerma
Kush
Maat
Middle Kingdom
Meroe
monotheism
New Kingdom

Niger-Congo speakers
Nilo-Saharan speakers
Nubia
Old Kingdom
pharaoh
Ptah
Punt
Tutankhamen

For Further Reflection

1. What conditions enabled the ancient speakers of the Nilo-Saharan and Afro-Asiatic languages to expand from their places of origin into the Sahara?
2. What conditions enabled the ancient speakers of the Niger-Congo languages to expand from their places of origin into the West (then Central) African rain forest?
3. To which of these language families did the ancestors of the ancient Egyptians belong? What other languages were related to the language of the ancient Egyptians?
4. Why do you think the ancestors of the Egyptians abandoned African cereals in favor of wheat and barley?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- Pastoralism seems to have first appeared in Africa in the
 - Mediterranean region.
 - Sahara region.
 - grassland savanna.
 - Sahel.
 - western Horn.
- Altogether, how many language families does Africa have?
 - one
 - two
 - three
 - four
 - five
- We can say with reasonable certainty that between about 9000 and 2000 BCE, the region that included today's Sahara desert
 - was occupied almost entirely by Berber nomads.
 - was inhabited by people who lived almost entirely by fishing.
 - saw greater rainfall levels, plus larger lakes and rivers.
 - had a lower population than today.
 - was inhabited by Nubians.
- An important population movement in Africa was the
 - coming of the Portuguese to colonize the coast.
 - movement of the Pygmies from central to northern Africa.
 - settlement of North Africa by the Tuaregs.
 - drift of Bantu speakers from West Africa to the south and east.
 - settlement of the Sahel by Arab traders.
- The Middle Kingdom was ended in Egypt by
 - the coming of the Hyksos invaders.
 - revolt against the pharaoh Akhnaton.
 - invasion by the Nubians.
 - the Persian conquest.
 - a thirty-year drought.
- Which of the following was true of Egypt's cultural achievements?
 - The use of hieroglyphics eventually gave the Egyptians a complete alphabet.
 - Most of early Egypt's architectural wonders have been destroyed by erosion.
 - The use of the wheel aided the Egyptians' use of stone as art.
 - The pyramids were constructed during the Middle Kingdom.
 - Egypt's great statues were designed to illustrate the power and endurance of the pharaohs.
- The key to understanding ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics was the
 - conquest of Egypt by the Persians and their translations.
 - discovery of the similarities between them and ancient Sumerian writing.
 - translation of the Rosetta Stone.
 - ability of modern linguists, using computers, to compare them with other languages.
 - discovery and translation of a wall of writings in the tomb of King Tutankhamen.
- The pharaoh Akhnaton fostered a
 - belief in a single god.
 - return to traditional religious belief.
 - major reform in landholding and agriculture.
 - major change in government's nature.
 - reverence for Egyptian ancestors.
- Which of the following was least likely to have occurred in Egypt from 3000 to about 1000 BCE?
 - Social rebellion against the government.
 - Drastic change in the prestige of various Egyptian deities.
 - Invasion from outside Egypt.
 - Attempt to extend rule over non-Egyptians.
 - Extensive trade with outside peoples.
- The kingdom of Kush was located in
 - Upper Egypt.
 - Persia.
 - Punt.
 - Lower Egypt.
 - Nub.



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4

India's Beginnings

INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION AND EARLY TRADE

Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa

THE VEDIC EPOCH

The Beginnings of the Caste System

HINDUISM

Daily Life and the Position of Women

BUDDHISM

THE MAURYAN DYNASTY

TRADE AND THE SPREAD OF BUDDHISM

He who worships God must stand distinct from Him, So only shall he know the joyful love of God. For if he say that God and he are one, That joy, that love, shall vanish instantly away.

—“Song of Tukaram”

HOW OLD ARE THE MOST ancient civilizations? Is it possible that the oldest of all are yet to be discovered? Until fairly recently, it was believed that the civilization of India had been founded only some 2,000 years ago—far later than China, Egypt, or Mesopotamia. But in the early twentieth century, archaeologists found that a highly advanced, urbanized civilization had existed since the middle of the third millennium BCE in the valley of the Indus River, in what is now Pakistan. The discovery of this chapter in world history is a dramatic story, and much of the detail is still being pieced together. Enough is known, however, to whet our appetite to know much more, especially about the possible contributions of this civilization to two of the world's leading religious beliefs: Hinduism and Buddhism.

c. 2500–1900 BCE	Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa flourish
c. 1500 BCE	Invasion of Aryans
c. 1500–500 BCE	The Vedic Epoch
563–483 BCE	Life of the Buddha
326 BCE	Invasion by Alexander the Great
320–232 BCE	Mauryan Dynasty

INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION AND EARLY TRADE

As in Mesopotamia and Egypt, the earliest Indian civilization was located in the plain bordering two great streams, the Indus and the Saraswati Rivers. Both flow south and west from the foothills of the Himalayan range, the world's loftiest and most forbidding mountains. The Himalayas are the highest of several ranges that separate India and Pakistan from Tajikistan and China (see Map 4.1).

Archaeologists are still unsure about the precise origins of the **Indus Valley civilization**, but because it was linked with the north and west by trade even before agriculture appeared, Mesopotamian civilization might have influenced its emergence. Farming on the floodplains of the Indus Valley began around

**MAP 4.1 The Indian Subcontinent**

India is a very large and diverse geographic entity, ringed by the Himalayas and other high mountains to the north and northeast. The usual routes of contact with other peoples have been from the northwest and by sea, from both eastern and western directions. Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were part of a highly advanced, urbanized ancient civilization that flourished in the valley of the Indus River before the Aryan invasions.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Examine the map and explain why India is classified as a subcontinent.



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

6000 BCE, and by 4000 BCE the region had a dense population and numerous fortified farming villages. Soil erosion and frequent, violent flooding constantly plagued settled life along these riverbanks, so preplanning was essential. Evidence of flood-control systems and grid-like street layouts show up in the very deepest (earliest) layers in excavations that archaeologists have carried out in early Indus Valley farming sites.

The third millennium BCE saw explosive growth in the region and the enlargement of towns into cities. As in other early civilizations like Mesopotamia and Egypt, Indus Valley civilization rested firmly on the agrarian base of cereals cultivation—dryland crops like wheat, barley, and cotton. But even more than in other civilizations, it seems, the central role of trade was striking, considering its importance and its endurance. Finds in the Indus Valley of items manufactured from cotton, metals, and lapis lazuli show that southwest Asia already had an extensive trade with northwest India by 2600 BCE; and by 2350 BCE, there even existed Indian settlements in southern Mesopotamia. Professional merchants gave this trade a high degree of organization, and it is likely that it had a major impact on the growth and wealth of Indus urban life. In its earliest stages, this trafficking relied chiefly on

land routes, although there was some waterborne trade within the Gulf and along coastal regions of southern Asia. Gradually, sea routes opened into the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, allowing for the expansion of early trade. Eventually, this development placed India at the center of a trade network that linked it with the eastern Mediterranean, East Africa, Arabia, and other parts of Asia.

Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa

At two locations on the Indus River, called *Mohenjo-Daro* (mo-HEN-jo-DAH-ro) and *Harappa* (hah-RAP-pah), archaeologists have found the remnants of large, carefully constructed walls and the cities they enclosed. Each city was more than three miles across and probably housed more than 100,000 people. Many smaller towns and villages have also been found under the dust of centuries, scattered along the Indus and its several tributaries in western India.

The cities and villages were built of fired brick and carefully planned. Streets ran at precise right angles, laid out in precise grid patterns. The main thoroughfares were thirty-four feet wide, large enough to allow two large



INDUS VALLEY JEWELRY. The fine workmanship and imagination exhibited here allow us to draw some conclusions about the state of Indus civilization at this epoch—about 2000–1800 BCE. Some of the precious stones in this jewelry had to have been brought from as far away as China. Discoveries of such manufactures as well as others made from metals and ivory throughout the western Indian Ocean suggest the impact trade had on Indian civilization as early as the third millennium BCE.

carts to pass safely and still leave room for several pedestrians, while smaller avenues were nine feet wide. Many of the buildings had two or even three stories, which was unusual for residences in the ancient world. They were built of bricks that were almost always of two sizes, but only those two. The interior dimensions of the houses were almost identical. A sewage canal ran from each house to a larger canal in the street that carried off household wastes. Small statues of gods and goddesses, almost always of the same size and posture, are frequently found in the house foundations.

All this regularity suggests a government that was very powerful in the eyes of its subjects and possibly gained its authority from religious belief. Some experts on Indus civilization believe that it was a *theocracy* (thee-AH-crah-see), in which the priests ruled as representatives of the gods. In no other way, they think, could the government's power have been strong enough to command residential



Robert Harding Picture Library

RUINS OF MOHENJO-DARO. Systematic excavation commenced in the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro in the late nineteenth century, under the auspices of the British colonial government. It continues today, directed by the Pakistani government. Shown here is the Great Bath, a pool and surrounding cells that clearly existed for ritual bathing. Some have suggested that the emphasis on purification by water in present-day Hinduism may go back to these origins.

uniformity over a period of centuries, as happened in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa.

Both cities also contain monumental buildings—probably a communal granary and the temples of the local gods—situated on a citadel. Harappa differs from Mohenjo-Daro in building style and other details, but the similarities are strong enough that the two cities and the surrounding villages are believed to have probably constituted one civilization, sometimes termed *Dravidian*.

For their food, the cities depended on the irrigated farms of the surrounding plain. Like the people of Egypt, the ordinary people apparently enjoyed a high standard of living for many generations. Although scholars have unearthed a good many works of art and figurines, they have been unsuccessful in decoding Harappan writing. This, as well as the long period during which this civilization was forgotten, has hindered scholars' efforts to obtain a detailed knowledge of the people. We still know next to nothing about their religion, their government, the social divisions of the people, and their scientific and intellectual accomplishments. One thing now seems clear, however: The cities and villages were prosperous, expanding settlements from at least 2500 to about 1900 BCE.

Around 1900 BCE, for reasons still only guessed at, they began a long decline, which ended with the abandonment of Mohenjo-Daro about 1200 BCE and Harappa somewhat later. Some evidence indicates that landslides changed the course of the lower Indus and that a noticeable shift

to cooler and drier conditions prevented the continuation of the intensive farming that had supported the cities. Equally likely, the population may have fallen victim to malaria, as the blocked river created mosquito-ridden swamps nearby. Others think that the irrigated land gradually became alkaline and nonproductive, as happened in lower Mesopotamia.

Whatever the role of natural disasters, it is certain that the decline of the Indus Valley was accelerated when the same Indo-European nomads who created the Persian empire began a series of migrations out of their homelands, somewhere north of the Caspian Sea, into Iran and Afghanistan after 1500 BCE. For many of these Proto-Iranians, this was not the end of their pastoralist wanderings. Some continued their movement south from Afghanistan, through the Khyber Pass, and into the Indus Valley. The name by which these people called themselves was closely related to that of their Iranian cousins to the north, namely the **Aryans** (AYR-yanz).

THE VEDIC EPOCH

These Aryans and their Indo-European-speaking relatives were among the earliest nomadic, horse-breeding people of ancient Asia, and their aggressive ways were the terror of other civilizations besides that of the Indus Valley. Many scholars believe that they overwhelmed the agrarian Indian civilizations and set themselves up as a sort of master group, using the Indians as labor to do the farming and trading that the Aryan warriors despised as inferior.

Our knowledge of the Aryans comes largely from their **Vedas** (VAY-dahs), ancient oral epics that were written down only long after the Aryan invasion. So the pictures the Vedas present may be deceptive. We know that the Aryans worshiped gods of the sky and storm, and made impressive use of bronze weaponry and horse-drawn chariots in battle. (Apparently, the Indus Valley people knew the horse only as a beast of burden and were at a disadvantage against the Aryan chariots.) The **Rigveda** (rig-VAY-dah), the oldest and most important Veda, paints a picture of a war-loving, violent folk, led by their *Raja* (RAH-jah), or chieftain, and their magic-working priests.

The Aryans moved on from the agriculturally played-out Indus Valley, preferring instead better-watered regions to the east and south. In time, the Aryans extended their rule across all of northern India, but centered it on the Ganges River and its tributaries. Gradually, they abandoned their nomadic ways and settled down as agriculturists and town dwellers, just as they had elsewhere. Two factors probably contributed to this: the new iron technology the Aryans introduced, which gave them better tools, and the introduction of rice cultivation from the east, supplemented by pepper and spices, which provided more and better foods for their diet. They never conquered the

southern half of India, and as a result, the southern culture and religion still differ from those of the north in some respects.

The Beginnings of the Caste System

The Vedas describe the beliefs of a warlike people who saw themselves as the natural masters of the inferior Indians and who reinforced their difference by dividing society into four groups, or classes. The two highest classes of priests and warriors were reserved for the Aryans and their pureblooded descendants. The priests were called **Brahmins** (BRAH-mihns) and originally were superior in status to the warriors, who were called *Kshatrija* (shah-TREE-yah) and evolved over time from warriors to the governing class. The third class, the *Vaishya* (VIE-shyah), was probably the most numerous and included freemen, farmers, and traders. In the fourth and lowest group within the system were the peasant farmers, or *Shudra* (SHOO-drah).

Over the long course of the **Vedic Epoch** (over a thousand years, from 1500 to about 500 BCE), these four classes evolved into something more complex by far: multiple social groups defined by birth, or **caste** (pronounced “cast”). A caste is a social unit into which individuals are born and which dictates most aspects of daily life. It confers a status that cannot be changed. Each caste except the very lowest has special duties and privileges, some of which are economic in nature, whereas others are manifested by dietary and marital restrictions. A high-caste Indian normally has very little contact with lower castes and none at all with the outcastes, or *pariahs* (pah-REYE-yahs). Perhaps a seventh of Indian society still falls into this last category—the untouchables—whose members until recently were treated worse than animals.

The stratification of Indian society begun by the Aryan conquest persists to the present day. The Aryans were gradually absorbed into the indigenous Indian peoples through intermarriage with high-status individuals, but the caste system took ever-stronger root. By the eighteenth century CE, there were more than 3,000 separate subcastes, or *jati* (JAH-tee). Although the number has probably declined since then, the belief that one is born into a group that is fixed by age-old traditions and allows no change is still strong among rural Indians.

Throughout Indian history, caste has had the effect of inhibiting any type of change, particularly social change. Why? Combined with the beliefs of Hinduism (see the next section), caste made it next to impossible for someone born into a low state to climb the ranks of social prestige and privilege. It also limited political power to the uppermost ranks. Caste discouraged or prohibited cultural innovation by those in the lower ranks. Meanwhile, those on top were very content to have things go on forever as they were. Under the Aryan-founded caste system, India became a highly stratified and immobile society.

HINDUISM

The religion of the overwhelming majority of Indians is Hinduism, the fourth largest in the world with about one billion adherents. Hinduism is both more and less than a *religion* as the West understands that term: It is a way of life, a philosophical system, an inspiration for art, and the basis of all Indian political theory in the past. But it is not a rigid set of theological doctrines. And it possesses almost innumerable localized variations in manner and content.

In Hinduism's earliest form, this was not the case: Each of the four classes played a rigidly defined role. Vedic (VEH-dik) Hinduism was highly ritualistic and exclusive in nature. The priestly caste—Brahmins—had power by virtue of their mastery of complex ceremonies and their semimagical knowledge of the gods. As in other agrarian civilizations, religious practice was limited to the enactment of highly formal, public rituals that only the priests—the Brahmins in this case—were thought to be competent to direct. Scholars give the name of **Brahminism** to this early form of Hinduism.

Gradually, the more educated people became alienated from this ritual formalism and sought other explanations for the mystery of human fate that allowed them to experience the divine in ways that met their personal spiritual yearnings in more satisfying ways. Following the fifth century BCE, three new modes of thought gradually became established in India: *Jainism* (JEYE-nism), Buddhism, and **Bhakti** (BAHK-tee) **Hinduism**.

Jainism is limited in its historical appeal. It is less a supernatural religion than a philosophy that emphasizes the sacredness of all life. In modern India, the Jains are a small number of high-caste people representing perhaps 2 percent of the total Indian population.

Hinduism retained its caste-based ritual formalism, but gradually a new version called *Bhakti* surfaced. Those who resisted conversion to Buddhism and who remained faithful to the old tradition began apprehending the old Hindu gods in different ways. Rather than remaining as mere abstractions or as capricious super beings demanding worship and sacrifice, these gods steadily assumed more personal attributes that made them more approachable. This change allowed individuals to seek spiritual fulfillment by devoting themselves to individual gods.

In its modern form, the Hindu faith has evolved greatly and is a product of the slow mixing of Brahminism with religions of the earlier agrarian cultures as well as with groups who migrated to the subcontinent in later centuries. Many of Hinduism's basic principles still reflect the patriarchal and class-conscious society that the Aryan conquerors founded. A revealing glimpse at early Hinduism is given by the **Laws of Manu**, excerpted in the Society and Economy box. One's birth family determines his caste, as it does the relationship of men to women and husbands to wives.

But Hinduism is different from the religions of the West in its insistence on the illusory nature of the tangible world



SHIVA IN THE DANCE OF LIFE. One of the great trinity of Hindu deities, Shiva is sometimes portrayed as a female. Shiva is the god who presides over becoming and destroying, representing the Great Wheel of the universe.

and the acceptance of the individual's fate in earthly life. Its most basic principles and beliefs are as follows:

1. The nonmaterial, unseen world is the real and permanent one.
2. The universe works as a Great Wheel, with epochs, events, and lives repeating themselves neverendingly. The individual dies, but the soul is immaterial and undying. So it reincarnates (*samsara*), being born, living, and dying again and again and again as the Great Wheel turns and its karma determines the next caste into which it will pass.
3. Conceptually, **karma** (KAHR-mah) resembles the ancient Egyptian *maat* (Chapter 3)—the notion of order and “rightness” that is built into the structure of the universe. Like *maat*, too, it has a moral dimension: As a soul goes from one life to the next, good and bad deeds committed by an individual in a given life are tallied up. “Justice” is rendered as good karma, which results in birth into a higher caste in the next life—bad karma, into a lower one.
4. One must strive for good karma by following the code of morals prescribed for one's caste, called **dharma** (DAHR-mah), as closely as one can. One meaning of dharma is “duty”; one has a “duty” to obey the rules of caste.

The gods **Brahman** (BRAH-mahn; the impersonal life force), **Shiva** (SHEE-vah; the creator and destroyer), and **Vishnu** (VISH-noo; the preserver) dominate an almost-endless array of supernatural beings. Most Hindus are devotees of either Shiva or Vishnu as the foremost deity, but they worship them in a huge variety of rituals.

When a person has lived a life in perfect accord with his or her dharma, death will lead to final release from reincarnation and the great Wheel of Life. This release is **moksha** (MOHK-shah), and it is the end for which all good Hindus live. Moksha is the end of individuality, and the individual soul is then submerged into the world-soul represented by Brahman. A classic analogy is a raindrop, which, after many transformations, finds its way back to the ocean that originated it and is dissolved therein.

In contrast to Hinduism, Buddhism is, and has long been, one of the great religions of the world. It has adherents in all South and East Asian nations and includes several sects. Buddhism today has the third-largest membership of all faiths after Christianity and Islam. Historically, its appeal has always lain in its highly “democratic” nature: Anyone who seeks the divine can experience it in the Buddhist *nirvana*.

Daily Life and the Position of Women

The abject misery from which India’s rural population often has suffered is a relatively recent phenomenon—usually the product of mismanagement or a shortage of agricultural land. Until the last two or three centuries, shortages were almost unknown or limited to small areas. Although the material conditions of village life could not have been high by today’s standards, the natives and the Aryan invaders had extensive areas of both irrigable and undeveloped land suitable to agriculture in various forms, and they steadily brought these lands into production for a millennium. When a shortage did threaten the food supply of large populations, emigration to another, less crowded area was the usual and most effective solution.

As in the Near East, Indian tradition regarding the relative status of women shows an initial period of near equality or possibly matriarchy. But with the arrival of the Aryan nomads, female prestige seems to have begun a descent that continued in the Vedic Hindu era. Manu, the legendary lawgiver, established the proper relationships between the sexes once and for all. Gradually, the ritual of widows’ suicide (**sati**: SAH-tee) and isolation from all nonfamily males (**pardah**: PURR-dah) became established. The Laws of Manu established that a female’s fundamental dharma in all castes was to obey and serve her husband and her sons (see the Society and Economy box).



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KALI. The Indian goddess of destruction was frequently portrayed in a sexual context, but in this stone representation (fifteenth century CE) from south India, she takes a Buddha-like position while extending her four arms with traditional household implements.

BUDDHISM

Buddhism began in India as an intellectual and emotional revolt against the emptiness of Vedic ritualism. Originally an earthly philosophy that rejected the idea of immortal life and the gods, it was turned into a supernatural belief system soon after the death of its founder, the Buddha.

Siddhartha Gautama (sih-DAHR-thah GAW-tah-mah; 563–483 BCE), an Indian aristocrat, was the Buddha—or Enlightened One—and his life is fairly well documented (see the Patterns of Belief box). As a young man, he wandered for several years through the north of India seeking more satisfying answers to the riddle of life. Only after intensive meditation was he finally able to come to terms with himself and human existence. He then became the teacher of a large and growing band of disciples, who spread his word gradually throughout the subcontinent and then into East Asia. Buddhism eventually came to be much more important in China and Japan than in India, where it was practically extinct by 1000 CE.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

THE LAWS OF MANU

The Laws of Manu are an ancient compilation of teachings from Hindu India. Manu was a being simultaneously human and divine, from whom devout Hindus could learn what was needed for perfection and the attainment of moksha. Manu's laws were the cornerstone of Hindu traditional opinion on the rights and duties of the sexes and of family members, as well as castes. These opinions and prejudices did not change substantially until recent times. The attitude of the Laws of Manu toward women and the lower castes are especially revealing. (Note: The Shudra [SHOO-drah] are the lowest of the four original castes of India established during the Aryan epoch.)

That place where the shudra are very numerous . . . soon entirely perishes, afflicted by disease and famine.

A Brahmin may confidently take the goods of his shudra, because the slave cannot have any possessions and the master may take his property.

A Brahmin who takes a shudra to wife and to his bed will after death sink into Hell; if he begets a child with her, he will lose the rank of Brahmin. The son whom a Brahmin begets through lust upon a shudra female is, although alive, a corpse and hence called a living corpse. A shudra who has intercourse with a woman of a twice-born caste [that is, a Brahmin] shall be punished so: if she was unguarded he loses the offending part [his genitals] and all his property; if she was guarded, everything including his life.

Women . . . give themselves to the handsome and the ugly. Through their passion for men, through their unstable temper, through their natural heartlessness they become disloyal toward their husbands, however carefully they may be guarded. Knowing their disposition, which the lord of creation laid upon them,

to be so, every man should most strenuously exert himself to guard them. When creating them, Manu allotted to women a love of their bed, of their seat and of ornament, impure desire, wrath, dishonesty, malice, and bad conduct. . . .

It is the nature of women to seduce men in this world; for that reason the wise are never unguarded in the company of females. For women are able to lead astray in this world not only the fool, but even a learned man, and make of him a slave of desire and wrath.

But the exhortations of Manu are not completely one-sided:

Reprehensible is the father who gives not his daughter in marriage at the proper time [namely, puberty]; reprehensible is the husband who approaches not his wife in due season, and reprehensible is the son who does not protect his mother after her husband has died.

Drinking spirituous liquors, associating with wicked ones, separation from the husband, rambling abroad, sleeping at unseasonable hours, and dwelling in houses of other men are the six causes of ruin in women.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

How do these laws differ, if at all, from the attitudes toward women reflected in the code of Hammurabi? Where did women find better protection and justice, by modern standards?

Source: D. Johnson, ed., *Sources of World Civilization*, Vol. 1. © 1994, Simon & Schuster.



You can read more of the Laws of Manu online.



National Maritime Museum, Haifa, Israel/© Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

The **Eightfold Path** to spiritual bliss, or **nirvana** (ner-VAH-nah), demands right (or righteous, we would say) ideas, right thought, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right consciousness, and right meditation. The person who consistently follows these steps is assured of conquering desire and will, therefore, be released from suffering. The heart of the Buddha's message is that suffering and loss in this life are caused by the desire for an illusory power and happiness. Once the individual understands that power is not desirable

and that such happiness is self-deception, the temptation to pursue them will gradually disappear. The individual will then find the serenity of soul and the harmony with nature and fellow human beings that constitute true fulfillment.

Much of the popularity of Buddhism stemmed from its *democracy of spirit*. Everyone—male and female, high and low—was able to discover the Four Truths and follow the Eightfold Path. No one was excluded because of caste restrictions or poverty.

PATTERNS OF BELIEF

THE BUDDHA

Traditions say that Siddhartha Gautama (c. 563–483 BCE) was the pampered son of a princely Indian family in the northern borderlands, in present-day Nepal. A member of the kshatrija caste of warrior-governors, the young man had every prospect of a conventionally happy and rewarding life as master of a handful of villages. Married young to a local aristocrat like himself, he dedicated himself to hunting, feasting, and revelry—the usual pursuits of his class and time.

But in his late twenties, a notable change occurred. According to a cherished Buddhist legend, on successive excursions he encountered an aged man, then a sick man, and finally a corpse by the roadside. These reminders of the common fate set the young man thinking about the nature of all human life in a (for him) novel way. Finally, he abandoned home, wife, and family, and set out to find his own answers. In the already-traditional Indian fashion, he became a wandering ascetic, begging a handful of rice to stay alive while seeking truth in meditation.

Years went by as Siddhartha sought to answer his questions. But for a long time, he found no convincing answers—neither in the extreme self-denial practiced by some nor in the mystical contemplation recommended by others. At last, as he sat under the *bodhi* tree (the tree of wisdom) through an agonizingly long night of intensive meditation, enlightenment reached him. He arose, confident in his new perceptions, and began to gather around him the beginnings of the community known as Buddhists (“the enlightened ones”).

From that point on, the Buddha developed a philosophy that was a revision of the ruling Vedic Hindu faith of India and, in some important ways, a denial of it. By the time of

the Buddha’s death, the new faith was firmly established, and some version of his teaching would gradually grow to be the majority viewpoint before being extinguished in the land of its birth.

In the original Buddhism, little attention was given to the role of the supernatural powers in human life or to reincarnation. The gods were thought to exist but to have minimal influence on an individual’s karma, or fate. Gods could not assist a person to find what Hindus call *moksha* and Buddhists *nirvana*, or the state of release from earthly life and its inherent suffering. But in time, this changed among the majority (Mahayana) Buddhists, who came to look on the Buddha and other bodhisattvas as divine immortals who could be called on for spiritual assistance.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

How would the Buddha have received this development during his own lifetime? The answer is not hard to guess, because his rejection of supernatural deities was well known. But it remains true that the very breadth of Buddhist doctrines and practices, which range from simple repetitive chants to the most refined intellectual exercise, has allowed a sizable proportion of humankind to identify with this creed in one or another of its forms.

Contrast the Buddhist emphasis on human beings’ capability of finding their own way to serenity with the Zoroastrian convictions you will read about in Chapter 5. Which seems more persuasive? Why?

Buddhism quickly spread among Indians of all backgrounds and regions, carried forth by the Buddha’s disciples during his lifetime. What made it so appealing?



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RECLINING BUDDHA. A so-called reclining Buddha, one of the frequent colossal representations of the Buddha, on the island of Sri Lanka, the center of the Theravada school of the religion.

Soon after the Buddha's death, his followers made him into a god with eternal life—a thought foreign to his own teaching. His movement also gradually split into two major branches: *Theravada* and *Mahayana* Buddhism.

Theravada (thayr-rah-VAH-dah, or Hinayana), which means “the narrower vehicle,” is the stricter version of the faith. Theravada Buddhism emphasizes life in a monastery (**Sangha**) for both men and women, and takes a rather rigorous approach to what a good person who seeks nirvana must believe. It claims to be the pure form of the Buddha's teachings and rejects the idea of the reincarnation of the Master or other enlightened ones (called *bodhisattva*; boh-dih-SAH-T-vah) appearing on Earth. It is particularly strong in Sri Lanka and Cambodia.

Mahayana (mah-hah-YAH-nah) Buddhism is much more liberal in its beliefs, viewing the doctrines of the Buddha as a sort of initial step rather than as the ultimate word. The word *Mahayana* means “the larger vehicle,” reflecting the belief that there are many ways to salvation. Its faithful believe that there are many buddhas, not just Siddhartha Gautama, and that many more will appear. Monastic life is a good thing for those who can assume it, but most Mahayana Buddhists will never do so and do not feel themselves disadvantaged thereby. Mahayana adherents far outnumber the others and are found in Vietnam, China, Japan, and Korea.

THE MAURYAN DYNASTY

For a century and a half after the Buddha's death, the philosophy he founded steadily gained adherents but remained a distinctly minority view in a land of Hindu believers. In the 330s BCE, however, the invasion of India by Alexander the Great (see Chapter 8) not only brought the first direct contact with Western ideas and art forms but also enabled a brief period of political unity under the **Mauryan** (MOH-ree-yahn) Dynasty, which moved into the vacuum left by Alexander's retreat. The founder of this first historical dynasty in India was Chandragupta Maurya (chan-drah-GUHP-tah MOH-ree-yah), who succeeded in seizing supreme powers in northwestern India upon the withdrawal of the Greeks. The rule of the dynasty was brief but important for India's future. The third and greatest of the Mauryan rulers, **Ashoka** (ah-SHOH-kah; 269–232 BCE), was the

outstanding Indian emperor of premodern times, admired by all Indians as the founding spirit of Indian unity and nationhood.

Ashoka's significance stems in large part from his role in spreading the Buddhist faith in India, thereby initiating the tradition of mutual tolerance between religions that is (or used to be) one of the subcontinent's cultural boasts. After a series of successful wars against the Mauryans' neighbors and rivals, Ashoka was shocked by the bloodshed at the battle of *Kalinga* at the midpoint of his reign. Influenced by Buddhist monks, the king became a devout Buddhist and pacifist. The last twenty years of his reign were marked by unprecedented internal prosperity and external peace, thanks mostly to the support he and his Buddhist advisors gave to trade. The inscriptions enunciating his decrees were placed on stone pillars scattered far and wide over his realm, and some of them survive today as the first examples of written Indian language. They and the accounts of a few foreign travelers are the means by which we know anything of Indian government in this early epoch.

After Ashoka's death, his weak successors soon gave up what he had gained, both in defense against invasion and in internal stability. New waves of nomadic horsemen

entered India through the gateway to Central Asia, the Khyber Pass (see Map 4.1). Most of them became sedentary in habit soon enough, adopted Indian civilization, and embraced the Buddhist faith. But the political unity established by the Mauryan rulers disintegrated. Four centuries passed before the Gupta Dynasty could reestablish it in the 300s CE.



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THE LIONS OF SARNATH.

Sarnath was the site where Siddhartha Gautama first preached. The Lions of Sarnath were created by King Ashoka to symbolize the proclamation of Buddhism to the world. The modern Republic of India has adopted the lions as the official symbol of state.

TRADE AND THE SPREAD OF BUDDHISM

Early India had remarkably little cultural interchange with its Asian neighbors. The main reason for this lack of contact was that the high mountain ranges to India's north provided no easy passages to the east. There were, however, some exceptions to this lack of contact. By far the most significant one was the export of the Buddhist faith from India to Central and East Asia. In the first century CE, Buddhist merchants, drawn by the lucrative trade that passed along the Silk Road, braved the difficult passages through the northern mountain ranges that took them to Central Asia. There, in its Mahayana form, the new doctrine won converts among the tribespeople who controlled the east–west corridors. From the caravan centers, the new religion was conveyed

eastward and took root in China, where it entered deeply into Chinese cultural life, blending the new ideas with traditional Confucian practice and ethics (see Chapter 13).

India's commercial and cultural preponderance in regions that made up the (appropriately named) Indian Ocean domain was even weightier than in Central and Eastern Asia. Again, it was Ashoka's conversion that helped India position itself in the very center of this arena of continents. The reason lay in the fact that, while Hindu priests frowned on dealings with foreigners, Buddhists taught that trade contributed to everyone's welfare. Ashoka and his Buddhist advisors encouraged the extension of trade along sea-lanes to Southeast Asia, a development aided by two other major advances. The first was the Mauryan conquest of the Ganges River port of Tamruk, which faced the Bay of Bengal. The other, more crucial development was the discovery of the prevailing directions of the Indian Ocean's monsoon winds.

From June to September, the winds blew from the southwest to the northeast; then from November to March, they shifted to the opposite direction. This realization enabled Indian merchants to complete roundtrip voyages either to eastern or western destinations in a year or less. It also allowed traders to develop routing strategies that turned the Indian Ocean into the center of a vast mercantile world that, when combined later with the Silk Road, placed the Indian Ocean at the southern end of an Asian commercial nexus that was the largest in the world prior to the advent of the modern era. Besides trade goods, along the strands of this web of interconnectedness passed people and ideas that helped shape whole civilizations. Thus Indian merchants introduced Southeast Asia to Buddhism, and once there, it became as integral to its civilization as in China. (For more on this, see Chapter 12.)

SUMMARY

SETTLED LIFE IS NOW KNOWN to have emerged in India much earlier than previously believed. By 2500 BCE, people of the Indus River valley had developed irrigated fields and good-sized towns that traded widely with both the surrounding villagers and distant neighbors to the west. These towns seem to have been governed by a priesthood, but information on their history is still sparse. The civilization was already in decline, possibly from natural causes, when it fell to Aryan nomads, who instituted the beginnings of the caste system.

In the thousand years after the Aryan conquest—the Vedic Epoch (1500–500 BCE)—the Hindu religion was gradually constructed from a combination of Aryan beliefs and

the Indus Valley faith. When this ritualistic Hinduism was challenged by other, more ethically conscious doctrines such as Buddhism and Jainism, it gave way. Buddhism, in particular, became an international religion and philosophy, as several variants took root throughout East and Southeast Asia through India's growing trade networks.

Although arts and sciences flourished, the cultural and political unity of India was only sporadically enforced by a strong central government. Many invasions from the northwest kept India in a frequent state of political fragmentation. Religious belief, rather than government, was the cement that held its people together and gave the basis for their consciousness of being a nation.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Aryans	Brahmin
Ashoka	Brahminism
Bhakti Hinduism	caste
Brahman (or Brahma)	dharma

Eightfold Path
Indus Valley civilization
karma
Laws of Manu
Mahayana Buddhism
Mauryan Dynasty
moksha
nirvana
purdah

Rigveda
Sangha
sati
Shiva
Siddhartha Gautama
Theravada Buddhism
Vedas
Vedic Epoch
Vishnu

For Further Reflection

1. What do you think accounts for the origins of agriculture in early Indian history? What connections might there have been between Indus civilization and Mesopotamian civilizations?
2. How does Brahminism compare with the religions found in other, early agrarian civilizations—for example Mesopotamia and Egypt?
3. What factors might have helped produce the changes in Indian religions after about 500 BCE?
4. Why do you suppose that there are now thousands of castes in India, when there were originally only four?
5. Throughout its history, India was preeminent in (what was then) “world” trade. Why do you think this was so?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book’s website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The excavation of Mohenjo-Daro indicates that India’s earliest civilization
 - a. had a strong central government.
 - b. was governed by merchants.
 - c. had little if any commercial contacts with other civilized lands.
 - d. had no dependence on irrigation agriculture.
 - e. flourished despite the absence of any large building projects.
2. The evolution of Indian castes came about because of
 - a. economic necessities.
 - b. the application of Vedic beliefs to Indian realities.
 - c. the teachings of the Buddhist monks.
 - d. climate and geography.
 - e. the need for major social reforms.
3. In Indian society after the Aryan conquest, the highest social group was that of the
 - a. priests.
 - b. warriors.
 - c. tillers of the soil.
 - d. educated.
 - e. vaishya.
4. The Laws of Manu show a society in which
 - a. there were no essential differences between male and female.
 - b. there was a strong sense of social justice.
 - c. children were not valued.
 - d. women were considered a source of temptation.
 - e. slaves were afforded some measure of protection.
5. Karma is a Sanskrit word meaning
 - a. the soul.
 - b. release from earthly cycles.
 - c. the uppermost caste in Hindu society.
 - d. the tally of good and bad acts in a person’s life.
 - e. the code of morals for one’s caste.
6. Which of the following religions of India emphasizes above all the sacred nature of all life?
 - a. Jainism
 - b. Buddhism
 - c. Hinduism
 - d. Mithraism
 - e. Zoroastrianism
7. The Buddha taught all but which one of the following?
 - a. All persons are destined for immortal happiness in an afterlife.
 - b. Sorrow is generated by desire.
 - c. Every individual is capable of attaining nirvana.
 - d. Gods are of little or no significance in attaining true happiness.
 - e. Nirvana is achieved by successfully following the Noble Eightfold Path.
8. The first true dynasty in India was founded by
 - a. Ashoka.
 - b. Manu.
 - c. Chandragupta Maurya.
 - d. Kautilya.
 - e. Siddhartha Gautama.
9. Women’s status in India could best be described as
 - a. improving during the Vedic Period.
 - b. developing a true matriarchy as time passed.
 - c. offering more choices to women of higher caste.
 - d. supporting the role of mother but rejecting the sexual side of marriage.
 - e. entering into a period of decline after the Aryan invasion.
10. The most significant contribution of India to world history is probably
 - a. the model of good government given by Ashoka.
 - b. the development of higher mathematics.
 - c. the passing of Buddhism to China.
 - d. the spiritual precepts of the Vedas.
 - e. its model of respect for women.



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5

Warriors and Deities in the Near East

THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

THE PHOENICIANS

THE PERSIANS

The Persian Empire

THE HEBREWS

Jewish Religious Belief and Its Evolution

Economic Change and Social Customs

A Changing Theology

The Lord our God made a covenant, not only with our fathers, but with all of us living today. . . . The Lord said, “I am the Lord your God . . . Worship no God but me.”

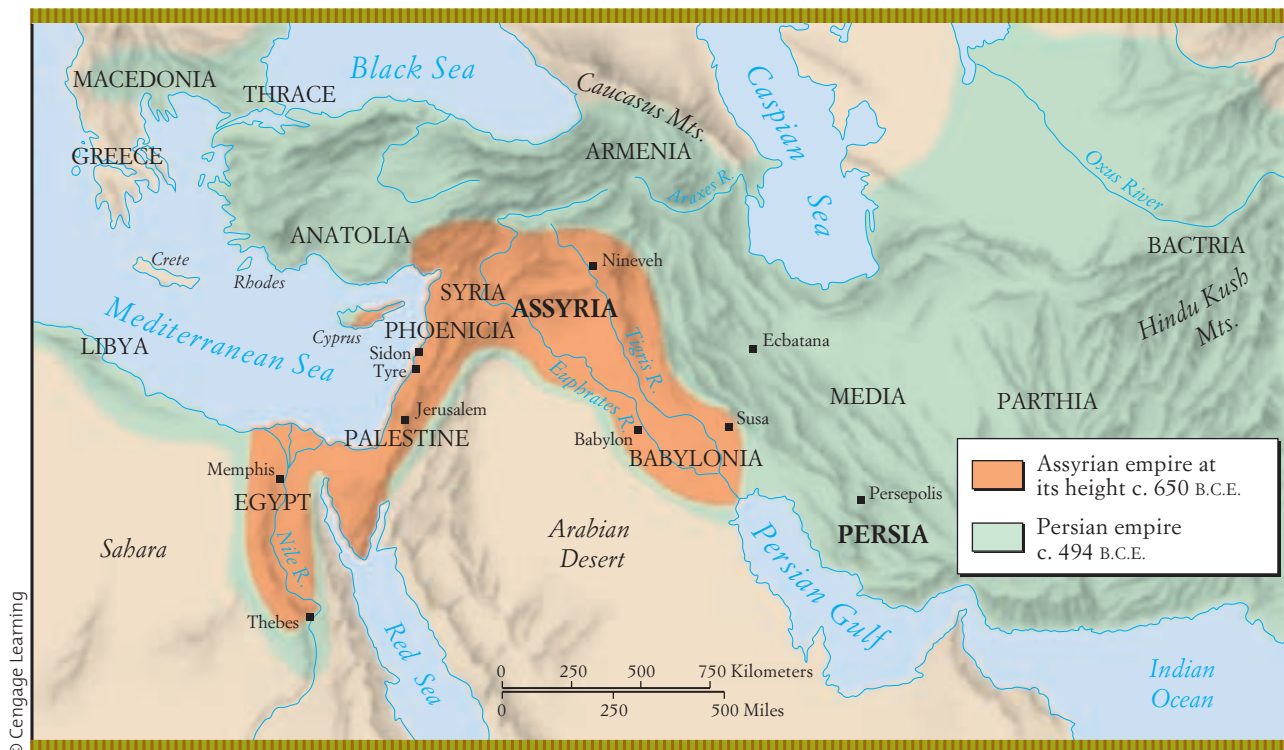
—*The Bible*

THE NEAR EAST, that area between the Nile Valley and the western borders of Iran, was from earliest times a region of cultural overlap and interchange. First one people and then another would take command of a portion of the region for a century or more, only to fall under the sway of the next onslaught of newcomers. Petty states and kingdoms arose whose very names are sometimes forgotten but whose contributions to the ascent of civilization in this region were collectively impressive. In this chapter, we look at three of the most important of these—briefly at the transitory glory of Assyria and Phoenicia, and in more detail at the much larger and longer-lived monarchy of Persia. Then we review the history of the Hebrews, a people whose historic achievement lay in their gradual working out of a unique vision of the nature of the Divinity and the relationship of God and humans, a vision that passed on into the very heart of Western civilization.

THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

The Assyrians were a Semitic tribal group who emerged from nomadism in what is now northern Iraq in the twelfth century BCE, following the decline of the Hittite monarchy based in Turkey. They entered history about 900 BCE as challengers to other Semites in the Tigris Valley. Their chief town, **Nineveh** (NIH-neh-vay), lay in the upper valley of the Tigris, and their chief god was the fierce **Assur** (AH-sheer), from whom the people derived their name. By 800 BCE, through their own ferocity and cunning in war, the Assyrian kings had conquered much of the Tigris-Euphrates region and were fighting the Babylonians for the southern portion (see Map 5.1). The Assyrians displayed great talent in military affairs. Their army was large and seemingly invincible, using new tactics to negate the traditional advantage of charioteers over foot soldiers.

1900s BCE	Hebrews leave Mesopotamia
c. 1250 BCE	Hebrew Exodus from Egypt
c. 1000 BCE	Hebrew Kingdom established; Phoenicians develop early alphabet
c. 800 BCE	Assyrian Empire expands; Carthage founded by Phoenicians
722 BCE	Assyrians conquer Samaria
612 BCE	Fall of Nineveh/end of Assyrian Empire
500s BCE	Establishment and expansion of Persian Empire
586–539 BCE	Babylonian Captivity of the Jews



MAP 5.1 The Assyrian (c. 650 BCE) and Persian (c. 494 BCE) Empires

Although the Assyrians subdued most of the Near East and Egypt for a brief time, the later Persian Empire was much more extensive, reaching from Egypt to the borders of the Indus Valley. The “King of Kings” held most of this huge area through

a network of Persian-ruled satrapies, or tributary kingdoms whose rulers regularly acknowledged overlordship.

MAP QUESTIONS

Were the principal Assyrian cities in Mesopotamia or Iran?



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

By this epoch, the horse and chariot were the chief force in warfare. (It is believed that the chariot was introduced to Near Eastern warfare by the Hyksos invaders of Egypt in the 1500s BCE.) For centuries, leather-clad warriors armed with short swords had fought from chariots drawn by two or three horses. The chariots would split the loose ranks of the enemy foot soldiers, and the momentum of the horses combined with the raised platform gave the swordsmen an almost irresistible advantage over opposing infantry. The early Assyrian kings took away this advantage, however, by fielding tight-knit infantry formations with long spears and swords, protected on the flanks by bands of horsemen who engaged the enemy charioteers while they were still far off. The infantry were heavily armored and so disciplined that they would stand up to a chariot charge without breaking. The Assyrians were also experts in siege warfare, and no enemy walled town or fort could hold for long against their artillery of stone-throwing catapults and rams.

Anyone who resisted the Assyrians and lost suffered a terrible fate: wholesale slavery, execution, pillage, and rape. Once conquered, the enemy was closely supervised,

and any effort to spring free was immediately suppressed. The chronicles left by the Assyrians delight in telling of the huge piles of dead left by the triumphant armies of such kings as Tiglath-Pileser (TIHG-lath pih-LEH-ser), who reigned in the seventh century BCE:

Like the Thunder, I crushed corpses of their warriors in the battle. I made their blood flow over into all the ravines and over the high places. I cut off their heads and piled them at the walls of their cities like heaps of grain. I carried off their booty, their goods, and their property beyond all reckoning. Six thousand, the remainder of their troops who had fled before my weapons and thrown themselves at my feet, I took away as prisoners and added to the peoples of my country [that is, slaves]. (From J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 3d ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969.)

The Assyrians were perhaps the most hated conquerors in ancient history. Only their expertly calculated plans to “divide and conquer” and their mass deportations

of subject peoples enabled them to remain in power as long as they did. At one point, their empire reached from the upper Tigris to central Egypt. It was governed from Nineveh by a network of military commanders who had no mercy for rebels and held large numbers of hostages for the good behavior of the rest of their people.

But less than a century after its high point of power, Nineveh was in total ruins (“not a stone upon a stone,” asserts the Bible’s Old Testament, or the *Tanakh*), and the Assyrians were swept from the pages of history as though they had never existed. Their many enemies and rebellious subjects, led by the Chaldees of New Babylon, finally united against their oppressor and took full revenge for Assyrian atrocities. When they captured Nineveh in 612 BCE, the victors even salted the fertile irrigated lands that ringed the city, to prevent the site from ever being inhabited again. It was indeed forgotten until the middle of the nineteenth century, when Nineveh’s ruins were unearthed by some of the earliest archaeological expeditions to the East.

With such determined erasure of their history, how can we know anything about the Assyrians’ past? Remarkably, they combined their delight in slaughter with a sophisticated appreciation for all forms of pictorial and architectural art. Much of our knowledge about the Assyrians comes from their extensive portrayals of court life in bas-relief sculpture, as well as from archaeological discoveries from their ruined cities. One of the last kings of the Assyrians, Assurbanipal (ah-sheer-BAH-nih-pahl), established the largest library known to the Near East in ancient times. More than 20,000 “books” of clay tablets have been recovered from the site in Nineveh since the nineteenth century.

THE PHOENICIANS

Another small but significant Semitic people were the unwarlike Phoenicians, who originally inhabited a strip along the coast of what is now Lebanon. From their ports of Tyre (pronounced “tire”) and Sidon (SIGH-don), they became the greatest maritime traders and colonizers of the ancient Near East. Their trade in luxury wares such as copper and dyes took them through the Mediterranean and into the Atlantic as far as the coast of Britain (Cornwall). Here they obtained the precious tin that could be mixed with copper and lead to form bronze, the main metallic resource before 1000 BCE.

The Phoenicians apparently also spread the art of iron making from the Hittite settlements to the Greeks and westward into Africa. They established a whole series of colonies in the western Mediterranean. Some of these became important in their own right, and one of them—the rich city-state of Carthage, founded around 800 BCE—became the great rival to Rome until its final defeat around 200 BCE. The Phoenicians themselves were absorbed into the Assyrian and succeeding empires but remained the

paramount Mediterranean traders and seafarers until the rise of Greece in the 600s BCE.

The Phoenicians’ most notable contribution came in the linguistic field. They were the first to use a *phonetic alphabet*, a system of twenty-two written marks (“letters”), each of which corresponded to a specific consonant sound of the oral language. The Phoenicians’ alphabet, which emerged about 1000 BCE, was a definite advance in simplicity and accessibility of written communication over both the cuneiforms of the Sumerians and the hieroglyphs of the Egyptians. The Greeks later improved the Phoenician alphabet, added signs for the vowels (which the Phoenicians did not employ), and thereby created essentially the same alphabet (although in a different letter form) that we use in Western scripts today.

THE PERSIANS

Until the twentieth century, present-day Iran was called *Persia*. Its ruling group was for a millennium—500 BCE to 500 CE—the most powerful of the many peoples in western Asia. Iran is mostly a high, arid plateau, surrounded on the north, west, and east by high mountains and on the south by the Indian Ocean (see Map 5.1). For a long time, the country has been a natural dividing point for travel from the eastern Mediterranean to China and India, and vice versa. Later, it became the great exchange point between the Arabic-Muslim and the Indic-Hindu worlds. Thanks to this strategic position, Iran and the Iranians have long been able to play a considerable role in world affairs.

The case of the Persians, and their cousins the *Aryans* who settled in India (Chapter 4), provides one of the earliest examples of wandering pastoralists who conquered, then eventually settled regions that supported agriculture. They were an Indo-European-speaking people who had migrated slowly south from the central Asian steppes into Iran. Actually, several related groups, collectively termed *Iranians*, moved south starting between 1500 and 1000 BCE. At this epoch, they were still nomadic and knew nothing of agriculture or other civilized crafts and techniques. They did, however, possess large numbers of horses, and their skill at cavalry tactics enabled them to gradually overcome their rivals for territorial mastery. Eventually, through both war and trading contacts with their Mesopotamian neighbors to the west, they learned the basics of agriculture and a sedentary civilized life.

The Persian Empire

In the mid-sixth century BCE, the Persians united under a brilliant warrior king, Cyrus the Great, and quickly overcame their Iranian cousins and neighbors, the Medes. In a remarkable series of campaigns between 559 and 530



© Persepolis, Iran/The Bridgeman Art Library

LION KILLING A BULL. This vivid depiction of a lion bringing down a wild onager is taken from the palace ruins at Persepolis. This complex was started in the sixth century and was added to by various Iranian rulers until its destruction by the triumphant Alexander the Great in 330. The Persian court shared the Assyrian pleasure in hunting scenes.



© Persepolis, Iran/The Bridgeman Art Library

HALL OF A HUNDRED COLUMNS. This is the great assembly and banquet hall erected by Darius I in Persepolis and burned to the ground by the triumphant conqueror Alexander. Its vast size was symbolic of the great powers exercised by the Persian emperor.

BCE, Cyrus then extended his domains from the borders of India to the Mediterranean coast. By 525, his son and immediate successor, Cambyses, had broadened the empire to include part of Arabia and the lower Nile Valley. The main Persian cities were at Susa (SOO-zah), Persepolis (per-SEH-poh-lihs), and Ecbatana (Ek-bah-TAH-nah) in Iran, not in Mesopotamia. The gradual decline of Mesopotamia's importance can be dated to this time.

Cyrus had a concept of imperial rule that was quite different from that of the Assyrians. He realized that many of his new subjects—peoples as radically different as the Hebrews from the Egyptians—were more advanced in many ways than his own Persians and that he could learn from them. Accordingly, his government was a sort of umbrella, sheltering many different peoples and beliefs under the supervision of the “King of Kings” at Persepolis.

The Persian subjects were generally allowed to retain their own customs and laws. Their appointed Persian supervisors (*satraps*: SA-traps) only interfered when the central government's policies were threatened or disobeyed. In the provinces (*satrapies*), the local authorities were kept in power after conquest by Persia, so long as they swore obedience to the monarch, paid their (relatively light) taxes, provided soldiers, and gave aid and comfort to the Persians when called upon to do so. Religion was totally free, and all sorts of beliefs flourished under Persian rule, from those of the freed-from-Babylon Hebrews to the fire worshipers of the Indian borderlands. Most remarkably, the initial move toward an ethical religion seems to have come with the teaching of **Zarathustra** (zah-rah-THOO-strah), or Zoroaster, as outlined in the Patterns of Belief box, “Zarathustra's Vision.”

Darius I (522–486 BCE) was the third great Persian ruler, following Cyrus and Cambyses. During his reign, the empire reached its maximal extent (see Map 5.1). A stable coinage in gold and silver and a calendar that was commonly used throughout the Near East were introduced.

Darius's law code was also an advanced and refined distillation of earlier codes from Mesopotamia and Egypt. For the next century, the peoples of the empire flourished under enlightened Persian leadership.

THE HEBREWS

What we know of the ancient Twelve Tribes of the Hebrews is derived in large part from the **Tanakh** (or Old Testament). In recent years, the Tanakh's stories have been partially borne out by modern archaeological evidence. It

PATTERNS OF BELIEF



ZARATHUSTRA'S VISION

We usually think of the connection between religious belief and morality as intrinsic and logical: Moral actions are the concrete manifestations of a belief in good and evil, ultimately determined by a supernatural code or by conscience. Yet in ancient times, people did not usually regard the supernatural gods as arbiters of moral human conduct. Rather, gods were seen as personifications of natural forces that made men their helpless playthings unless appeased by worship and sacrifice. This attitude was as prevalent among Iranians in the sixth century BCE as among any other people, but it would change radically when a prophet arose among them called Zarathustra, or Zoroaster.

About Zarathustra's life we know nothing except that he was a Persian and probably lived in the 500s BCE. His teaching, however, was written down long after his death, possibly as late as the third century CE. This Zoroastrian scripture, known as the *Avesta* (ah-VES-tah), tells in a fragmentary way about the beliefs of a man who founded a new type of religion, a faith that linked the gods and humans in a new fashion.

Zarathustra preached that two principles are in eternal conflict: good and evil, truth and lies. Good is incarnated in the impersonal deity Ahuramazda (ah-hoo-rah-MAHZ-dah) and evil by its twin Ahriman (AH-rih-mahn), a close approximation of the Christian Lucifer. The two would struggle for the souls of men, and eventually Ahuramazda would triumph. Humans, as the possessors of free will, could and must choose between the two gods, serving one and defying the other. In an afterlife, individuals would be made responsible for their choice. They would stand before a divine tribunal and have to answer for their lives on Earth. If the balance was found to be positive, they would enjoy heaven in eternity; if negative, hell awaited them.

The role of priests was very important, for they interpreted what was right and wrong conduct. The fire worship that had prevailed among Iranians before Zarathustra continued to play a significant role, and a sacred fire was at the heart of the worship of Ahuramazda. For a time, the teachings of

the Zoroastrians became the state cult of imperial Persia, and both Darius I and his son Xerxes (ZERK-sees) were known to be sympathizers.

The similarities between Zarathustra's doctrines and Judaism and Christianity are not coincidental. The Last Judgment that all souls must undergo, the responsibility of the exercise of free will, the eternal bliss of heaven, and the torments of hell entered first Jewish and then Christian belief. Through Zoroastrian preaching and converts in the eastern Mediterranean, the image of an all-powerful God who allowed humans the supreme freedom of the choice between good and evil entered the mainsprings of Western religious culture. Zarathustra's teaching that Ahriman was closely bound up with the flesh, while Ahuramazda was a noncorporeal entity, a spirit, would come to haunt Christianity for ages, and it appeared again and again in various sects. The most famous of these was medieval Manichaeism, which derived its beliefs from the Middle East and spread throughout Mediterranean Europe. It taught that the flesh is essentially evil, the province of the devil. Many people think that the puritanical element in Christianity is largely the product of this belated offshoot of the Zoroastrian creed.

What has become of the religion of Zarathustra? In Persia, it gradually declined into superstition and was almost extinguished in the wake of the Muslim conquest of Persia in the 600s CE. The Parsees of the region around Bombay, India, are the center of the cult in modern times. Their scripture, the *Avesta*, remains one of the first attempts to unite *religion* (worship of the immortal gods) with *ethics* (a code of proper conduct for mortal men).

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

How do Christianity and Zoroastrian beliefs converge, and how do they contrast in their treatment of the nature of sin? Why is the concept of free will a necessary precondition for a code of ethics and an ethical religion?

is clear that many events and stories previously regarded as mythological have some basis in fact.

The Hebraic tradition of a certain Abraham leading his people out of the wilderness and into the land of Canaan refers to what is now generally accepted as historical fact: Nomadic, primitive Semitic tribes departed from someplace in northern Mesopotamia in the twentieth century BCE and wandered for a lengthy time through what is now Saudi Arabia. By the 1500s BCE, they were

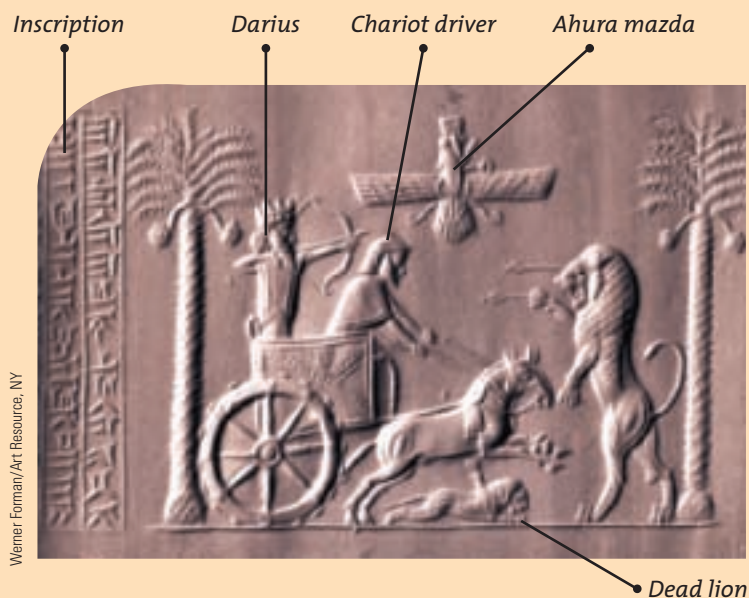
established in Canaan, the southern part of Palestine (see Map 5.2). Here they came under imperial Egyptian rule, and a good portion of the Twelve Tribes went off—perhaps voluntarily, perhaps as coerced slaves—to live in the Nile Delta.

We know that, in the thirteenth century BCE, many semicivilized peoples were moving about the eastern Mediterranean region. The Hebrews' *Exodus* from Egypt under their legendary leader Moses occurred during that

IMAGES OF HISTORY

LION HUNT

> **ROYAL SEAL OF PERSIAN KING, DARIUS I.** *The Cylinder Seal of a Persian King* Darius I was a Persian king whose reign lasted from 522 to 486. His royal seal, shown here, was a cylinder made of agate and is engraved with a number of images that were formulaic symbols of Mesopotamian royalty. As were Assyrian and Babylonian kings before him (compare with the image of Assurbanipal at a Lion Hunt), the king is shown in a royal lion hunt, suggesting that he was strong enough to overwhelm even the powerful and unpredictable forces of nature (the slain beast beneath the wheels of his chariot). Above, as if blessing the king, is Ahuramazda. To the left is an inscription in Elamite, Babylonian, and Persian, which proclaims, “I [am] Darius the King.”



Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY

Chariot driver
Assyrian King
Assar banipal



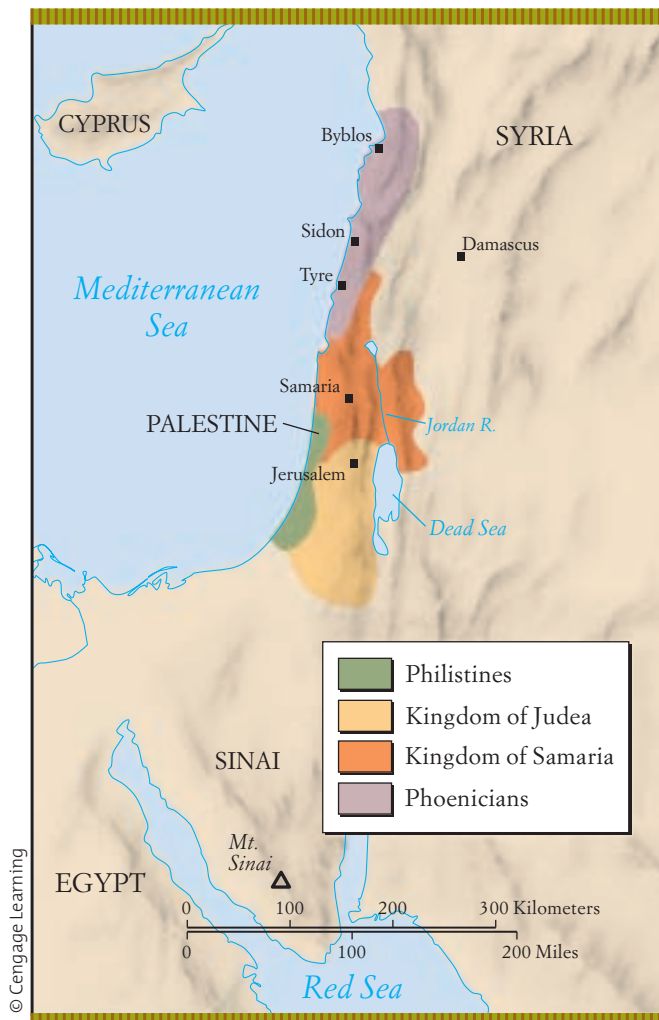
Spearmen push
away the lion

< ASSURBANIPAL AT A LION HUNT

HUNT. This Assyrian bas-relief shows King Assurbanipal charging the lion in his war chariot, accompanied by hand-picked spearmen who thrust away the fierce prey as the monarch loads his bow. The Assyrian genius for portrayal of violent action comes through strongly in these reliefs, which date from the 600s BCE.

century. The exact reasons for the Exodus are not clear, but it is entirely possible that the Tanakh's story of brutal treatment by the pharaoh is true. In any case, under Moses, the Hebrews resolved to return to “the land of milk and honey,” the Promised Land of Canaan, whose memory had been kept alive by their leaders in Egypt.

Escaping the pharaoh's wrathful pursuit (told in the biblical story of Moses' parting of the Red Sea), the Hebrews wandered across the Sinai Peninsula until they encountered the Canaanites and the Philistines, who were already settled in coastal Palestine. At first, the Philistines were able to hold the newcomers at bay. But by about 1000, the



MAP 5.2 Ancient Palestine and the Jewish Kingdoms

The kingdoms of Judea and Samaria (Judah and Israel) divided the region once occupied by the Philistines and Canaanites before the Jews' return to the Promised Land. After the split, the Samaritans swiftly fell to the temptations of false gods such as the Golden Calf.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Locate Canaan, the Jewish "land of milk and honey."



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

Hebrews had overcome the Canaanites and set up their own small kingdom, with Saul as the first king. Saul carried the war to the Philistines, and his lieutenant and successor, David, carried on his work. David (the victor over the giant Goliath in the Bible) was a great warrior hero, and he was successful in conquering Jerusalem, which then became the Hebrews' capital.

David's son Solomon (ruled 970–935 BCE) was the most renowned king of the Hebrews. During his reign, the Hebrews briefly became an important factor in Near

Eastern affairs, serving as trading intermediaries between Egypt and the Mesopotamians. The famous Temple of Jerusalem—which a triumphant Solomon constructed of stone and cedarwood, and decorated inside and out with gold—became a wonder of the ancient world. But many of his subjects hated Solomon because of his heavy taxes and luxurious living. When he died, a revolt against his successor split the Hebrew Kingdom in two: Judea and Samaria, or, as they are sometimes called, Judah and Israel.

Although ethnically very close, the two kingdoms were hostile to each other. As time passed, Samaritans and Judeans (or Jews, as they came to be called) looked on one another as different peoples. Their differences arose primarily because of differing religious beliefs but also because Judea came under the shadow of a briefly revived Egyptian empire, while Samaria fell to the successive conquerors of Mesopotamia.

The kingdom of Samaria/Israel was ended in 722 by a failed rebellion against the Assyrian overlords, resulting in the scattering of the populace far and wide (the first **Diaspora**, or "scattering") and the eventual loss of them (the ten Lost Tribes of Jewish tradition) to Judaic belief. Judea, however, survived under the Assyrians until the defeat of the latter in 612. It then fell under Babylonian (Chaldean: CAL-dee-an) overlordship. The ill-fated attempt to throw off this yoke led to the crushing defeat at the hands of King Nebuchadnezzar (neh-buh-keh-d-NEH-zer) in 586 and the ensuing Babylonian Captivity (586–539 BCE), when thousands of Jews were taken off to Babylon as hostages for the good behavior of the rest. The great temple of Solomon was demolished. Becoming one of the provinces of the Persian Empire after 539 BCE, the Judeans continued under Persian rule until Alexander the Great toppled the King of Kings in the 330s (see Chapter 7). They then lived under the successors of Alexander until the gradual extension of Roman power reached Palestine.

Jewish Religious Belief and Its Evolution

From the time of the kingdom of Saul, a great god known as *Yahweh* (Jehovah) was established as the Hebrews' chief deity, but by no means the only one. In Samaria, Yahweh (YAH-way) was eventually relegated to an inferior position. But in Judea, Yahweh's cult gradually triumphed over all rivals, and this god became the only deity of the Jews of Jerusalem.

This condition of having a single god was a distinct oddity among ancient peoples. *Monotheism* was so rare that we know of only one pre-Jewish experiment with it—that of Akhnaton in Egypt (see Chapter 3). Some of the Hebrews were living in Egypt during Akhnaton's reign, and it is possible that the pharaoh's doctrines penetrated into Jewish consciousness. Zarathustra's doctrine of dualism between two almost-equal deities who wrestled over the souls of men undoubtedly had much to do with the



© Israel Images/Alamy

THE LANDSCAPE: A PROMISED LAND? The harshness of the present-day Israeli landscape stands in sharp contrast to the biblical “land flowing with milk and honey” that the early Hebrews pined for in their Egyptian exile. There is much evidence that climatic change has indeed made desert from what once was a reasonably fertile and well-watered soil.

later forms of Hebrew belief, but just how they are related is a subject for argument.

By the 600s, the Judean Jews, under the influence of a whole series of great prophets—including Amos, Hosea, Ezekiel, and Isaiah—came to believe themselves bound to Yahweh by a sacred contract, the Covenant (promise), given to Moses during the Exodus. The contract was understood to mean that, if the Jews remained constant in their worship of Yahweh and kept the faith he instilled in them, they would eventually triumph over all of their enemies and be a respected and lordly people on Earth. The faith that Yahweh desired was supported by a set of rigid rules given to Moses by Yahweh on Mount Sinai, from which eventually evolved a whole law code that governed every aspect of Hebrew daily life. Known to later Jews and Christians as the Ten Commandments, these moral regulations have been adapted to very different social circumstances.

The Jewish faith was one of the earliest attempts to formalize an ethical system and to link it with the worship of supernatural deities. *Ethics* is the study of good and evil and determining what is right and wrong in human life and conduct. Yahweh’s followers gradually came to regard him as an enforcer of correct ethical actions. Those who did evil on Earth would be made to suffer—if not in this world, then in the one to come. This belief was not unusual, for other religions had made at least some moves toward punishment of evildoers. The laws of Yahweh, however, also assured that the good would be rewarded—again, if not in this life, then in the eternal one to come.

How did people know whether they were doing good or evil? One way was by following the laws of Yahweh. Increasingly, though, they could also rely on the knowledge of what was right and what was wrong that Yahweh imprinted in every heart: conscience. The Ten Commandments were particularly the Jews’ property, given to them as a mark of

favor by their lord and protector Yahweh. But all men and women everywhere were believed to have been given conscience, and insofar as they followed conscience, they were doing the Lord’s work and possibly gaining eternal salvation.

Economic Change and Social Customs

Although their religious beliefs would have immense influence on Western civilization, the Jews were mostly minor players on the Near Eastern stage in economic affairs and politics. They had never been numerous, and the split between Israelites and Judeans weakened both groups. With the rise of Assyria, both Israel and Judea had to engage in numerous expensive wars and suffered economically. Both became relatively insignificant backwaters under the direct or indirect rule of powerful neighbors.

When the kingdom was founded under Saul, most Hebrews were still rural herders and peasants, living as Abraham had lived. Over the next half millennium, however, many Hebrews made the transition from rural to town life. As many people shifted from subsistence farming to wage earning, social tensions dividing rich and poor began to appear. The strong solidarity that had earlier marked the Hebrews broke down. The prophets of the eighth through fifth centuries called repeatedly for social justice and reminded the people that exploitation of widows and orphans and abuse of the weak by the strong were by no means limited to the despised Gentiles (JEN-tiles; all non-Jews).

More than most, the Jews divided all humanity into they and we. This was undoubtedly the result of their religious tradition, whereby they had been selected as the Chosen. Jews looked upon non-Jews as distinctly lesser breeds, whose main function in the divine plan was to act as tempters and obstacles that the pious must overcome. In their preoccupation with the finer points of the Law laid down by Moses and his successors, the Hebrews deliberately segregated themselves from other peoples. Intermarriage with nonbelievers was tantamount to treason and was punished by immediate expulsion from the community. Ancient Judaism was almost never open to converts.

The Judaic Yahweh was definitely a male lawgiver, speaking to other males in a society in which women

counted only as the relatives and dependents of men. The nomadic background of the Twelve Tribes is evident here, exhibiting the universal tendency of nomadic people to subordinate females and consider them as the possessions of their men. In the Tanakh, even when a Jewish woman acts in a self-assertive fashion, the point is to secure some advantage or distinction for a male, not on her own behalf. For example, Judith slays Holofernes not to avenge herself for her sexual exploitation but to secure the safety of her people.

Marriage and divorce reflected the patriarchal values. The married state was strongly preferred, and in fact, bachelors were looked upon as failures and shirkers of duty. Young men were supposed to marry by no later than age twenty-four and preferably by twenty. Girls were thought ready for marriage at puberty, roughly about age thirteen. A man could have several legal wives and an unlimited number of concubines, but as in other societies, only the wealthy could afford this practice. The wife married into the husband's family and moved into his house. The property she brought into the marriage remained hers, however, and could be removed again if her husband divorced her for any reason but unfaithfulness. Divorce was easy enough for the husband but very unusual for a wife to initiate. Women caught in adultery could be killed, but typically they were divorced and sent back to their father's home. Infidelity by the husband was a crime only if committed with a married woman.

As with almost all early peoples, children were the whole point of marriage. The continuation of the family was the primary duty of both husband and wife. The oldest male child received the lion's share of the inheritance, but the other boys were not shut out. The girls, on the other hand, received nothing beyond their dowries, because through marriage they would be joined to another family, which would care for them. The education of all children was carried on within the family circle and was religious in nature. Literacy was uncommon among the country folk but not so among the urbanites.

Jewish arts and sciences were relatively undeveloped compared with those of their more sophisticated and richer neighbors. Excepting the Tanakh's poetry, the Jews produced little of note in any of the art forms. The representation of living things was thought to be sacrilegious and was banned. There is no record of any important Jewish contributions to the sciences.

A Changing Theology

In the centuries after the fall of the monarchies of Samaria and Judea, the Jews' conception of Yahweh changed in several significant ways, linked to their political relationships with others. After losing their independence, the Jewish people went through a long spiritual crisis. Their hope for a triumph over their enemies was not realized. Indeed, quite the contrary happened: The *Babylonian Captivity*

(586–539 BCE) was a particular low point. Many Jews never returned, having been seduced by the "Great Whore" Babylon into the worship of Mesopotamian deities, as had their erstwhile cobelievers in Samaria. After Persian king Cyrus released them, those who returned were the "tried and true" who had been tested and, strong in their faith, had survived. They rebuilt the destroyed Temple and restructured their theology. Aided by new interpretations of the Covenant (the *Talmud*: TAHL-muhd), the Jews reappraised and made precise the nature of God and their relationship to him.

During this post-Captivity period, the image of Yahweh took on clearer lines. Not only was Yahweh the only god, he was the *universal* god of all. Whether or not the Gentiles worshiped him, he was their all-powerful judge and would reward or punish them (mostly the latter) as they conformed or not to the demands of conscience.

God was a *just* god, who would reward and punish according to ethical principles, but he was also a *merciful* god who would not turn a deaf ear to the earnest penitent. His ways were mysterious to men, such as the sorely tried Job in the Tanakh, but they would someday be seen for what they were: righteous and just.

God was an *omnipotent* and *omniscient* (all-powerful and all-knowing) master, who could do whatever he desired, always and everywhere. The Creator of nature, he stood outside his creation, transcending it. There were no other opposing forces (gods) that could frustrate his will, but in his wisdom, Yahweh had granted his creature Man free will and allowed the principle of evil to arise in the form of the fallen angel, Lucifer (or Satan). Human-kind could ignore conscience and the Law and choose evil, much as Zarathustra had taught. If they did, they would face a Last Judgment that would condemn them to eternal punishment and deprive them of the fate that Yahweh desired and offered: salvation in blessedness.

Finally, Yahweh gradually came to be a *personal* deity, in a way in which no other ancient god had been. He could be prayed to directly; he was observant of all that affected a man's or a woman's life. His actions were not impulsive or unpredictable. He wanted his people not as slaves but as friends. The relationship between God and Man is meant to be one of mutual love. In a sense, God needed Man to complete the work of creation.

The promise that Yahweh had given Moses to preserve the Jews as a people was what held the Judean Jews together after the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests. But inevitably some of them, including many of the learned men (*rabbis*), came to think of this promise as one aimed not at simple preservation but at a counter-conquest by the Jews of their enemies. Instead of being a contemptible minority in the empires of the mighty ones, these Hebrews believed that they would become the mighty and would bend others to their will.

In this way grew the hopes for a *messiah* (meh-SIGH-yuh), a redeemer who would take the Jews out of their



THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS. These historic documents were found in a cave above the Dead Sea in 1947. The scrolls have been largely deciphered in recent years and have proven a rich source of knowledge of Jewish society and customs around the first century CE.

humiliations and make them a people to be feared and respected. In this manner, the message of the Lord speaking through the great prophets was distorted into a promise of earthly grandeur rather than a promise of immortal salvation for those who believed. Recently discovered evidence suggests that there were several first-century BCE individuals who some Jews took to be this messiah. When Jesus appeared, claiming to be the messiah and speaking of his kingdom “which was not of this earth,” there was

disappointment and disbelief among many of those who heard him.

By the time of the Roman conquest of the Near East, in the first century before Christ, some of the Jewish leaders had become fanatical, believing in the protection of mighty Yahweh against all odds. These **Zealots** (ZEH-luts) were unwilling to bend before any nonbeliever, however powerful he might be. This would cause the tension between the Jewish nation and the Roman overlords that eventually resulted in war and the second Diaspora—the forced emigration of much of this small people from their ancestral home to all corners of the Roman Empire.

Wherever the Jews went, they took their national badge of distinction with them: the unerring belief in their identity as the Chosen and their particular vision of the nature of God and his operations in the minds and hearts of humans. This was a vision of the relationship between the deity and his creations that few other people had: mutually dependent, ethical, and just, but also merciful on the Lord’s side; submissive but not slavish on Man’s side. It was the relationship between a stern-but-loving father and a sinful-but-dutiful child. The mold for the evolution of Christianity had been formed. All that was needed was the appearance of the long-rumored messiah who would fulfill the promise that the Chosen would enter glory, someday.

SUMMARY

AFTER THE DECLINE OF MESOPOTAMIA and Egypt in the first millennium BCE, several other peoples created their own states and empires. The Assyrian Empire, founded on an efficient army, lasted only a brief time. After it was toppled in the seventh century BCE by a coalition of enemies, most traces of it were wiped away in its Mesopotamian homeland. One of the Assyrians’ conquests was Phoenicia, whose people are remembered for their maritime explorations and colonization, and for taking the first major steps toward a phonetic alphabet.

For more than 200 years after the conquests of Cyrus the Great, the Persian Empire brought relative peace and progress to much of the Near East. Learning from their more-advanced subjects, the imperial governors allowed substantial freedom of worship, language, and custom, while upholding superior justice and efficient administration. Trade and crafts flourished throughout the immense empire. From the preaching of Zarathustra emerged a new, highly sophisticated ethics that was elevated to a state religion.

The contribution of the Jews to later history was of a different nature. The Twelve Tribes of the Hebrews wandered out of Mesopotamia and entered Palestine sometime in the middle of the second millennium BCE. After a long duel with powerful neighbors, the Jews set up a monarchy that broke into two parts in the 900s. The larger segment, Samaria (or Israel), gradually fell away from Judaism and was dispersed by Assyrian conquest. The smaller part, Judea (with its capital Jerusalem), stayed true to Yahweh and survived as a province of other empires into Roman times.

What distinguished the Jews was their monotheistic religion and their linkage of a universal God with ethical standards in this life and immortal salvation in the next. Their gradually evolving vision of an omnipotent, just, and merciful Lord who would one day send a messiah to lead the Hebrews to glory would be the cement that held this small people together. It was a vision unique to them, and its power carried the Jews through a history of subjugation and torment.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Assur
Diaspora
Exodus
messiah
Nineveh

satrapies
Tanakh
Zarathustra (Zoroaster)
Zealots

For Further Reflection

1. In this and previous chapters, your text mentions the Semitic and the Indo-European language families. As the term suggests, a *language family* includes two or more languages or subfamilies that are closely related by their forms of grammar and syntax (sentence structure), and by shared vocabularies. To what extent do you think that language and culture are related? Can one suppose that people who speak languages that are in the same language family share a common culture, or vice-versa? What other factors do you suppose influence culture besides language? How do you think the study of languages and language families can provide clues to history?
2. How do you account for the Mesopotamian and Egyptian influences on Jewish beliefs?
3. Why do you think Jewish theology changed over time?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The people who conquered the Semites of the Tigris Valley in the eighth century BCE were
 - a. Babylonians.
 - b. Assyrians.
 - c. Phoenicians.
 - d. Egyptians.
 - e. Hittites.
2. The key to Assyrian success in empire building was
 - a. cultural superiority.
 - b. respectful treatment of conquered peoples.
 - c. the bravery of the individual soldier.
 - d. effective military organization.
 - e. wholesale execution of their enemies.
3. The overthrow of the Assyrians was accomplished by
 - a. an internal palace plot.
 - b. a coalition of their enemies led by the Babylonians.
 - c. the Egyptian and Hittite armies.
 - d. a general rebellion of the slaves.
 - e. the invasion of the Hyksos peoples.
4. The outstanding contribution of the Phoenicians to world history was the
 - a. marine compass.
 - b. phonetic alphabet.
 - c. invention of coinage.
 - d. gyroscope.
 - e. chariot.
5. The creator of the Persian empire was
 - a. Zarathustra.
 - b. Xerxes.
 - c. Cyrus.
 - d. Ahuramazda.
 - e. Cambyses.
6. Which of the following is the correct chronological sequence of empires?
 - a. Assyrian, Persian, Hittite, Sumerian
 - b. Persian, Hittite, Sumerian, Assyrian
 - c. Sumerian, Hittite, Assyrian, Persian
 - d. Hittite, Assyrian, Sumerian, Persian
 - e. Hittite, Persian, Sumerian, Assyrian
7. The first king of the Hebrew Kingdom founded after the Exodus was
 - a. David.
 - b. Saul.
 - c. Solomon.
 - d. Isaiah.
 - e. Judah.
8. The Covenant of the Hebrews with their god Yahweh
 - a. was given to Moses during the Exodus from Egypt.
 - b. had nothing to do with individual conduct, only with group survival.
 - c. was a contract that was allowed to lapse.
 - d. guaranteed each believing Hebrew immortality.
 - e. provided the basis for early Persian law.

9. Belief in the messiah among Jews of the first century BCE was focused on
 - a. hope for a statesman who would lead the Jews to a new homeland.
 - b. the expectation of a military leader who would help the Jews repel the Romans.
 - c. finding a political leader who would assert Jewish supremacy.
 - d. a hermit who rejected society, such as John the Baptist.
 - e. having the Son of God come to Earth to bring eternal salvation.
10. The critical new factor in the Jews' vision of God that had developed by the first century CE was the
 - a. link between the merciful deity and humans' ethical conduct on Earth.
 - b. belief that God was all powerful and that He controlled all human affairs.
 - c. belief that God was supreme over all other deities.
 - d. promise of an eternal life given by God to those whom He deemed worthy.
 - e. belief in a messiah who would remove his people from their troubled lives on Earth.



Go to the History CourseMate website for primary source links, study tools, and review materials
www.cengagebrain.com

6

Ancient China to 221 BCE

EARLIEST CHINA: THE SHANG DYNASTY

THE ZHOU DYNASTY

Writing
Culture and Daily Life Under the Zhou
Metals, Salt, and Silk

THE CONFUCIAN AND DAOIST PHILOSOPHIES

Confucianism
Daoism

OTHER RIVALS

Legalism
Moism

The people of our race were
created by Heaven
Having from the beginning
distinctions and rules
Our people cling to customs
And what they admire is
seemly behavior.

—*The Zhou Book of Songs*

THE MOST STABLE AND in many ways the most successful civilization that history has known began in China in the second millennium BCE. It continued in its essentials through many changes in political leadership, meanwhile subjecting an enormous area and many different peoples to “the Chinese way.” The Chinese educated classes, who considered themselves the hub of the universe, formed the most cohesive ruling group the world has ever seen. They combined scholarship and artistic sensitivity with great administrative abilities. Most of the classic elements of China’s culture were firmly established by about 500 BCE, and thereafter they would change only very slowly.

EARLIEST CHINA: THE SHANG DYNASTY (1700–1100 BCE)

Of all the ancient civilizations, China was the most isolated from outside influences—even more so than Egypt. Both agriculture and metalworking apparently originated independently in China. The exact time and place in which agriculture first appeared in the Far East is disputable. Yet once in place, Chinese civilization had features that were typical of other early civilizations we have encountered: It rested on an agrarian foundation (Chapter 1); it produced a long series of dynastic monarchies; and, bordered by deserts and steppe lands, it endured episodic warfare and invasion from nomadic Turco-Mongolian tribespeople who inhabited the dry steppe lands to the west and northwest.

c. 2200–1700	Xia Dynasty
c. 1700–1100 BCE	Shang Dynasty
c. 1100–750 BCE	Western Zhou Dynasty: unified empire, capital at Xian
c. 750–221 BCE	Eastern Zhou Dynasty: new capital at Loyang
551–479 BCE	Life of Confucius
c. 400–221 BCE	Era of the Warring States

The Chinese heartland was divided between the dry Yellow River plain, the western steppe lands, and the better-watered southern valleys. Late Paleolithic Chinese roamed the grasslands of the great Northern Plain, gathering wild varieties of millet. Around 7000–6000 BCE, they began creating a village culture along the Yellow River, elevating their villages above the floodplain on rammed-earth platforms and surrounding them with earthen walls. They developed terracing and irrigation techniques to grow millet, barley, soy, and hemp in the yellow, wind-blown soils called *loess* (LOW-us). It was this region that became the cradle of Chinese civilization.

However, another river would play almost as important a role in China's later history: the Yangtze (YAHNG-tzuh). This great stream is much tamer than the Yellow and runs far to the south, through a warmer and wetter landscape. Agriculture actually appeared earliest in a vast region that spanned most of southern China and Southeast Asia. There, non-Chinese peoples hunted pigs and gathered wild varieties of rice that grew in swamplands along the Yangtze and the other rivers that drained the region. Between 10,000 and 7000 BCE, settled farm life appeared, and it became the center of wet rice culture in southern China and Southeast Asia. Eventually, the northern Chinese (called the *Han*) conquered the south, and the rice of the Yangtze became even more important to their food supply than the millet of the Yellow River drainage.

Much as in Mesopotamia and the Indus River Valley, the Yellow River's floods were tremendously damaging and had to be controlled by extensive levees, painfully erected and maintained. Perhaps, as in these other early civilizations, it was this need to control the floods and to coordinate the labor of thousands in vast construction projects that contributed most toward political unification.

The worship of clan ancestors and nature spirits seems to have been an early feature of Chinese religion. And it was this—particularly the need for the ritual appeasement of the ancestors of landowning senior lineages—that assured that unification and dynastic rule went hand in hand in Neolithic and Bronze Age China. Around 2200 BCE, several of the Neolithic cultures along the central course of the Yellow River were drawn into an organized state for the first time (see Map 6.1 inset). This state was the product of military conquest by a Bronze Age people who were ruled by a dynastic monarchy called the *Xia* (shah), about whom little is known.

Following the Xia, around 1700, the **Shang** (shahng) **Dynasty** replaced the villagers' earlier political overseers, and its rise appears to have been associated with two important innovations: bronze casting and writing. Most of what we know of ancient China comes from archaeology rather than from history, because Shang writings were limited. Since the 1920s, Chinese and foreign archaeologists have been excavating many rich grave sites. From the elaborate order found among the tomb remains and their contents, we can infer that Shang society was strictly

hierarchical. At the top was a powerful king with his warrior court. War was commonplace, and warriors were favored in every way, much as in feudal Europe. Below the warriors were many skilled artisans and a growing class of small traders in the towns. In the countryside lived the great majority—the peasants in their villages.

Being agrarian, the early Chinese believed in deities and ancestor spirits who controlled natural forces. Scholars know precious little about the actual gods in whom the peasant classes believed and about their religious activities, but most believed that nature was controllable by the royal ancestors of the ruler. Therefore, the key to everyone's welfare was the king's ability to discern their will and control them. To accomplish this, they used *oracle bones*, which provide us with some of the earliest examples of Chinese writing. Questions were written on tortoise shells or the shoulder bones of sheep, and then a heated rod was applied to produce cracks. Priests interpreted their patterns as answers.

Several fundamental aspects of Chinese life were already visible in the Shang Epoch. Some of these resemble traits that are typical of all early agrarian societies (Chapter 1):

The supreme importance of the family. The reverence shown to ancestors and the aged by the young. The Chinese believe that experience is far more important than theory and that the young must learn from the aged if harmony is to be preserved and progress achieved.

The salient responsibility for assuring the general prosperity belongs to the ruler and his household. The ruler enacts this by performing critical functions of both a secular and a religious nature that are essential to prosperity. On the other hand, the legitimacy of the ruler and the ruling dynasty is tied to their effectiveness in performing these duties.

The emphasis on this world. No other civilization of early times was so secular in orientation as China. Although the emperors were titled Son of Heaven, the earthly, practical tasks performed by the government were at least as important as their religious role.

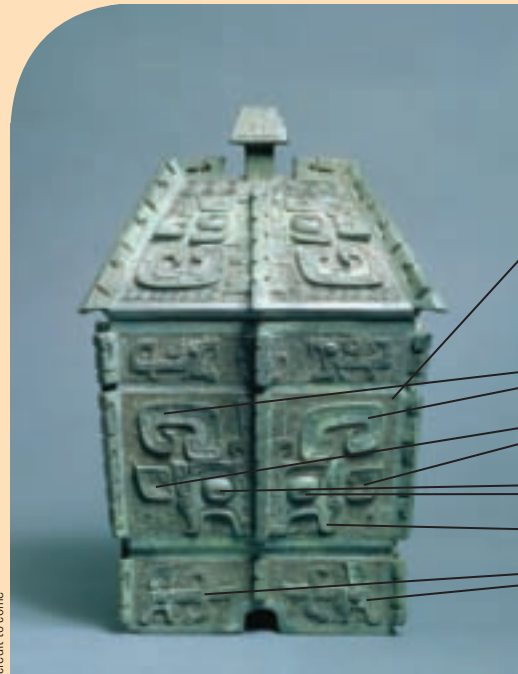
The importance of education, particularly literacy. No other culture has made the ability to read and write so critical for success. The ancient Chinese written language was extremely complex (it has since been simplified). Years of hard study were required to master it, but once acquired, it opened the doors to both wealth and power.

In the eleventh century BCE, the Shang rulers seem to have faced internal conflicts that weakened the dynasty. Somewhat later, they fell to the **Zhou** (joh) **Dynasty**, a related but alien group from farther west. The Zhou would be the most enduring of all the Chinese ruling dynasties.

IMAGES OF HISTORY

EARLY BRONZE CEREMONIAL WARE

This covered “Fang-yi” wine vessel from the Shang era (twelfth century BCE) is typical in several respects of articles that were manufactured for ceremonial use. First, such vessels were cast from bronze, and at the time it was made, the metal and the technology needed to make it were both rare and precious. As such, they were made exclusively for the king and members of the royal household, and only for ceremonial or military purposes. Although bronze was made in western and southern Asia, Chinese techniques were considerably more advanced, and articles like this one were of a much higher level of workmanship. There were also certain motifs that were typical of ceremonial containers. This one employs the “tao-ti,” or mask, motif.



Monster face, a popular motif on Shang bronze wares

Horns

Ear

Eyes

Mouth

Other unidentified fauna

THE ZHOU DYNASTY (1100–221 BCE)

From time to time, pastoralist groups from the north or west succeeded in conquering China’s ruling warlords and seating their own tribal leaders in power. The Zhou were the first of a series of ruling dynasties of nomadic origins that came from China’s borderlands to the west.

During the 700 years that they ruled, at least in name, the Zhou greatly extended China’s borders. Where the Shang had been content to rule a relatively restricted segment of north-central China on either side of the Yellow River, the Zhou reached out almost to the sea in the east and well into Inner Mongolia in the west. We know much more about the Zhou era than the Shang because an extensive literature survives. Much history was written, and records of all types—from tax rolls to lists of imports and exports—have been found. The dynasty falls into two distinct phases: the unified empire, from about 1100 to about 750 BCE, and the Later Zhou, from about 750 to about 400 BCE. The earlier period was the more important. The Later **Zhou Dynasty** experienced a series of constant provincial revolts until, finally, the central government broke down altogether (see Map 6.1).

One of the novelties of the Zhou Period was the idea of the **mandate of heaven**. As did most tribespeople who

originated in the west, the Zhou worshiped an unchanging, cosmic entity called “Heaven,” or **Tian**. In certain respects, Tian resembled the Hindu *karma*—that is to say, a universal principle of ethical cause and effect. Like karma, too, Tian functioned as an organic whole that was linked to earthly people and events. It was the “heavenly” vault that covered all things and all peoples of the world. So, to justify their forcible overthrow of the Shang, the first Zhou rulers developed the idea that heaven gave earthly rulers a mandate to rule justly and well. As long as they did so, they retained the mandate, but it would be taken from them if they betrayed the deities’ trust. A king who ruled inefficiently or who failed to protect his people from injustice or invaders or who failed to contain internal revolt had betrayed this trust. Thus, if a Chinese ruler fell to a superior force or a successful conspiracy, as did the Shang ruler, it was a sign that he had “lost the mandate” and had to be replaced. This marvelously self-serving theory was to be highly influential in Chinese history.

The first Zhou kings were powerful rulers who depended mainly on their swords. The royal court employed hundreds of skilled administrators, and we see here the faint beginning of a professional bureaucracy in the Zhou era. China led the world in this development, as in so many others. As the centuries passed, however, power slipped from the monarch’s hand and a feudal society developed, as the kings delegated more and more of their military and



MAP 6.1 Ancient China

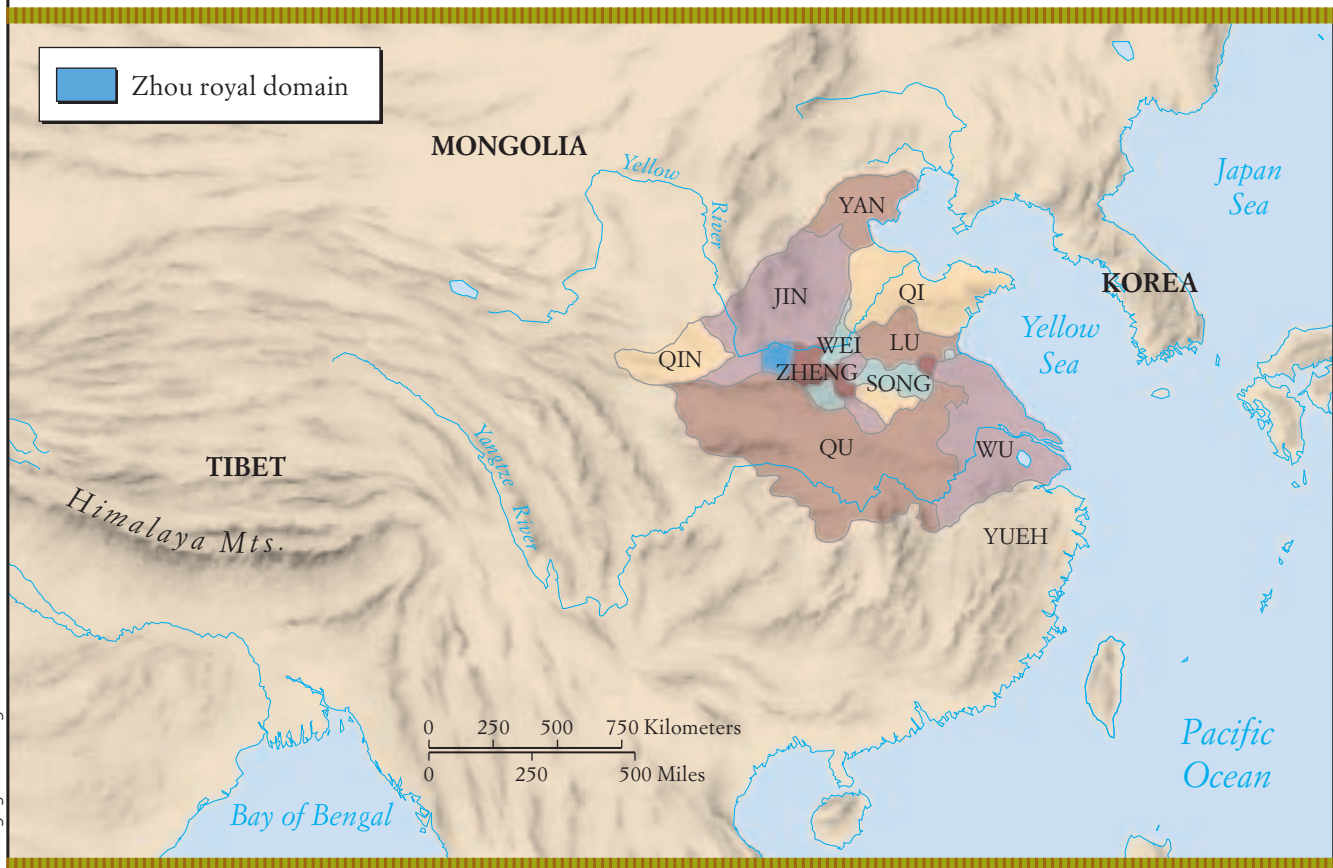
The smaller map shows Shang Dynasty China, with the chief areas of Shang civilization located in the North China plain, on either side of the Yellow River. The larger map shows China in the Era of the Warring States. By the 500s BCE, the domain of the Zhou dynasts had become only a minor state surrounded by autonomous principalities.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Trace the Yangtze and Yellow rivers, and comment on agriculture in the area defined by these waterways.



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.



administrative duties to local aristocrats. These men stood to gain from the acquisition of new territory, and they did so at every chance. As a result, China expanded, but at the same time the control of the royal government weakened.

By the 500s, the local aristocrats were in command of much of the empire, and by 400, the central power had broken down completely—one of the few times that has happened in China.

Writing

Like most languages, written Chinese was originally pictographic, but from its origins around 1700 BCE, it soon developed a huge vocabulary of signs that had no picture equivalents and were not at all related to the spoken word (that is, they were not alphabetic). These characters are called *logographs*, or “words in signs.” Chinese spoken

language is monosyllabic (each word has but one syllable), and a single logograph can take the place of as many as several words in other languages, conveying whole descriptions or actions in one sign. Some logographs were derived from common pictorial roots, but others were not connected in any way, which made learning them difficult. All in all, students had to memorize about 5,000 logographs to be considered literate. Understandably, literacy was rare, and those who knew how to read and write entered a kind of elite club that carried tremendous prestige.

Although writing emerged considerably later in China than in Mesopotamia or Egypt, it developed quickly and had a richer vocabulary and more conceptual refinement than any other written language before the first century CE. The earliest writing beyond pictography is found on oracle bones, but by the end of the Shang Period (about 1100 BCE), histories and stories were being written, and some have been preserved.

Culture and Daily Life Under the Zhou

The greatest artistic achievement of the ancient Chinese was undoubtedly their bronze work. Craftsmen in the late Shang and early Zhou periods turned out drinking cups, vases, wine vessels, brooches, and medallions, whose technical excellence and artistic grace were stunning. Metal technology in general was advanced in early China. Besides bronze, cast iron and copper were widely used for both tools and weaponry.

The Shang buildings that have been partially unearthed by modern archae-



British Museum, London, UK/Bridgeman Art Library

ORACLE BONE. On the flat surface of bones such as this, Shang sages incised the earliest surviving examples of Chinese ideographs. The messages are questions addressed to the gods, and the sages read the answers by examining the patterns of cracks in the bones after hot irons had been pressed against them.

ologists are impressive in both size and design. The upper class built large palaces and strong forts around towns such as Anyang and Zhengzhou (chung-choh), in the middle reaches of the Yellow River plain. The distinctive Chinese architectural style, with pagoda-type roof lines and diminishing upper stories, was developed at this time, although it was carried out much more elaborately later on. Most of the art forms of modern China had their roots in very early times.

The Zhou era also saw great advances in every area of arts and crafts. Silkworm cultivation and the weaving of silk have been demonstrated to be an important part of Shang and Zhou culture and trade with foreign states. The famous Silk Road (the caravan route to the Near East and the Black Sea) did not yet exist, but regional trade did, and goods flowed between China and its western neighbors. Along China's borders, there was great demand for products like metal and jade wares, salt, and above all, silk that issued from the shops of China's artisans. In exchange for these, the Chinese aristocracy prized the sturdy horses supplied by nomads who wandered the Central Asian steppes.

With China's incessant need to defend itself against the nomads on its borders, the importation of the war chariot from Western Asia led to a technical breakthrough of the first rank: a harness or collar that allowed the horse to pull with the full strength of its shoulders and body without choking. This type of harness transformed the value of horses, not only in warfare but also as beasts of burden. Only much later did other civilizations recognize and copy this fundamental breakthrough.

As for living standards in Zhou China, the evidence we have suggests that peasants were moderately prosperous and rarely enslaved at this time. Although their life was undoubtedly difficult, it was not miserable. Zhou peasants were in more or less the same economic situation as Egyptian peasants: They were sharecropping tenants, with some rights, on the aristocracy's land and at least in the early Zhou years were usually protected from the worst excesses of grasping landlords by a powerful and respected government.



© China Newsphoto/Reuters/Corbis

BATTLE CHARIOT. Chariots were invented in western Asia but came into use in China during the Shang period, greatly revolutionizing warfare. Chinese archaeologists recently excavated burials at Anyang that included both chariots and horses.

In the literary arts, many of the classics that have been taught to Chinese children through the centuries originated in the Zhou era. The earliest surviving books stem from the 800s BCE, much earlier than any from other civilized centers. They were written either on strips of specially prepared bamboo, strung together with silken cord, or on silk scrolls. Professional historians, employed by the court, wrote chronicles of the rulers and their achievements. Poetry made its first appearance in Chinese letters during the early Zhou period, beginning a tradition of sensitive, perceptive nature poetry that continues to the present day. The revered collection, called “The Book of Songs,” was produced by one or several hands at this period, remaining a mainstay of Chinese education ever since. Calligraphy also began at this time, and officials were expected to master this art form as a qualification for office.

Metals, Salt, and Silk

Agriculture was the foundation of royal authority in China, but as elsewhere, manufacturing and trade played important supporting roles. There was no long-distance overland or oceanic trade during the Bronze Age—those materialized during the Qin and Han periods (Chapter 13)—but the governments of the Shang and Zhou kings tightly regulated or monopolized the manufacture of certain high-demand rare goods. Trade in these items took place throughout the territories over which their rule extended, and even beyond to the lands and peoples of the north and northwest.

Although bronze making had existed for at least 3,500 years before 700 BCE, until then, bronze was still rare enough that for most practical applications China remained a Neolithic society. Early dynasties like the Shang, the Zhou, and the Qin (chin) held sway because they monopolized warfare and public religion. They reached this position by strictly controlling access to the accoutrements of warfare and public ritual—namely weapons (particularly bronze weapons) and ritual objects (see the battle chariot and bronze artifacts). Royal workshops turned out all manner of weaponry, vessels, and statues, and reached an apex of perfection in Shang times. Much of it was produced using the lost

wax method of casting into molds, a method that allowed greater production and more delicacy of form and design than that used in the West, where hammering and forging methods were employed.

Starting in the sixth century BCE, iron came into common use for tools and utensils, as well as for weapons. Iron making produced stronger materials than bronze, but more importantly, once perfected, iron could be produced in far greater quantities than bronze and could be used for tools as well as sacred objects and weapons. The iron plowshare opened up huge areas of northern and central China to agriculture, enabling unprecedented growth—perhaps 400 percent—of both the economy and the population during the Zhou era.

Salt is so basic to modern diets that it is hard to think of it as a valued commodity—which it was in the ancient world. The high demand for salt made it an obvious target for government control and an important source of revenue for the emperors, who needed the income to support their large armies. There have been estimates that 50 to 80 percent of the emperors’ purses derived from the salt monopoly. Through China’s long run of dynastic rulers, there were periods when the monopoly on salt and metals was relaxed, but so fundamental were these goods to royal authority that these rare exceptions proved the rule.

Yet as central as was the place occupied by salt and iron in its political economy, it is silk that comes to mind when thinking of Imperial China. Woodcarvings of silkworms and weaving apparatus have turned up in excavations of Chinese Neolithic sites, suggesting that the craft had prehistoric beginnings.

From its inception, it was a craft specifically associated with women: Most silk deities were female, for example, and China’s queens had the responsibility for successfully enacting state procedures in honor of the goddess of silk weaving. The critical importance of silk weaving is indicated by the fact that its ritual honors were carried out on the state level. Furthermore, silk itself played a critical role in all public rituals. In conjunction with bronze and jade objects, it was a ubiquitous key element of royal ancestral offerings.

More commonly, of course, silk was prized for its usefulness and beauty. It was an enormously strong, tough fabric that was superior to all others in its ability



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BRONZE ELEPHANT. The form of bronze casting known as *cir perdue* (lost wax) was widely used by the Zhou Dynasty artists. But using clay molds that locked tightly together before the liquid metal was poured into them produced the finest work. This enabled them to achieve a particularly fine detailing of the surface, as seen here.



© SEF/Art Resource, NY

SILK: A WOMAN'S BUSINESS. Throughout history, certain crafts have tended to be gender related. Silk weaving—one of China's most important industries—was women's work, as shown in the Ming-period vase.

to hold dyes, so it far outshone all fabrics in popularity wherever it came to the attention of local elites. No Silk Road existed until imperial times (beginning with the First Emperor, Shi Huangdi; see Chapter 13), but already by 1000 BCE some trade existed with peoples to the west. By 500 BCE, Central Asian elites were importing silk from China. Developments during the Eastern Zhou period—iron making, dramatically increased agricultural production and population, plus the introduction of patterned weaving—no doubt contributed to expanded trade.

Demand for silk also increased noticeably when new uses were found for it during late Zhou times. For the first time, scribes and artists found it to be a useful medium for writing and painting, while government officials discovered that it was useful as currency to purchase warhorses from nomadic tribespeople and to pay them bribes when demanded. Kings collected taxes in the form of silk textiles and paid their officials with it. There was little state control over silk production before 221 BCE, but in many respects the steadily rising levels of useful applications, demand, and trade in silk occurring after 1000 BCE created opportunities

that later emperors like Shi Huangdi or Wudi were quick to use to their advantage.

THE CONFUCIAN AND DAOIST PHILOSOPHIES

Confucianism

China's greatest single cultural force, the historical figure Kung Fu-tzu (551–479 BCE), or **Confucius** (con-FYOO-shus), appeared toward the end of the Zhou era. For twenty centuries, Confucius was the mold of Chinese patterns of education, and the authority on what a true Chinese should and should not do. Confucius's interests were practical, centered on the hierarchy of ethical and political relations between individuals, and especially between the citizenry and the governor. The great model for Confucius's politics was the Chinese family.

Among the Chinese, the *yin-yang principles* identified the female as the passive element and the male as the active, creative one. Although all civilizations we have thus far studied gave pride of place to the father, none applied this principle so systematically as the Chinese. In ancient China, children and grandchildren accorded the father absolute obedience, and furthermore, the mother supposedly never raised her voice in contradiction to her husband. A widow owed the same obedience to her father and sons. This arrangement remained the ideal in modern China before the Communist takeover, although one can question whether it was a reality. (There is no scarcity of reports of independent Chinese wives within the four walls of the home in modern times.) But without a doubt, the principle of male superiority and female inferiority was adhered to and implemented systematically throughout Chinese history.

In Confucius's view, the state should be like a harmonious family: The father was the undisputed head, each person had his or her special rights and duties, and the wisdom of the aged guided the young. The oldest male was responsible for protecting and guiding the others, who owed him absolute obedience even when he appeared to be wrong.

Confucius insisted on *gentility*—that is, courtesy, justice, and moderation—as the chief virtue of the public man. He taught that the rich and the strong should feel a sense of obligation toward the poor and the weak. A gentleman was made, not born. An aristocrat might not be a gentleman, whereas a lowborn person could learn to be one. The proper calling of a gentleman was government. He should advise the ruler and see to it that government policies were fair and promoted the general welfare. A ruler who followed the advice of his gentlemanly counselors would surely retain the mandate of heaven.

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

CONFUCIUS (551–479 BCE)

The most revered of all Chinese statesmen and philosophers was Master Kung, known in the West as Confucius. As a lasting influence on a nation, he has no equal in world history. During his long lifetime, he acquired a devoted group of followers who gave educated Chinese their moral and ethical landmarks for 2,000 years. Confucianism has, of course, evolved considerably over the centuries, and no one now knows precisely what the Master's original thoughts may have been. But by reading what his disciples said about him and about their own understanding of his message in *The Analects*, we can appreciate his greatness and his importance in the life of the Chinese people.

Confucius was born into an impoverished but aristocratic family in the state of Lu at the time when the Zhou Empire was falling apart and the Era of the Warring States was beginning. Given a good education, the young man set out to find a suitable place for himself in the world. His ambition was to acquire a post in the government of his home state, which would allow him to exert a real influence for good and to assist the princely ruler in providing wise and benevolent rule.

Frustrated by the intrigues of his rivals in Lu, where he briefly obtained a post in the ministry of justice, Confucius was forced to seek a position elsewhere. But in the neighboring states, too, he was disappointed in his quest, never securing more than minor and temporary positions before running afoul of backbiting competitors or speaking his mind when that was a dangerous thing to do. He had to return to Lu to earn his living as a teacher, and for the rest of his life he subsisted modestly on the tuition fees of his wealthier students.

Confucius accepted this fate with difficulty. For many years, he continued to hope for appointment as an adviser to the prince and thus to translate his beliefs into government policy. Only gradually did he realize that by his teaching he could have more influence on the fate of his people than he might ever attain as a minister to a trivial and corrupt ruler. By the end of his life, his fame had already reached much of China's small educated class (*shi*), and his students were going out to found schools of their own, reflecting the principles the Master had taught them.

Confucius taught that all human affairs, public and private, were structured by the **Five Great Relationships**: father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, ruler and subject, and friend and friend. The fact that three of these



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PORTRAIT OF CONFUCIUS. This undated illustration, much like other depictions of Confucius made after his death, was based on a relief from the stela in the Pei Lin de Sigan-fou.

relationships are within the family circle shows the Confucian emphasis on the family. He believed it to be the model and building block of all other social or political arrangements. This emphasis continues in Chinese life to this day.

Confucius was not so much an original thinker as a great summarizer and reformulator of truths already embraced by his people. He did not attempt a complete philosophical system and was not at all interested in theology or what is now called *metaphysics*. Rather, his focus was always on the relationship of human being to human being, and especially of governor to governed. He was an eminently secular thinker, and this tradition, too, has continued among educated Chinese to the present.

Two of the sayings attributed to him in the collection of his sayings called *The Analects* give the flavor of his teaching:

Tsi-guang [a disciple] asked about government.

Confucius said: "Sufficient food, sufficient armament, and sufficient confidence of the people are the necessities." "Forced to give up one, which would you abandon first?" "I would abandon armament." "Forced to give up one of the remaining two, which would you abandon?" "I would abandon food. There has always been death from famine, but no state can exist without the confidence of its people."

The Master always emphasized the necessity of the ruler setting a good example:

Replying to Chi Gang-tsi who had asked him about the nature of good government, Confucius said, "To govern is to rectify. If you lead the people by virtue of rectifying yourself, who will dare not be rectified by you?"

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

After a generation of contemptuous treatment and proscription, the Chinese Communist government has recently allowed the reintroduction of Confucian teaching and commentary in the schools. Why do you think this has happened? Do you think Confucius has anything to say to modern people?



You can read more from the *The Analect* online.



This philosophy of public service by scholarly, virtuous officials was to have enormous influence on China. Rulers came to be judged according to whether they used the Confucian prescriptions for good government. A corps of officials educated on Confucian principles, subscribing to his values and believing him to be the Great Teacher, came into existence. These *shi*—or **mandarins** (MAN-dah-rihns), as the West later called them—were the actual administrative class of China for 2,000 years.

The rulers naturally tended to see, in Confucius's admonition that the state should resemble a well-run family, a condemnation of revolt for any reason. In time, many of the Confucian-trained bureaucrats not only agreed but also came to believe that the status quo was the only natural and proper way of doing things. The insistence that harmony was the chief goal of politics and social policy was sometimes twisted into an excuse for stagnation. Also, like many Chinese, Confucius had a low opinion of people who lived by trade, so the Confucian notion of the ideal society placed merchants at the bottom of the social ladder. Both of these factors led to contempt for the new, a fear of change—however necessary—and a distrust of foreigners. From time to time in China's long history, these tendencies led to acute problems.

Daoism

Daoism (Taoism) is a philosophy centered on nature and following the “Way” (Dao: dauw). It was supposedly the product of the only teacher-sage, **Lao-Zi** (or Lao-tzu: LAUW-tzuh), who was purportedly a near contemporary and rival of Confucius but may be entirely legendary. The book attributed to him, the famous **The Way of the Dao** (*Dao de Jing*), was probably written by his followers much later.

If Confucius stood for the active principle in Chinese philosophy, Daoism (DAUW-ism) is the passive one, seeing the best government as the least government, a minimum of correction and guidance for those who are inherently unable and unwilling to govern themselves. In so doing, the rulers should follow the Way of Nature, as it is perceived through meditation and observation. The intelligent man seeks a lifestyle that is in tune with the natural world, a harmony of parts in a serene whole. The excerpt from the *Dao de Jing* in the Patterns of Belief box shows this harmony through paradoxical examples drawn from everyday life. All extremes should be avoided, even those meant to be benevolent. The truly good ruler does little except be; excessive action is as bad as no corrective action at all.

Daoism has taken so many forms through the centuries that it is almost impossible to provide a single description of it. Originally, it was a philosophy of the educated classes, but it eventually degenerated into a superstition of the peasants. Yet for many centuries it was a serious rival of Confucius's ideas and was often adopted by Chinese

seeking harmony with the natural world and escape from earthly conflicts. This dichotomy was summed up in the saying that the educated classes were “Confucian by day, Daoist by night.” In their rational, public lives, they abided by practical Confucian principles of conduct, but in the quiet of their beds, they sought immersion in mysterious, suprarational nature.

OTHER RIVALS

In the later Zhou Period, sometimes also called the **Hundred Schools Period**, many rival philosophies arose to challenge the Confucian views. Only Daoism was as successful in capturing the permanent allegiance of the educated classes, but two others were repeatedly seized upon as alternatives or necessary additions to the teachings of the Great Teachers.

Legalism

Legalism was more a philosophy of government than a philosophy of private life. It was popularized in the **Era of the Warring States** (c. 400–225 BCE), between the collapse of central Zhou dynastic authority (around 400 BCE) and the rise of the Qin emperor in the 220s (see Chapter 13). The general breakdown of authority that characterized this period provided the motivation for Legalist ideas.

The Legalists were convinced that a government that allowed freedom to its subjects was asking for trouble. Legalism was a rationalized form of governmental manipulation. It was not so much a philosophy as a justification for applying force when persuasion had failed. Its basis was the conviction that most people were inclined to evil selfishness and that it was the task of government to restrain them and simultaneously guide them into doing “good”—that is to say, whatever the governors wanted. This task was to be accomplished by controlling people even before their evil nature had manifested itself in their acts. In other words, the Legalists advocated strict censorship, prescribed education (differing by social rank), and immediate crushing of any signs of independent thought or action that could upset the status quo.

Moism

For awhile, the philosophy taught by Mozi was a serious rival to the other three major schools of Chinese thought. The philosopher Mozi, after whom this school was named, propounded a doctrine of universal love as a solution to the chaos of the Warring States period. Mozi intended this as an intellectual repudiation of Confucius's ideas about the primacy of family relations; ideas that he thought undermined the ideal of social equality. Mozi instead expounded a doctrine that closely resembled

PATTERNS OF BELIEF



DAO DE JING OF LAO ZI

Confucian philosophy was by no means universally accepted in ancient China. It had to overcome several rival points of view among the educated class and was only partly successful in doing so. Among the ordinary people, Daoism was always stronger because it lent itself more readily to personal interpretation and to the rampant superstitions of the illiterate. It drew many of its principles from close observation of nature, emphasizing the necessity of bringing one's life into harmony with nature. Rather than the illusions of well-bred Confucians or the brutality of the Legalists, the followers of the Way sought serenity through acceptance of what is.

The *Dao de Jing*, or The Way of the Dao, is a collection of sayings attributed to Lao Zi (Lao-tzu), who supposedly lived in the sixth century BCE. Like much Chinese philosophy, the essence of the *Dao de Jing* is the search for balance between opposites, between the *yin and yang* principles. Unlike Confucianism, Daoism puts little faith in reason and foresight as the way to happiness. Instead, it urges its followers to accept the mystery of life and stop striving for a false mastery. It delights in putting its truths as paradoxes.

Chapter II

It is because everyone under Heaven recognizes beauty as beauty, that the idea of ugliness exists.

And equally, if everyone recognized virtue as virtue, this would create fresh conceptions of wickedness.

For truly Being and Non-Being grow out of one another; Difficult and Easy complete one another; Long and Short test one another; High and Low determine one another.

The sounds of instruments and voice give harmony to one another.

Front and Back give sequence to one another.

Therefore the Sage relies on actionless activity, Carries on wordless teaching....

Chapter IV

The Way is like an empty vessel That yet may be drawn from Without ever needing to be filled.

It is bottomless; the very progenitor of all things in the world.

In it is all sharpness blunted, All tangles untied, All glare tempered, All dust smoothed.

It is like a deep pool that never dries.

Was it, too, the child of something else? We cannot tell.

Chapter IX

Stretch a bow to the very full And you will wish you had stopped in time; Temper a sword edge to its very sharpest, And you will find that it soon grows dull.

When bronze and jade fill your halls It can no longer be guarded.

Wealth and position breed insolence That brings ruin in its train.

When your work is done, then withdraw!

Such is Heaven's Way.

Chapter XI

We put thirty spokes together and call it a wheel; But it is on the space where there is nothing that the utility of the wheel depends.

We turn clay to make a vessel; But it is on the space where there is nothing that the utility of the vessel depends.

We pierce doors and windows to make a house; But it is on these spaces where there is nothing that the utility of the house depends.

Therefore, just as we take advantage of what is, we should recognize the utility of what is not.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What application of Daoist thought can you find in your own experiences? Does the paradox of saying that doors and windows can be appreciated only if one keeps in mind the walls of the house strike you as truthful? As memorable?

Source: *The Way and Its Power: A Study of the Dao de Jing*, ed. and trans. A. Waley. © 1934.



You can read more from the *Dao de Jing* online.

the Judeo-Christian golden rule: that people should treat one another as they themselves wished to be treated. As a practical consequence, his followers developed a military science that emphasized the use of defensive tactics as a way of ending chronic warfare. For several centuries,

such tactics were in high demand among smaller, weaker states that were threatened by more powerful neighbors, but once the First Qin ruler, Shi Huangdi, restored order and established the first empire, they and Moist philosophy quickly lost favor.

SUMMARY

THE CIVILIZATION OF CHINA ORIGINATED in the Neolithic villages of the northern plains near the Yellow River late in the third millennium BCE. Under the first historical dynasties of the Xia, the Shang, and the Zhou, this agrarian civilization displayed certain characteristics that were to mark China for many centuries to come: reverence for ancestors, the tremendous importance of the family, and the prestige of the educated and of the written word. Fine arts and literature were cultivated in forms that persisted: bronze ware, ceramics, silk, historical literature, and nature poetry.

The Shang dynasts were a warrior aristocracy who took over the village folk as their subjects in the eighteenth century BCE. What we know of them is almost entirely through a smattering of oracular fragments and archaeology carried out in recent times. They were succeeded after several centuries by another warrior group called

the Zhou, which established perhaps the most influential of all Chinese dynasties in the realm of culture. The arts flourished, and the limits of the state expanded greatly. Gradually, however, power to hold this vast realm together escaped from the dynastic ruler's hands and flowed into those of the provincial aristocrats.

The breakdown of central government that ended the long Zhou Dynasty and introduced the Era of the Warring States demanded further definition of basic values. In response, many schools of practical philosophy arose between 500 and 250 BCE: Most influential were Confucianism, Daoism, and Legalism, while a fourth, Moism, quickly faded from view once order was restored. Of these, the most significant for later Chinese history over the next 2,000 years were the rationalist and pragmatic thought of Confucius and the passive, minimalist views of Lao Zi.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

The Analects
Confucius

Era of the Warring States
Five Great Relationships

Hundred Schools Period
Lao Zi
Legalism
mandarins
mandate of heaven

Shang Dynasty
Tian
The Way of the Dao (*Dao de Jing*)
Zhou Dynasty

For Further Reflection

1. In what ways did the early development of Chinese civilization resemble those of other civilizations we have explored in this Part? What seems to have been unique to early China?
2. How do you account for China's rapid development of new technologies? How did this compare with other civilizations?
3. Why do you suppose there was a particular emphasis on the worship of royal ancestors in the first two dynasties? What importance did these have for the average peasant farmer?
4. How do you think it is possible for many Chinese to adhere to the teachings of both Confucianism and Daoism?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. China's geography
 - a. isolated it from other civilizations.
 - b. was semitropical.
 - c. is much like that of Mesopotamia.
 - d. made it a natural marketplace and exchange point.
 - e. made the development of agriculture difficult.
2. The Shang Dynasty was established in northern China at roughly the same time as the
 - a. rise of the Assyrians.
 - b. Aryan conquest of northern India.
 - c. beginnings of the Sumerian civilization.
 - d. first dynasty in Egypt.
 - e. founding of the first civilization in the Yangtze River region.
3. Early Chinese religious thought is noteworthy for its
 - a. insistence on the existence of only two gods.
 - b. emphasis on devotion to the spirits of the ancestors.
 - c. superstition about heaven and hell.
 - d. clear and detailed theology.
 - e. development of a priestly class.
4. A significant long-term advantage of the Chinese style of writing is its
 - a. easiness to learn.
 - b. independence of regional dialects.
 - c. effective use of an alphabet.
 - d. small vocabulary.
 - e. use of simple pictographs.
5. After seizing power from the Shang, the Zhou rulers adopted a
 - a. theory of government that justified their actions.
 - b. militarized dictatorship.
 - c. theocracy in which the priests had final powers.
 - d. democracy.
 - e. comprehensive bureaucracy.
6. Which one of the following products was undeveloped in ancient China?
 - a. Iron weaponry
 - b. Silken cloth
 - c. Fine bronze ware
 - d. Iron plowshares
 - e. Porcelain tableware
7. Which one of the following statements is contrary to Confucian teaching?
 - a. The family is the proper model for good government.
 - b. The young should be constantly seeking new and more effective modes of action.
 - c. The gentleman is made and not born.
 - d. The interactions of social groups should be controlled by formalities and courtesy.
 - e. Virtuous scholarly gentlemen should involve themselves in public service.
8. In many aspects of philosophy, Chinese thought generally aimed at
 - a. attaining union with the immortal gods.
 - b. inspiring loyalty and fear in the common people.
 - c. teaching myths and magical formulas.
 - d. attaining harmony and avoiding disorder on Earth.
 - e. developing innovations in government and finance.
9. Daoist political views emphasized that people
 - a. get the government they deserve.
 - b. are naturally evil and government must restrain them.
 - c. should be enslaved to ensure peace.
 - d. should be left to their own devices as much as possible.
 - e. should defer to their rulers, who are naturally much wiser.
10. Legalism could best be described as
 - a. a form of government that recognized the worth of individuals.
 - b. a justification for forcing people to do what their government said they should.
 - c. supportive of societal freedom.
 - d. an ethical system that supported the independent actions of the people.
 - e. a way of encouraging people to develop constraints on their own behavior.



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7

The Agrarian Revolution in the Americas

PALEOINDIAN AMERICA

North America's Archaic Period
Early Woodland Societies

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE AMERICAS

MESOAMERICA AND THE OLMEC CIVILIZATION

EARLY ANDEAN CHIEFDOMS AND THE CHAVÍN CIVILIZATION

Then weave for us a garment
of brightness that we may
walk fittingly where birds sing,
where the grass is green. Oh
our mother the earth, oh our
father the sky!

—Traditional Tewa song

LIKE AFRICA, the Western Hemisphere is oriented along a north-to-south axis, in contrast to the east–west axis of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Americas, while smaller in area, exhibit a tremendous range of cultures and physical environments, from the Inuit Eskimos of northern Canada to the sophisticated city builders of Central America, from the deserts of the American Southwest to the jungles of the Amazon basin. The first Native Americans arrived in the New World much later than humans (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) had elsewhere in the world. Reliable linguistic, genetic, and dental studies suggest that they came in three or four distinct waves, probably between 30,000 and 1000 BCE. The **Amerindians** were likely the first migrants to come—probably from northeast Asia. They were the ancestors of the numerous Native American peoples found throughout the Western Hemisphere today—from southern Canada to Tierra del Fuego at the southern tip of South America. Following them came a second group, from Central Asia, most of whose descendants today are located in western Canada, with the exception of the Navajo and Apache peoples, who migrated to the American Southwest between 1300 and 1500 CE. Again, the last group to arrive came from northeastern Asia. Their modern descendants are the Inuit Eskimo peoples of northern Canada and Alaska.

Just how these varied peoples came to the New World is fiercely debated. The most widely accepted theory is that they arrived near the end of the last Ice Age by means of a “land bridge” that, because of lower sea levels, connected northeast Asia and Alaska. Archaeologists have named this land bridge **Beringia** [beh-RIHN-jee-ah] because it covered what is now the Bering Strait (see Map 7.1). Although massive glaciers covered Canada at that time, these early immigrants made their way southward on foot through an opening in the glacial sheets and by small boats along the Pacific coast into what is now North, Central, and (probably) South America. Eventually, they populated the entire hemisphere. As they migrated southward, the first New World colonizers had

c. 20,000–10,000 BCE	Arrival of ancestral Native Americans
c. 9500–8900 BCE	Clovis and Folsom hunting cultures
c. 8000–2000 BCE	Archaic gathering cultures
c. 6000–1800 BCE	Agriculture begins, spreads
c. 1200–300 BCE	Olmec culture
c. 1000–200 BCE	Chavín culture
c. 1000–200 BCE	Early Woodland civilization



MAP 7.1 Migrations of Ancestral Native Americans

In the Late Pleistocene era, glaciers covered most of Canada and the northern parts of the United States. With so much water taken up in ice, the ocean levels were lower and a land bridge, called Beringia, made it possible for ancestral Native Americans to

migrate into the Western Hemisphere. Some made it through an ice corridor into regions south of the ice cap; perhaps others came by sea.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

From what area did the ancestral Native Americans migrate?

to adapt to many types of environment. Where conditions were favorable, some eventually settled down to become farmers. For many centuries before this, however, from about 13,000 to 8900 BCE, they lived as late Paleolithic hunters and gatherers during what is usually called the Paleoindian Period.

PALEOINDIAN AMERICA

Once south of the glaciers, the earliest ancestral Native Americans arrived in a North America whose climate was considerably cooler and moister than it is today. Here they found a world with abundant plant and wild animal life, which included many forms of megafauna—that is, giant, now extinct beasts such as the woolly mammoth, the giant sloth, and the giant bison. The lush grasslands of the Great Bison Belt covered North America, from Canada to the Gulf Coast. Not surprisingly, therefore, the earliest Native American cultures that archaeologists have uncovered were hunters of both large and small game.

The **Clovis** (CLOH-vihs) **culture** was among the earliest known hunting cultures, dating between about 9500 and 8900 BCE. Associated with this archaeological culture in particular were large and deeply notched, leaf-shaped spearheads called “Clovis points,” which early Native Americans of North America used to kill their megafauna prey. In addition to the spearheads, archaeologists have discovered varieties of smaller stone implements that **Paleoindians** appear to have employed for preparing smaller game for their cooking, as well as for skinning and tanning hides used for clothing.

North America's Archaic Period

In the centuries that followed 9000 BCE, the climate became progressively drier, and the megafauna soon disappeared. Hunters turned increasingly to bison, elk, and deer as their prey, and smaller, fluted *Folsom* (FOHL-suhm) *points* replaced the larger Clovis spearheads. Wherever archaeologists have discovered Folsom cultural sites, alongside these missile (spear, dart, and arrow) heads they

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

THE MYSTERY OF MONTE VERDE

Ongoing findings at a Paleolithic site called *Monte Verde* [MOHN-tay VEHR-day; Green Mound] in southeastern Chile challenge the prevailing view that the first immigrants from Asia to the Americas walked along land routes. According to this view, any southern Paleoindian sites should be newer than northern ones. However, Monte Verde (c. 12,000 BCE) predates Clovis, New Mexico (see Map 7.1). The Monte Verde settlement consisted of twelve huts, which would have housed some twenty or thirty hunters, gatherers, and beachcombers. They lived near a large bay to the west of the receding Andean glacier. The inhabitants had learned to exploit the resources of both the sea and the inland areas. They ate seafood, mastodon and llama meat, and vegetables and nuts. They used some twenty medicinal plants, which they chewed in cuds preserved at the site. There is ongoing debate about how the first Monte Verdeans arrived so early at the southern location—was it by land, by sea along the coast, or across the Pacific Ocean from the west? Adding to the puzzle, archaeologists are investigating several other pre-Clovis sites along the Pacific Coast, ranging from present-day Canada, south to Oregon, Peru, and Chile. Future underwater archaeology may determine whether other prehistoric coastal settlements are hidden under the sea.

There is additional—also controversial—archaeological and genetic evidence that seagoing peoples might have

migrated in small but sturdy boats (reaching North America by about 14,000 BCE), coast hopping and settling along the way from the Northern to the Southern Hemispheres. During their journey, these ancient mariners would have survived on shellfish and seaweed, which continued as mainstays of their diet after they had settled on land. Researchers have found stone darts for fishing, dated at approximately 15,000 BCE to 12,000 BCE, in a trail along the rim of the Pacific Ocean from northeast Asia to southern Chile. The debates about the original colonization of the Western Hemisphere must continue until the picture is more complete.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Would you say that the first Monte Verdeans arrived by sea or by land? What kinds of evidence would you need to support your answer?



For more information, visit the PBS Interactive webpage that shows twenty-eight sites where Paleoindian artifacts are dated earlier than the Clovis sites.



have discovered hammer stones, used for breaking bones from which marrow was extracted; stone scrapers that were used to remove hair from hides; and cutting tools and bone eye needles for preparing hides as clothing and containers. As these missile heads grew smaller, the Folsom hunters attached them to the tips of spear throwers called **atlatls** (aht-LAH-tls).

As had happened with the Clovis culture, the Folsom complex disappeared as the climate continued changing. Conditions everywhere became warmer and drier, and in the American Southwest and northern Mexico, desert conditions eventually replaced grasslands. Therefore, during what archaeologists call the **Archaic**

period (8000–2000 BCE), people were forced to rely more on gathering wild plants as their primary sources of food. Unlike the highly task-specific implements of the Paleolithic period, Archaic tool kits were less specialized and included more equipment for processing plant foods, such as rice grass, goosefoot, and dropseed, as well as prickly pear cactus. Deer, elk, bison, and mountain sheep continued to be hunted, although discoveries of snares, small traps, and smaller cutting tools among the bones of rabbits, desert mice, rats, squirrels, birds, and snakes and other reptiles imply that humans were forced to rely on much-more-humble daily fare. Hunting, gathering, and fishing remained the best choices in much of North America.

Precious little is known about the social organization of these early Americans. Members of their small bands relied on interdependence and mutual cooperation for survival; they revered elements of the natural world, and probably connected with these elements through personal guardian spirits. The small size and temporary nature of most Archaic campsites suggest that most groups consisted of relatively few, highly mobile families. Such mobility seems to have been considerably more restricted than in the Paleoindian Period, largely due to the relative scarcity of groundwater. One result of this phenomenon was the growing isolation of groups from one another. Out of this separation gradually grew cultural and language differences.

Early Woodland Societies

Between 1000 BCE to 1000 CE, Native American societies east of the Mississippi River emerged from the Archaic period and improvised novel forms of livelihood that



SERPENT MOUND. People of the woodlands either cremated or buried their dead in simple mounds, which typically contained the remains of several related individuals. People of the Adena culture also created elaborate animal-shaped mounds like the Serpent Mound in Ohio, for reasons that are unclear.

helped give rise to the Neolithic revolution north of the Rio Grande River. Archaeologists call these societies the **Woodland civilizations**. The most important advancement of the *Early Woodland* period (c. 1000–1 BCE) was the gradual cultivation of wild plants as a supplement to hunting and gathering. The gradual transition to agriculture also meant that nomadic lifeways yielded to permanent villages, even though farming did not fully replace hunting and gathering until the *Late Woodland* period (Chapter 14). The mining and smithing of copper sheets for decoration and trade had its origins in the

Northeast, but Native Americans

apparently never learned to smelt metals of any kind. Pottery appeared along coastal areas of the American Southeast as early as 2500 BCE, but this period witnessed its spread from inland along with progressive improvements in decorative techniques and styles.

The best known of these was the **Adena culture** (1000–200 BCE), which was located in a region that now includes Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, New York, and West Virginia. What distinguished the Adena from other Woodland civilizations were the burial practices and pottery styles they shared. They either cremated the dead or covered them under earth mounds; unlike other Woodland peoples, however, the Adena did not include pottery in their funerary arrangements. Stylistically, their pottery was plain or marked with cord or fabric-like motifs.

For food, Early Woodland civilizations like the Adena relied on fauna typical of a forest environment, such as deer, elk, bear, woodchuck, beaver, porcupine, grouse, and turkeys, which they augmented with wild grasses, nuts, and berries. As further supplements to this diet, they progressively learned how to cultivate squash, pumpkin, sunflowers, and goosefoot. By the end of this period, too, Woodland peoples replaced the atlatl with the bow and arrow. Bark cloth textiles were used alongside coverings made from animal leather.

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE AMERICAS

In the New World, the transition to agriculture was the result of contiering to farming. Archaeological research reveals that the transition to agriculture began

independently in Peru and Mexico between about 6000 and 5500 BCE. By that time, farmers in the Peruvian highlands were growing potatoes to trade for fish meal from the Pacific coast and fruit from the Amazon region. Meanwhile, in northeast Mexico, people began growing chili peppers and pumpkins to supplement their meager diet of small desert creatures. Next, they domesticated beans and the all-important maize (Indian corn). Maize eventually became the staple grain for the Native American diet in north, central, and western South America. **Maize cultivation** spread along trade routes that connected Mesoamerica (Middle America) with Peru to the south, as well as with North America.

If one considers the limitations of their Neolithic technology, the lack of draft animals to haul materials and pull plows, and the absence of wheeled carts and pulleys for hoisting, the agricultural achievements of the Native Americans are impressive. Difficult terrain and relatively poor soils challenged farmers to develop innovative agricultural methods in both wet and arid zones. Instead of plowing with the aid of oxen or cattle (as in the Eastern Hemisphere), Native American farmers relied on simpler implements like planting sticks or foot hoes. In swampy areas near lakes in central Mexico and around Lake Titicaca in South America, they created artificial islands by digging ditches to channel swamp water, then dredging and piling the muck in mounds as stores of new, nutrient-rich topsoil. Complex **irrigation systems** turned dry areas into farmland, as in coastal Peru. In mountainous terrain, intricate terracing expanded the acreage available for horticulture. Because of measures like these, archaeologists estimate that Mexican farmers were able to grow enough corn, beans, squash, and chili peppers in just eight to ten weeks to support a small family for up to an entire year.

In Peru, as in Mesoamerica, neighboring peoples of the various microclimates—deserts, rain forests, and mountains—pooled their food resources through trade, thereby ensuring balanced diets and food supplies adequate to feed larger populations that covered a wider area. The main Andean carbohydrate staple, the freeze-dried potato from the highlands, provided more energy per acre than most other crops. For animal protein, Mesoamericans raised turkeys. Andean people raised guinea pigs and ate the meat of **llamas**. These levels of productivity and nutrition helped enable the development of the great civilizations of Mexico, Central America, and the Andes Mountains of South America.

By the end of the Archaic period (2000 BCE), agriculture had been established from Mesoamerica to South America. Other skills that typically accompanied the appearance of food production in world history, such as weaving, basketry, making pottery, and the construction of permanent buildings and villages, had also taken root throughout the Americas. During the early phases of the Neolithic revolution, Native Americans

lived in villages that included a type of dwelling called a **pit house**. Although these varied according to available materials, pit houses typically consisted of a framework of wood poles thatched with tree branches and leaves, or animal hides, built over a shallow pit. The dead were carefully buried (or mummified in Peru). There were periodic regional meetings among villages for social, economic, or religious reasons. During the next phase, these meeting places evolved into the great ceremonial centers and trading hubs of the more complex societies: the **Olmec civilization** in Mesoamerica and the **Chavín civilization** in South America. Extensive trade networks disseminated goods and functioned as catalysts for cultural exchange.

MESOAMERICA AND THE OLMEC CIVILIZATION

Mesoamerica (Middle America) extends from central Mexico to encompass all of modern Central America. The Sierra Madre Mountains are a prominent geographical feature of Mesoamerica. The Central Valley of Mexico is located on a high plateau near the convergence of the eastern, western, and southern Sierra Madre mountain ranges. Beyond the mountain ranges, a vast rain forest covers southern Mexico and Guatemala. The earliest Mesoamerican complex societies did not locate in river valleys (as in Eurasia) but on the tropical lowlands inland from the Gulf of Mexico and on the elevated plateaus of the Central Valley (Chapter 14 will cover the Central Valley societies).

The Olmec (OHL-mehk) created the earliest known Mesoamerican civilization (1200–300 BCE). The name Olmec means “People of the Land of Rubber,” and refers to the solid rubber balls they made for ritual ballgames. This civilization emerged in what is now southeastern Mexico. The Olmec civilization centered around ceremonial hubs that were initially built near the Gulf port of Veracruz; in later centuries, however, they enlarged the region over which their culture predominated, in the direction of the Pacific coast (see Map 7.2). Their regional ascendancy was based on compelling religious practices rather than on mere political power. They established trade networks in Central America, from Guatemala as far south as Costa Rica. The Olmec traded rubber, pottery, and decorative ceramics for obsidian, jade, and cacao beans. The Olmecs made good use of the maize tortilla—a fairly imperishable flatbread that provided portable meals to farmers and to traveling merchants—which is still a staple of the Mexican diet today.

Surviving sculpture indicates that the Olmecs created an authoritarian theocratic society ruled by a hereditary king or high-priest ruler and a small, elite

MAP 7.2 Olmec and Chavín Cultures

The Olmec and the Chavín were the first complex societies of regional significance in the Americas. Each of these cultures exerted influence through compelling religions that were disseminated by means of extensive trade networks.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

How did the geography of the Olmec and Chavín areas compare?



group of priests of the official religion. The elites created writing and numerical systems to keep the records, and like previous agrarian civilizations we have studied, they developed highly accurate calendars to regulate the cycles of agriculture and religion. A pervasive religious faith centering on the worship of ancient feline gods was the inspiration for much of their art and architecture. The jaguar—a species of great cat indigenous to the Americas—was particularly revered. The rulers conscripted skilled masons to erect fortified ritual centers with temples on raised earthen mounds, plazas, ball courts, and government halls. Only the elites inhabited these centers; the laboring masses periodically gathered to witness awe-inspiring ceremonies performed by the priests. For example, using carved jade feline masks, the priests ritually transformed themselves into sacred jaguars, showing their powerful connections with the divine forces.

Olmec masonry skills also enabled them to build ceremonial stone pyramids, one of which reached 110 feet high. This Great Pyramid speaks of a high degree of societal organization. The enormous heads of basalt that they left behind most remarkably express the Olmecs' skill in stonework. Standing up to nine feet high and weighing up to twelve tons, these mysterious heads may represent prominent individuals in the guise of were-jaguars. The Olmecs mined the basalt blocks in the mountains and carved the heads before dragging them to rivers and floating them to the coastal religious centers.

Between 600 and 500 BCE, the Olmec culture began to decline in importance, to be supplanted by the neighboring Mayas (discussed in Chapter 14). However, their writing and number systems, as well as their calendar, endured as tools that succeeding Mesoamerican civilizations made use of. The Olmec practices of ritual bloodletting and sacred ballgames also continued throughout Mesoamerica.

EARLY ANDEAN CHIEFDOMS AND THE CHAVÍN CIVILIZATION

Successful civilizations along the South American Andes depended upon cooperation and trade among various ethnic groups in a land of climactic extremes like no other on Earth. The 20,000-foot Andes peaks separate the arid Pacific coast from the lush interior Amazon rain forest. Tropical plants can flourish only miles from perpetual snow because the climate varies dramatically according to steeply increasing altitude. For example, traveling east from the Pacific coastal plains, the terrain rises steadily to the river valleys, then to the Andes foothills, finally reaching the grassy plateaus and frigid peaks of the Andes. The eastern slopes of the mountains are covered with dense tropical forests leading to the Amazonian jungle basin. The peoples of each ecological niche developed ingenious methods for exploiting the local resources—as fishermen, hunters, gatherers, and farmers. Because no known writing system existed in ancient South America, our information about the ancient South Americans is mostly speculative, and comes from archaeological and linguistic evidence.

When and where did human societies originate in South America? The question is a hotly debated one. A widely accepted theory claims that the first South American settlements occurred on the coast, near the abundant Pacific Ocean cold-water fisheries (c. 3800–3000 BCE). The inhabitants thrived on the fairly dependable supply of protein-rich seafood, supplemented by wild plants on the fog lands near the ocean. It appears that the first settled agricultural communities had emerged by 2000 BCE in the same moist tropics near the Pacific Coast. (In the arid Andes highlands, agricultural settlements were established two centuries later, by about 1800 BCE.)

The collective food basket in Peru provided more nourishment than in Mesoamerica. For example, the coastal fisheries traded protein-rich fish meal to inland peoples in exchange for potatoes and other root vegetables from the highlands; fruit, sweet potatoes, pineapples, and manioc came from the Amazon tropical forests. The only native grain was quinoa (KEEN-wah), which was fodder for llamas. Trade with Mesoamerica brought maize to South America by about 1800 BCE; subsequently, maize became a staple grain, cooked for food and fermented for beverages. Evidence suggests that elite women were master



COLOSSAL OLMEC HEAD, c. 1500 BCE. This colossal head portrays a composite leader/deity figure wearing the headgear of a sacred ballplayer. The fat, drooping lips and flat nose are stylistic characteristics of Olmec sculpture. The huge granite block was carved without metal tools.

brewers of maize beer. Metallurgy (in gold, silver, copper, and some bronze) and perhaps pottery spread to Mesoamerica from the Andes area.

When the coastal climate became drier, some fisher groups moved east, settling along the oases of mountain-fed rivers that drain to the Pacific Ocean. There, they learned to divert the river waters to irrigate their fields of cotton, squash, lima beans, coca, chili peppers, and eventually maize. The abundance of food meant that population density grew along the river valleys. Naturally, this growth in turn led to more intensive agriculture, with the food surpluses support-

ing elites that organized the village clans, oversaw the crucial irrigation works, and supervised religious activities and the construction of ceremonial centers.

The north-central coast of modern Peru saw a series of rival chiefdoms during the millennium after 1800 BCE. These chiefdoms had thousands of inhabitants living in cities with enormous stone pyramids, plazas, and sophisticated hydrographic systems. Ritual life grew more elaborate at the distinctive U-shaped ceremonial centers that replaced the round, sunken plazas of their fire-worshipping predecessors. The religious sites boasted man-made streams, gardens, and pyramids with inner recesses, all created to emulate nature's rivers, caves, and mountains, the abodes of the Andean sacred spirits. The cloth-wrapped mummies of ancestors were also revered. **Peruvian textiles** and fibers held paramount importance in every Andean society. Craftsmen fashioned roofs for houses and braided rope cables to make bridges over Andean canyons. Knotted, abacus-like cords called *kipus* (KEE-pooz) were the only means of calculating and recording numerical data. Textiles—the most exquisite of Andean art—were highly prized as status symbols and as gifts.

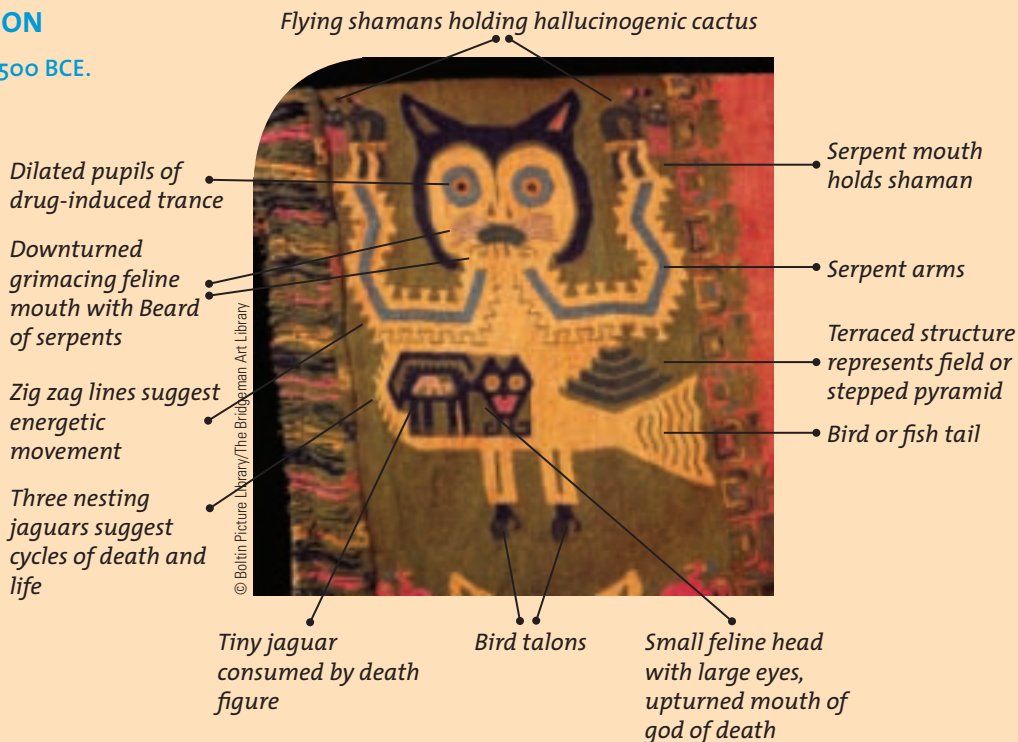
In South America, while the Mesoamerican Olmec flourished, the Chavín (cha-VEEN) culture showed a comparable development (c. 1000–200 BCE). During the Chavín era, widespread use of the llama, a small camel-like pack animal, fomented trade and led to the construction of roads. Most scholars agree that the Chavín hegemony came about through trade and cultural exchange, rather than through political power or military might. Furthermore, the elaborate Chavín cult to a composite feline/eagle/serpent deity (a synthesis of elements from previous coastal and highland beliefs) spread quickly and lasted for centuries. The Chavín priests organized the irrigation projects and supervised the labor force throughout the area. The capital city, *Chavín*

IMAGES OF HISTORY

RITUALS OF TRANSFORMATION

> ANCIENT PERUVIAN TEXTILE, C.1500 BCE.

This woolen figure from the southern coast of Peru portrays a deity that combines features of the jaguar, bird, and serpent—three symbolic images shared by all Andean cultures from the Chavín forward. The encoded message of this textile was clear to the ancient Andean peoples: Supernatural, animal, and human beings could be transformed one into the other through the agency of the shaman-priest. Textiles were the pages in the sacred records of the nonliterate cultures. In contrast to most ancient cultures, the development of Andean cloth-weaving preceded that of fired ceramics by thousands of years. In fact, the Andes area has the world's longest unbroken textile record. Weaving probably evolved from making cotton fishing nets; finer textiles later incorporated wool from the llama-like alpaca. Women and girls of all social classes labored at spinning and weaving—even aristocratic women who had servants for other chores made textiles. Weaving was a labor of religious devotion, a gift of gratitude to the gods, the ancestors, and the leaders. Patterned textiles were a portable medium for disseminating the Chavín culture and religion through trade.



de Wántar (deh wahn-tahr), at an altitude of 10,000 feet, was strategically located on the trade routes connecting the coast with the mountains. The city was, above all, a place of pilgrimage. Chavín de Wántar's terraced shrine and blunt-tipped pyramid provided the stage for priests to demonstrate their god-given powers to mediate between the underworld, the living, and the supernatural. The priests, magnificently costumed as jaguars or eagles, theatrically manipulated water and smoke, inspiring awe in the cult's devotees. Torrents of water roaring through tunnels under the shrine vividly evoked the rush of the Andean rivers.

The triumph of the Chavín lay above all in the provision of adequate food for a dense population in topographically difficult areas. This achievement has barely been replicated in modern Peru, even with the aid of late twentieth-century technology. Eventually, the Chavín culture collapsed, possibly due to overpopulation, increased social stratification, and rising militarism in the region. Like the Olmec, the Chavín never became a true political state. However, their religious heritage is evident in the succeeding theocratic kingdoms of north and south-central Peru. These kingdoms are the subject of Chapter 14.

SUMMARY

DESPITE THEIR ISOLATION FROM OTHER regions of the world, Native Americans proved to be as innovative and adaptive to changes and variations in their environments as did the founders of other early civilizations we have covered in Part I. Generally speaking, the peoples of the Western Hemisphere seem to have remained content to maintain a hunting-and-gathering way of life until the worldwide climatic changes that came at the end of the Ice Age encouraged them to turn to more intensive methods of assuring themselves of food supplies adequate to support their growing populations. As elsewhere, too, their strategy was two-pronged. The first, technological innovation meant intensified exploitation of available resources and innovations in their uses. This led to a growing dependence on the cultivation of plants that traditionally had been gathered in their wild states to increase their food supplies—then, later, on their actual domestication. With these came new inventions to solve the problems of soil fertility, available farmland, water resources, and storage. On the other hand, Native Americans showed little interest in animal domestication.

These changes occurred earliest in parts of Central and South America where the natural environments were most austere, then spread inland and along a north–south

axis to other regions. Native Americans of the eastern woodlands saw some innovation along these same lines, learning to cultivate a few native crops like sunflowers and squashes, but such developments occurred later and at a slower rate than the development of agriculture in Mesoamerica and South America.

The second set of major advances consisted of the social strategies that were adopted to assure that food supplies were adequate to feed larger populations. Here again, one can discern early patterns of change that later (in the following period; see Part II) assumed their “classical” forms. From this chapter and previous ones, one can discern that humans found ways of creating wider social networks of dependence as a strategy—a sort of social “insurance”—to organize food production and its distribution to fend off hunger in times of shortages. The appearance of settled village life reflects such developments. In places where technologies emerged that called for large forms of labor organization and where food surpluses existed, societies soon became hierarchical. New forms of authority appeared—usually hereditary, formal, and religious in nature. In Native America, this appeared first among the Olmec and the Chavín.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Adena culture
Amerindians

Archaic period
atlatls

Beringia
Chavín civilization
Clovis culture
irrigation systems
llamas
maize cultivation

Olmec civilization
Paleoindians
Peruvian textiles
pit house
Woodland civilizations

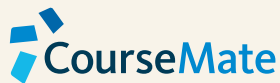
For Further Reflection

1. Agrarian civilizations share general religious and social traits, which were noted in Chapter 1. Describe how the Olmec and Chavín cultures expressed these traits.
2. Explain why the North American Native Americans generally seem to have preferred the hunter-gatherer way of life, while Mesoamericans and South Americans became settled farmers at a much earlier time. Was this always true?
3. Can a case be made that the Woodland civilizations independently invented agriculture? What facts support it? What facts oppose it?
4. What difficulties did early Native American societies share with Early African peoples in their development? What significant differences were there?
5. In what ways did Native American civilizations make more progress in their development than Africans? In what ways were some African civilizations more advanced?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- From what parts of the world did Native Americans come?
 - Western Asia
 - Central Asia
 - Northeast Asia
 - b and c only
 - all of the above
- Which skill did Native Americans *not* develop?
 - Pottery making
 - Smelting of metals
 - Irrigation
 - Building permanent structures
 - Domesticating and breeding of animals
- Which farming technique was not used in the ancient Americas?
 - Irrigation
 - Artificial islands
 - Draft animals
 - Terracing
 - Planting sticks
- Food sources common throughout Mesoamerica and South America included:
 - maize and beans
 - manioc and quinoa
 - potato and squash
 - guinea pigs and turkeys
 - pineapple and cotton
- The Olmec and Chavín cultures
 - were based on warfare and human sacrifice.
 - created regional unity through appealing religions, not politics.
 - opposed the development of agriculture.
 - developed practical uses of the wheel.
 - were monotheistic neighbors.
- In what region did textiles appear before ceramics?
 - Central Valley of Mexico
 - Monte Verde, Chile
 - Costa Rica
 - Peru
 - Southern Sierra Madre Mountains
- Ceremonial centers such as Chavín de Wántar
 - emerged at regional trading hubs.
 - housed the religious elite.
 - consisted of pit houses.
 - had temples on raised mounds.
 - a, b, and d above.
- The change from gathering to farming was due to
 - difficult terrain and poor soil.
 - climactic change to drier conditions.
 - pressure from authoritarian elites.
 - growing populations.
 - b and d above.
- Which of these foods would you *not* have found among Native Americans who lived north of the Rio Grande River in the period covered in this chapter?
 - squash
 - pumpkins
 - maize
 - deer
 - turkeys
- What seems to have been the only method or device available for performing calculations among Native Americas before 200 BCE?
 - kipus
 - abacuses
 - simple counting of objects
 - primitive calculating machines
 - There was no available method or device.



Go to the History CourseMate website for primary source links, study tools, and review materials www.cengagebrain.com

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

1. Review the principal characteristics of agrarian civilizations covered in Chapter 1. Following that, evaluate each of the agrarian civilizations covered in Part I to identify specific features that fit the model.
2. The civilizations that appeared before 500 BCE developed in relative isolation; nevertheless, they all had agrarian features. Yet each was also distinctive in many respects. See if you can pick out features that were unique to each of these civilizations. How can you explain the differences?
3. In what ways would you expect a civilization that relies on animal herding as its primary mode of living to differ from one that relies on farming? What aspects of the agrarian model would you expect to be different for a pastoral society?

CROSS-CULTURAL CONNECTIONS

Trade and Exchange Networks

W. and S. Asia Network: Indian trade with Mesopotamia and Persia; later, maritime trade with E. and W. shores of Indian Ocean and with early SE Asian states.

NE Africa-Red Sea Network: Egypt, Nubia, Yemen, S. Arabia trade slaves, gold, aromatics, animals, hides.

Eastern Mediterranean Network: Egyptians, Greeks, Phoenicians trade in metals, obsidian, precious oils, aromatics, precious stones.

Eastern Asia Network: China and C. Asian pastoralists exchange horses and silk.

Central American Network: Kingdoms of Caribbean coast, plateau, rain forest, and N. America trade in cacao, precious stones, metals, birds, feathers, shells.

Migrations

Indo-Europeans: Pastoralists migrate from Black Sea to Europe, C. Asia, Indus and Ganges Valleys.

Chinese: Millet cultivators of northern plain conquer Yangtze, southern China, adopt rice farming.

Austronesians: Cultivators master boat building and stellar navigation. Migrate to Melanesia.

Africans: Neolithic peoples adopt cattle breeding and cereal cultivation, migrate out of Sahara and settle major river valleys of northeast and west. Bantu speakers of northwest rain forest migrate through equatorial rain forest, inhabit subequatorial Africa.

Northeast Asians: Late Paleolithic peoples cross Beringia in late Ice Age and settle Americas.

Spread of Ideas and Technologies

Western Asia: Early bronze, then later iron making invented in western Asia and spread to Europe, northwest India, the Mediterranean coast, North Africa, and northeast Africa. Sumerian cuneiform became the basis of writing and literature for all subsequent western Asian civilizations.

India: Spread of farming and iron making from northwest to Ganges River and south. Indo-European-speaking Aryans spread early, priestly version of Hinduism. Aryan version of Indo-European speech became the root of most later Indian languages; Sanskrit is the basis of the Vedic tradition.

China: Some aspects of Chinese iron making (casting instead of smelting and forging) probably invented independently of western Asian influences. Spread with extension of northern dynastic rule.

North and Northeast Africa: Probable routes of the spread of iron technology from Nile Valley southwards into east, central, and southern Africa, and from North Africa into West Africa. Egyptian deities and symbols of divine kingship spread up (south) the Nile Valley and influenced many aspects of religion and royal authority in Kerma and Meroe phases of Nubian civilizations.

Africa: Spread of pastoralism and dry cereals (millets and sorghums) agriculture from north to south in grassland savannahs and highlands of Atlas and Ethiopian mountains; spread of yams throughout equatorial rain forest zone from north to south and southeast; Southeast Asian yam and coconut cultivation spread from east to west; iron making spread south from North and Northeast Africa.

Central and South America: Spread and sharing of many religious elements, including ritual ball games, blood (human and animal) sacrifice, and deities. Sharing of symbols and ritual duties of kingship, such as royal bloodletting and royal record keeping using a similar writing system.

WORLDVIEW ONE



LAW AND GOVERNMENT

- > *Mesopotamia*: Early law based on different treatment for differing classes.
- > Property better protected than people, but some care is shown for all.
- > Government originally theocratic; becomes monarchic after c. 2000 BCE, when city-states conquered by external invader and centralized.
- > *Egypt*: Law the divine wisdom and justice of the pharaoh, administered by officials.
- > Government displays stability under god-king until c. 1000 BCE, when foreign invasions multiply.
- > *Hebrews*: Law based on Moses' Covenant provides divinely ordained ethical foundation for Hebraic custom.
- > Twelve tribes long for messiah to lead them to earthly dominion but are repeatedly disappointed after collapse of Solomon's kingdom.



SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

- > *Mesopotamia*: Large cities and towns are active centers of commerce.
- > Dependent on intensive irrigation farming.
- > Extensive trade with other regions attested by archaeology.
- > *Egypt*: No large urban areas developed and relatively little contact made with others.
- > Most fertile part of the world; exports grain, copper to neighbors, while remaining almost self-sufficient.
- > *Hebrews*: Sporadically play intermediary role in trade between Nile and eastern Mediterranean, but their economy basically agrarian and pastoral.
- > As elsewhere, societal structure is patriarchal.
- > Most routine occupations open to women as well as men in all ancient societies, but women normally under male supervision.

MESOPOTAMIANS, EGYPTIANS, HEBREWS

INDIANS

- > Government presumed to be theocracy in Indus Valley civilization.
- > Law remains customary and unwritten long after Aryan invasion (c. 1500 BCE).
- > Brahmins retain lawmaking position as Aryan-Indian amalgam produces Vedic Hinduism.
- > Important concepts memorized by succeeding generations, dominated by self-interest of uppermost castes.

- > Indian and other South Asian cultures agrarian into modern times.
- > Large towns exist from earliest times, but large majority lives in villages with little contact outside their region.
- > Position of women in earliest Indian civilizations unclear. According to tradition, woman intended to serve and obey males.

CHINESE

- > China develops writing early and keeps records from c. 1000 BCE.
- > Chinese law looks to protection of property and maintenance of the clan/family as determining factors for justice.
- > Government monarchic and warrior-oriented, with Shang models for succeeding Zhou.

- > Most Chinese live in villages. A few large towns exist but play only minor role in economy.
- > Trade with others negligible in this era. Rice culture has not yet begun, as south remains unconquered.
- > Evidence suggests period of matriarchy in Neolithic China, but father gets absolute obedience.

From Human Origins to Agrarian Communities, 100,000–500 BCE



PATTERNS OF BELIEF

- > Religious belief dictates type of government in the earliest period, but gradually separates king from priest.
- > *Mesopotamia*: Adopts pessimistic view of the human-god relationship and afterlife, elevating priests.
- > *Egypt*: Had optimistic view of afterlife and role of the protecting gods, which lasted until collapse of its empire.
- > *Hebrews*: Draw on Zoroastrian traditions to pioneer monotheism and elevate Yahweh to universal lawgiver for all humanity, with special relationship with his chosen people, based on mutual love and justice in life to come.



ARTS AND CULTURE

- > *Mesopotamians*: Produce first monumental architecture, first urban society, first writing system. Arts flourish, but little has survived.
- > *Egypt*: Pyramids most impressive ancient construction; massive sculpture, interior fresco painting, and ceramics other Egyptian strengths in art.



SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

- > *Mesopotamians*: Play huge role in early science: chronology, calendar, math, physics, and astronomy all highly developed by 2500 BCE. Technology (e.g., mud-brick construction, city sanitation, hydraulics) also has major place in daily life of city-states.
- > *Egypt*: Develops considerable science but not so innovative. Medicine and pharmacy are strengths, as are skill in construction and stonework. Solar calendar developed.

- > Religion mixture of Indus belief and Aryan gods. Vedas brought by Aryans become sacred scripture by 1000 BCE.
- > Brahmins corulers with warriors who conquer North India and impose Aryan rule. South India not conquered but strongly influenced by Vedic beliefs.
- > At end of period, Buddhism gains ground rapidly and has enormous impact on philosophy and theology.

- > Art reflects religious mythology.
- > Some sculpture and minor arts survive ruins of Indus Valley towns.
- > Stone temples and carvings survive in limited numbers; sacred literature entirely oral into first centuries CE, when Vedas, Upanishads, and other Hindu and Buddhist epics are first written.

- > Indians master metalworking early, progressing rapidly through Bronze Age to Iron Age by 1000 BCE.
- > Mathematics especially important, navigation arts well developed, engineering skills enable them to erect massive temples and fortresses.

- > Religion is conditioned by ancestral continuity; honor of lineage important, with gods playing minor roles.
- > No state theology, but emperor enjoys “mandate of Heaven” and serves as high priest of royal ancestral cult.
- > At end of period, Confucian ethical and philosophical system beginning. Peasant majority goes on with Dao.

- > Arts in several formats take on lasting features during Zhou Dynasty: bronzes, landscape painting, nature poetry, ceramics, silk, pagoda architecture.
- > Language arts highly developed. Reverence for education and for the aged already apparent.
- > Supreme importance of the family continually emphasized.

- > Metal technology well advanced in China: Bronze Age commences 3000 BCE, and iron introduced (probably from western Asia) by the 600s.
- > Shang bronzes the finest ever cast, while Zhou Dynasty sees improvements in agricultural productivity and weaponry.
- > Copper coins circulate; lacquerware and silk processing major home industries.

Part III



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CLASSICAL CIVILIZATIONS OF THE WORLD, 500 BCE–800 CE

IN THE CIVILIZATIONS THAT HAD materialized in the 3000 or so years after the Neolithic Revolution (Part I), people's habits of thought, the values on which they based their existence, the answers they provided to life's mysteries, and their notions about social order and government assumed features that endured long afterwards. These characteristics already had existed in embryonic and localized

forms during those formative millennia. During the classical period that followed, that is to say from about 500 BCE to 800 CE, they matured and expanded beyond their natal areas into neighboring areas until they embraced entire regions. Consequently, people who shared common forms of **discourse** (ways in interacting) came to include entire communities that were regional in scope. Social scientists call a community where people are able to interact based on common values and outlook—and often over long distances—a **community of discourse**.

As already suggested, one hallmark of this period was the larger territorial size of the new civilizations of the world and their more pronounced cultural attractions for the nomadic pastoralists on their fringes. Urban centers were both more numerous and more important. Economic sophistication was evident in the expanded long-distance trade for the more numerous upper classes and in the more refined instruments of payment and credit employed by the merchants. For example, to facilitate merchants' exchanges, China introduced the beginning of the letter of credit. Social strata were more differentiated and more complex than in the ancient age, and social tensions more evident. During this era, previously decentralized or localized governmental authority more frequently was concentrated in the hands of rulers who controlled substantial armies to enforce their writs not only over their own subjects, but over neighboring peoples too. Accordingly, wars were fought on a much larger scale and provided the reinforcement for more autocratic government.

Part II begins with the communities of discourse that appeared in the Mediterranean Basin and Asia. In the case of the classical Mediterranean, Chapter 8 shows how the Greeks founded a civilization based on ideas and values that were characteristic of its classical period

(c. 650-330 BCE), and how the Alexander the Great extended those features during the so-called Hellenistic period (c. 330-150 BCE) over a large portion of the eastern and northern portions of the Mediterranean world, and to a lesser degree over Western Asia. Chapter 9 examines the features of that civilization in detail. Chapter 10 shows how the Romans adapted many of the features of classical Greece and disseminated a Romanized version of it further along the southern shores of the Mediterranean and into Western Europe. Chapter 11 looks at the last centuries of the Roman Empire and the beginnings of the European Middle Ages. This chapter gives particular prominence to the birth and spread of Christianity in the remnants of the classical Greco-Roman world, thus transforming the Mediterranean community of discourse from one based purely on Greco-Roman humanism to a blend of Greco-Romanism and Judeo-Christianity.

Chapters 12 and 13 focus on the classical civilizations that emerged in Southern and Eastern Asia, and to a lesser extent in Southeastern Asia. Again, it was here that another "community of discourse" emerged with the impetus given to trade and the expansion of Buddhism via the Silk Road trade routes into Central and Eastern Asia. Meanwhile, following the debacle of the Warring States period (Chapter 6), the First (Qin) Emperor asserted a new and more potent form of imperial authority, and the emperors of the Han and the Tang dynasties that dominate China's classical age consolidated imperial sway through what was called the Han synthesis and the growing presence of Buddhism.

Identification Terms

community of discourse
discourse

8

The Greek Adventure

GEOGRAPHY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

THE MINOAN AND MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATIONS

EARLY HELLENIC CIVILIZATION

ATHENS AND SPARTA

Early Athens

Athenian Democracy

Spartan Militarism

THE PERSIAN WARS

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

THE FINAL ACT IN CLASSICAL GREECE

ALEXANDER AND THE CREATION OF A WORLD EMPIRE

A Mixed Culture

Greeks and Easterners in the Hellenistic Kingdoms

The function of the ruler is to use his best endeavors to make his subjects happier.

—Socrates

c. 2000–1400 BCE	Minoan civilization on Crete
c. 1600–1100 BCE	Mycenaean Age
c. 1100–800 BCE	Dark Age
c. 800–300 BCE	Hellenic civilization
c. 500–325 BCE	Classical Age in Greece
336–323 BCE	Alexander the Great's reign and campaigns
c. 300–50 BCE	Hellenistic Age in eastern Mediterranean

THE ISLANDS OF THE Aegean Sea and the small, rocky peninsula in the eastern Mediterranean Sea that is now called Greece proved to be the single most important sources of later civilization in the Western world. In this sea and unpromising landscape emerged a vigorous, imaginative people who gave later human beings a tradition of thought and values that is still very much alive.

The history of the ancient Greeks can be divided into three epochs:

1. The *Minoan-Mycenaean Age* lasted from about 2000 BCE to the conquest of the Greek peninsula by invaders in the 1100s.
2. The *Hellenic Period* extended from the time of **Homer** to the conquest of the Greek city-states by the Macedonians in the mid-300s. It includes the Classical Age, when Greek philosophical and artistic achievements were most impressive.
3. The *Hellenistic Age* was the final blossoming of Greek cultural innovation, lasting from about 300 BCE to the first century CE. During this age, emigrant Greeks interacted politically and intellectually with other peoples to produce a hybrid culture that was extraordinarily influential on the arts and science of both Western and Asian civilizations.

We will look now at the political and social aspects of the Hellenic and early Hellenistic periods, and then we will focus on intellectual and artistic developments in Chapter 9.

GEOGRAPHY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

More than most societies, Greece was shaped by its geography. In ancient times, it consisted of the numerous, small islands of the Aegean, the western end of Asia Minor, and the mountainous southern tip of the European mainland. Most of this area had little land that was suitable for large-scale farming, no broad river valleys, and no expansive level plains. No place within it was located more than eighty miles from the sea. Dozens of protected harbors and bays were found all along the coast. From the beginnings of their civilization on the island of Crete, the Greeks were expert sailors, so ships and shipping were always a major part of their livelihood. Because the mountains of the peninsula made overland travel there difficult, it had usually been easier to travel and trade by sea than by land.

This geography also encouraged political fragmentation. The people in each island, valley, and river basin developed their own separate sense of community and identity, much as the people of the valleys of our own Appalachians did. Greeks grew up thinking of themselves first as residents of a given place or town and only secondarily as sharing a common culture and language with the other inhabitants of the peninsula. This would be a critical weakness in the development of a united Greek nation.

THE MINOAN AND MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATIONS

Traditionally, scholars have traced the origins of Greek civilization not to the rocky mainland, but to the island of Crete. This large island supported an urbanized civilization of its own, dating back to at least 2000 BCE. Historians and archaeologists call the Cretan culture Minoan (MIH-noh-ahn) after Minos (MY-nohs), the mythical king of Crete. The Minoan towns, led by Knossos (NAW-sus) on the northern coast (see Map 7.1 inset), were masters of a wide-ranging maritime empire (including coastal Greece) by about 1600 BCE. Nobody knows whether or not the **Minoans** actually were Greeks—their written records have never been deciphered—but they played a part in the formation of Greek civilization.

Like the ancient Indians, these islanders established a seaborne commercial network that spanned most of the eastern Mediterranean, becoming wealthy through their mastery of the sea as a highway of commercial transport.



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RECONSTRUCTED THRONE ROOM AT KNOSSOS. Its excavator, English archaeologist Arthur Evans, spent a fortune rebuilding portions of the Great Palace at Knossos. This artist's depiction is a faithful rendering of what its throne would have looked like c. 1600–1400 BCE.

This wealth produced a socially complex society that was organized into tiny states centered on powerful, palace-dwelling kings. Some of these palaces were architectural and artistic masterpieces, as archaeologist Arthur Evans discovered more than a century ago when he excavated the most spectacular of these, the Great Palace at Knossos.

Evans unearthed a palace complex that consisted of hundreds of rooms built on three levels and arranged loosely around a series of courtyards. The original structure was constructed around 2000 BCE. Through the centuries, earthquakes destroyed it several times, but the Minoans rebuilt it every time, usually on an even grander scale. Around 1450, however, an Indo-European-speaking people from the mainland, the **Mycenaeans** (my-suh-NEE-uns), invaded Crete and destroyed many of the island settlements, aided by either volcanic explosions or earthquakes. Subsequently, they settled on Crete themselves, took over most of its trading network, and rebuilt the palace at Knossos.

The ancestors of the Mycenaeans entered the mainland peninsula about 2000 BCE as stock-raising nomads from the eastern European plains. By about 1600, they had become sedentary, and some of them lived in fair-sized towns—notably Mycenae and Tiryns on the eastern side of the Peloponnese (see Map 8.1 inset). Like the Minoans, the Mycenaean kings ruled from palaces. However, by the time they invaded Crete, the kings had strongly fortified these palaces, suggesting that theirs was a more warlike society than that of the Minoans. Walls described by some as “Cyclopean—after Homer’s gargantuan Cyclops—surrounded royal graveyards and stone-built palaces that included a *megaron* (MEG-gah-ron), or central hearth and

**MAP 8.1** Early Greece

At the height of Greek power, there were more than 200 independent *poleis*, many of them quite small and located on the numerous islands of the Aegean Sea and the Ionian coast. A few were entirely urban, but most combined a town with surrounding rural agricultural areas. The inset shows Mycenaean Greece, the earliest period in the history of the peninsula.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What are two ways in which its distinctive geography shaped Greek culture?



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

“mead hall,” where kings and their warriors retreated to drink and feast.

Our knowledge of this period comes largely from archaeological excavations and from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, two epics of ancient Greece written by the magnificent poet Homer in the eighth century BCE. The *Iliad* deals with the Mycenaeans’ war against the powerful city-state of Troy, and the *Odyssey* tells of the adventures of the hero Odysseus (Ulysses) after the war (see Arts and Culture box). For a long time, historians believed that the Trojan War was simply a fiction created by a great poet about his ancestors. But thanks to archaeology, we know that there actually was a Troy and that it was destroyed about the time that Homer indicates—about 1300 BCE. Whether it was destroyed by the Greeks or not, we do not know, but there is no reason not to believe so. Ancient Troy, now a great pile of rubble, was situated on a hill commanding the entrance into the straits called the *Hellespont*. Much evidence indicates that the Greek towns, led by Mycenae, were engaged in commercial rivalry with Troy throughout this period and may well have made war on their nearby enemy.

The Mycenaeans themselves seem to have engaged in extensive internal warfare among the competing towns. These wars weakened them sufficiently that they fell to a new wave of nomads from the north, the *Dorians*. From about 1100 BCE to about 800, the culture of the Greek peninsula declined—so much so that this period is called the *Dark Age*. Not only did arts and crafts decline, but

even the ability to write seems to have been largely lost during these centuries. Were the Dorians to blame, or did the Mycenaeans simply fight one another to mutual exhaustion and destruction, as many experts think?

EARLY HELLENIC CIVILIZATION

Starting about 800 BCE, the Greek mainland slowly recovered the levels of civilization created during the Mycenaean Period and then went on to far greater heights.

During and after the Dark Age, the institution of the **polis** (POH-lis; plural, *poleis*) gradually developed. In Greek, *polis* means the community of adult free persons who make up a town or any inhabited place. In modern political vocabulary, the word is usually translated as “city-state.” A polis could be almost any size. It is thought that Classical Athens, the largest and most powerful, had almost 300,000 inhabitants at its peak (about the size of our present-day Buffalo, New York), whereas the smallest were scarcely more than villages. At one time, the Greek mainland and inhabitable islands (all told, about the size of Maryland) were the home to more than 200 *poleis*. Each thought of itself as a political and cultural unit, independent of every other. Yet each polis also thought of itself as part of that distinct and superior family of peoples calling themselves Greek.

The polis was much more than a political-territorial unit. It was the frame of reference for the entire public life

of its citizens and for much private life as well. The mutual interdependence of the citizenry was exhibited in different ways. A sense of common life and shared destiny was promoted by governmental policies and techniques. The inherent superiority of the local format of governing for the public welfare was taken for granted, even when these ways might differ sharply from one polis to its nearest neighbor. Citizenship was greatly prized, and by no means was everyone who lived in a polis a full citizen. Women were entirely excluded from political life. There were many resident aliens, who were excluded from citizenship, as were the numerous slaves.

Normally, only free males of twenty years of age or more possessed full civil rights. That meant that as much as 80 percent of the population might be excluded from political life because of their gender, age, or social status.

Each large polis had more or less the same economic and demographic design: a town of varying size, surrounded by farmland, pasture, and woods that supplied the town with food and other necessities. In the town lived artisans of all kinds, small traders and import–export merchants, intellectuals, philosophers, artists, and all the rest who make up a civilized society. Life was simpler in the countryside. Like all other peoples, most Greeks were peasants, woodcutters, ditch diggers, and the many other workers of whom formal history knows little except that they existed.

ATHENS AND SPARTA

The two poleis that dominated Greek life and politics in the Classical Age were Athens and Sparta. They were poles apart in their conceptions of the good life for their citizens. Athens was the center of Greek educational, artistic, and scientific activity as well as the birthplace of political democracy. Sparta was a militaristic, authoritarian society that held the arts and intellectual life in contempt and dreaded the extension of freedom to the individual or the community. Eventually, the two opposites came into conflict. Interestingly, it was the artistic, philosophical, and democratic Athenian polis that provoked the unnecessary war that ultimately ruined it.

In general, the Greeks knew four types of government:

1. A **monarchy** is rule by a single person, a king, or equivalent (either sex), who has the final word in law by right. Most of the poleis were monarchies at one time or another, and many of them apparently began and ended as such.
2. An **aristocracy** is rule by those who are born to the leading families and thereby are qualified to rule, whether or not they are particularly qualified in other ways. Aristocrats are born to the nobility, but not all nobles are born aristocrats.
3. An **oligarchy** (OH-lih-gar-kee) is rule by a few, and the few are almost always the wealthiest members of

society. Many poleis were ruled by an oligarchy of landlords whose land was worked by tenant farmers.

4. A **democracy** is rule by the people—almost always by means of majority vote on disputed issues. Voting rights in executive and legislative acts are limited to citizens, and in the Greek poleis, this meant free-born adult males.

Additionally, the Greek word *tyranny* originally meant rule by a dictator who had illegally seized power. That person might be a good or bad ruler, a man or a woman.

Early Athens

Athens went through all of these forms of government in the period after 750 BCE, when we begin to know something definite about its history. The original monarchy was gradually forced aside by the aristocrats, who ruled the polis in the seventh and early sixth centuries. The aristocrats gave way in the 500s to oligarchs, some of whom were nobly born and some of whom were rich commoners. The most important oligarch was Solon (SO-lun), who ruled in the early sixth century. When the polis faced a social and economic crisis generated by lack of agrarian land, the other oligarchs gave him supreme power to quell the discontent. Solon responded by establishing a constitution that struck an uneasy balance between the desires of the wealthy few and the demands of the impoverished and indebted masses. Neither group was satisfied, however, and the contest soon resumed.

Eventually, an aristocratic tyrant named Pisistratus (pie-sih-STRA-tuhs) succeeded in making himself the sole ruler and made certain important concessions to the common people to gain their support for his plan to start a new monarchic dynasty with his sons as his successors. But the sons were not nearly as clever as their father and were swept from power by rebellion in 510 BCE. The winner of the ensuing free-for-all was **Cleisthenes** (KLEYES-theh-nees), an aristocrat and the true founder of the Athenian democracy. Cleisthenes believed that the people should have the last word in their own government, both because it was just and because he believed it was the best way to keep civil peace.

Athenian Democracy

Cleisthenes (ruling 508–494 BCE) in effect gave away his tyrannical powers to a series of political bodies that were unprecedentedly democratic in character: the *ekklesia*, the *boule*, and the *deme*. The *ekklesia* (ek-KLAY-zee-ah) was the general “town meeting” of all free male Athenians, called on an ad hoc basis to make critical decisions affecting the future of the polis. All could speak freely in an attempt to win over the others; all could be elected to any office; all could vote at the meetings of the *ekklesia* in the center plaza of Athens below the Acropolis hill.

ARTS AND CULTURE

ODYSSEUS AND THE CYCLOPS

The Homeric hero Odysseus (Ulysses) served as one of the chief role models for the ancient Greeks. He embodied in an epic work of literature, the *Odyssey*, the qualities of craftiness and effective action that the Greeks considered most commendable in a man.



© Nimatallah/Art Resource, NY

HOMERIC HEROES. Archaeologists have discovered Mycenae and Troy. Was there truly a Trojan War? This Mycenaean vase dates to 1300 BCE, soon after the time of Homer's Trojan war, and shows two warriors of the period. Could King Agamemnon, Achilles, Odysseus, Helen, and the rest have actually lived? Are these their images?

One of Odysseus's most formidable challenges came when he and his shipboard companions found themselves at the mercy of the dreadful one-eyed giant, the Cyclops. The Cyclops invited the sailors to land on his island and then entertained himself by dismembering and devouring the Greeks two at a time. Then the sly Odysseus devised his counterblow:

I, holding in my hands an ivy bowl full of the dark wine stood close up to the Cyclops and spoke out: "Here, Cyclops, have a drink of wine, now you have fed on human flesh, and see what kind of drink our ship carried. . . ." Three times I brought it to him, and gave it

him, three times he recklessly drained it, but when the wine had got into the brain of the Cyclops, then I spoke to him, and my words were full of beguilement.

[The Cyclops falls asleep.]

I shoved the sharp pointed beam underneath a bed of cinders, waiting for it to heat. . . . [W]hen the beam of olivewood, green as it was, was nearly at the point of catching fire and glowed, terribly incandescent, then I brought it close up from the fire and my friends about me stood fast. . . .

They seized the beam of olive, sharp at the end, and leaned on it into the eye [of the now sleeping giant], while I from above, leaning my weight on it twirled it . . . and the blood boiled around the hot point, so that the blast and scorch of the burning ball singed all his eyebrows and eyelids, and the fire made the roots of his eye crackle. . . .

He gave a giant, horrid cry and the rocks rattled from the sound. . . .

[The now-blinded Cyclops attempts to capture the Greeks by feeling for them, but they escape his wrath by suspending themselves beneath sheep that walk past him to the waiting boat.]

When I was as far from the land as a voice shouting carries, I called aloud to the Cyclops, taunting him:

"Cyclops, in the end it was no weak man's companions you were to eat by violence and force in your hollow cave, and your evil deeds were to catch up with you, and be too strong for you, ugly creature, who dared to eat your own guests in your own house, so that Zeus and the rest of the gods have punished you."

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What qualities of character does this anecdote reveal as admired by the Greeks?

Source: Excerpts from pages 146, 147, and 149 from *The Odyssey of Homer* by Richard Lattimore. © 1965, 1967 by Richard Lattimore. Copyright renewed. Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.



You can read more from the *Odyssey* online.

The *boule* (BOO-lay) was a council of 500 citizens who were chosen by lot for one-year terms. It served as a day-to-day legislature and executive branch, making and

implementing policy under the general supervision of the *ekklesia*. The *boule* and its officers supervised the civil and military affairs of the polis and carried out many of the



Musée d'Art et d'Histoire du Judaïsme/© Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

functions of a modern city council. All male citizens could expect to serve at least one term on it.

The deme (deem) was the basic political subdivision of the polis. It was a territorial unit, something like a modern precinct or ward, but smaller in population. Each deme was entitled to select a certain number of boule members and was represented more or less equally among the officers of the polis.

To enforce the will of the majority without resorting to bloodshed and possible civil war, Cleisthenes introduced the idea of *ostracism*, or the “pushing out” of a citizen who would not conform to the will of his neighbors. An ostracized person had to go into exile and lost all rights of citizenship for a certain length of time—normally ten years. So attached were the Greeks to their poleis that some preferred to kill themselves rather than submit to ostracism.

Of all the Athenian political institutions, democracy has attracted the most attention from later history. Americans tend to think of political democracy as a natural and normal way to govern a state, but in actuality, until the twentieth century, democracy was a very abnormal system of government. It was talked about a good deal but was not put into practice outside the West, and in only a limited way within it. A great many modern countries still give only lip service to the idea of democracy, and sometimes not even that. The idea that the ordinary man or woman was capable of governing wisely and efficiently was quite daring when first introduced. After the initial democracy failed in Athens, as it did after about a century, it was so discredited that after the fourth century BCE it was not resurrected as a legitimate and practical system of government until the eighteenth century CE—2,200 years later!

How many other poleis became democracies at some time? The answer is not clear, but under the strong pressure of powerful Athens, probably quite a few adopted similar governments between 500 and 400 BCE. But even within Athens (as well as everywhere else), there was strong resistance to the idea—resistance that did not cease until democracy had been abandoned and condemned as “the rule of the mob.” Ironically, it was the democratic leadership in Athens that created the conditions that allowed their opponents to win out.

Spartan Militarism

By about 500 BCE, Sparta differed from Athens in almost every possible way, although the two were originally similar. The Spartan polis, located in the southern Pello-

ponnesus about eighty miles from Athens, was a small city surrounded by pastoral villages. As the population grew in the 700s, the Spartans engaged in a bloody territorial war, the **Messenian** (mehs-seh-NEE-an) **Wars**, with their nearest Greek neighbor, Messenia, and finally won. The defeated people were reduced to a state of near slavery (*helotry*) to the Spartans, who from this point on became culturally different from most other Greeks. The most striking example of their divergence was their voluntary abdication of individual freedoms. During the 600s, the Messenians rebelled again and again, and as a result the Spartans made themselves into a nation of soldiers and helpers of soldiers so that they could maintain their endangered privileges.

The captive helots largely met Sparta’s economic needs. They worked the fields and conducted the necessary crafts and commerce under close supervision. The Spartans themselves devoted their energies to the military arts. Male children entered a barracks at the age of seven and were allowed only sufficient free time thereafter to ensure that another generation of Spartan warriors would be born of Spartan mothers.

Unlike other Greeks, the Spartans held the arts in contempt and rejected individualism as being unworthy of them. Public life was expressed in total obedience to the state, which was headed by a group of elected officers called *ephors* (EE-fors), under the symbolic leadership of a dual monarchy. This strange combination seems to have worked satisfactorily into the 300s.

What did the other Greeks think of Sparta? One might think that they would detest such a regime, but, on the



© American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations

OSTRAKA SHARDS. Each year, the citizenry of Athens was allowed to vote to ostracize any of their colleagues. The ballot was a ceramic token inscribed in advance with a name (top) or a piece of broken pottery (above). If someone received a predetermined number of votes, that person was expelled from the polis. How did this relate to the creation of a political democracy?

contrary, most Greeks admired the Spartan way of life, especially its undoubted self-discipline, courage, rigid obedience, and physical vigor. Even many Athenians thought the Spartan way was superior to their own and envied the single-minded patriotism displayed by the Spartans in all their public affairs.

Despite its military nature, Sparta was a conservative and nonaggressive state. The Spartan army was so large and so feared that after about 600, Sparta rarely had to use it in war. Sparta actually became a peaceable polis and directed all of its attention to keeping the political status quo within its own borders and, so far as possible, outside them.

THE PERSIAN WARS

Throughout the early fifth century BCE, the foreign policy interests of Athens and Sparta more or less coincided. Both were primarily concerned with maintaining their independence in the face of foreign threats. These threats originated from imperial Persia, which had expanded rapidly in the 500s, as we described in Chapter 5. They took the form of two Greco-Persian wars.

The First **Persian War** ended with an Athenian victory. The Persian emperor Darius I was faced with rebellion that was spreading among some of his subjects, Greeks on the Turkish coast (Ionia). When he attempted to subdue them, Athens went to their aid. Determined to punish the Athenians for their boldness and wishing in any case to expand his domains still further, Darius sent an army across the Aegean Sea to the Greek mainland. Aided by brilliant generalship, the Athenians were waiting and defeated the Persian expedition at the battle of Marathon (MAYR-uh-thon) in 490.

The Second Persian War (480–478 BCE) was fought on both land and sea and resulted in an even more decisive Greek victory. Ten years passed before Darius's successor, Xerxes (ZERK-sees), could find time to take up the challenge. This time, not only Athens but several other Greek poleis assisted the defensive effort. Spartan troops lived up to their fame at the battle of Thermopylae in 480 and again at the decisive defeat of the Persian force at Platea (Plah-TEE-ah) in 479. The Athenian navy completely routed the larger Persian fleet at Salamis and established Athens as the premier naval force in the eastern Mediterranean.

By the end of these Persian Wars, the Greeks had decisively turned

back the attempts of the Asian empire to establish a universal monarchy over the Mediterranean basin. It was in retrospect a crucial turning point for Western civilization. The idea that, at least in the long run, the common man was capable of perceiving the common good and of ruling wisely and effectively toward that end—the belief in democracy—would have been submerged, perhaps indefinitely, beneath the acquiescence to the rule of the privileged, for the privileged.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

The Greeks' victory in the Persian Wars did not lead to harmony among the Greek poleis, however. Athens used its new prestige and growing wealth to form a group of unwilling satellites (the Delian League) among the nearby poleis. The democrats, led by the great orator **Pericles** (PAYR-rih-clees), were now in command and were responsible for bringing Athens into conflict with Corinth, one of Sparta's Peloponnesian allies. Corinth asked Sparta for help, and when the Spartans warned the Athenians to back down, Pericles responded with war. Athens was embarked on an imperial adventure, with the goal of extending its authority over not only Greece but the surrounding coasts as well. It turned out to be a fatal error, although Pericles did not live to realize it. (See Law and Government box.)

With its strong navy, Athens believed that it could hold off the land-based Spartans indefinitely while building up its alliances. These allied forces would then be able to challenge the Spartan army on Sparta's home territory.

For most of its duration, the **Peloponnesian War** (pehl-luh-puh-NEE-zhan; 431–404 BCE) was an intermittently fought deadlock. Neither side was able to deal the other an effective blow, and long truces allowed the combatants to regain their strength. After Pericles died in 429, the Athenian democrats argued among themselves while the antidemocratic forces within the polis gained strength. An ambitious attempt to weaken Sparta by attacking its allies on Sicily went astray and turned into disaster. Finally, in 404, the Spartans obtained effective naval aid (from Persia!) and defeated the Athenians at sea. After that, it was a simple matter for their large army to lay siege to Athens and starve it into surrender.

The Peloponnesian War ended with a technical victory for Sparta, but actually it was a loss for all concerned. The Spartan leadership was



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GREEK VASE. This vase shows a fight between a Greek hoplite (infantryman) and his Persian cavalry enemy. A product of the late fifth century BCE, it was probably a commemoration of the great Greek triumph over Darius's troops.

not inclined or equipped to lead the squabbling Greeks into an effective central government. Defeated Athens was torn between the discredited democrats and the conservatives favored by Sparta.

THE FINAL ACT IN CLASSICAL GREECE

After the war, the Greeks fought intermittently among themselves for political supremacy for two generations. Whenever a strong contender emerged, such as the major polis of Thebes, the others would band together against it. Once they had succeeded in defeating their rival, they would begin to quarrel among themselves, and the fragile unity would break down once again. The Greek passion for independence and individuality had degenerated into endless quarrels and maneuvering for power, with no clear vision of what that power should create.

To the north of Greece were a people—the Macedonians (ma-sih-DOH-nee-ans)—whom the Greeks regarded as savage and barbarian, although they were ethnically related. Philip of Macedonia, the ruler of this northern kingdom, had transformed it from a relatively backwards society into an effectively governed, aggressive state. One by one, he began to absorb the northern Greek poleis, until by the 340s he had made himself the master of much of the mainland.

After much delay, the Athenians finally awoke to the danger and convinced Thebes to join with them against the menace from the north. In the battle of Chaeronea (KAYR-oh-NEE-ah) in 338 BCE, however, Philip's forces defeated the allies. The former city-states became provinces in a rapidly forming Macedonian Empire. Chaeronea was the effective end of the era of polis independence and of the Classical Age. From the latter part of the fourth century BCE onward, Greeks were to almost always be under the rule of foreigners to whom the daring ideas of polis democracy were unknown or inimical.

ALEXANDER AND THE CREATION OF A WORLD EMPIRE

After the battle at Chaeronea—which brought him mastery of the former poleis of Greece—King Philip of Macedonia was assassinated, and his young son, Alexander, succeeded to the throne. In his thirteen-year reign (336–323 BCE), **Alexander the Great** conquered most of the world known to the Greeks and proved himself one of the most remarkable individuals in world history. His boldness and vigor became the stuff of legend among the Greeks who fought under him. Both traits are attested to by the story Plutarch (PLOO-tark) tells in the anecdote in this chapter (see the Society and Economy box, “Plutarch on Alexander”).

Alexander's break with previous military tradition regarding the status of the conqueror is also memorable.

At the time of his death, Philip had been organizing a large, combined Macedonian-Greek army with the announced purpose of invading the huge Persian Empire. After swiftly putting down a rebellion in Thebes, Alexander continued this plan and crossed the Dardanelles (dahr-dah-NELS) in 334 with an army of about 55,000 men (very large for the times). In three great battles fought in Asia Minor, the young general brought down the mightiest empire the world had yet seen, the empire of Darius III of Persia, who was slain by his own troops after the third and decisive loss at Gaugamela in present-day Iraq (see Map 8.2).

Conquering an unresisting Egypt, Alexander then invaded the Persian heartland and proceeded eastward into the unknown borderlands of India. After spending five years defeating the numerous tribal kingdoms of the Indus Basin and the wild highlands to its north (present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan), his remaining troops finally mutinied and refused to go farther. In 324, Alexander led his exhausted men back to Persia. A year later, he died in Babylon at the age of thirty-three. The few years of his reign and his much-disputed view of the desirable form of imperial government would have a lasting effect on much of the world's history.

A Mixed Culture

Alexander the Great (as he was soon called) had founded the largest empire yet seen in history, but it began to disintegrate almost on the day of his death. He left an infant son by his last and favorite wife, Roxana, but the child became a mere pawn as Alexander's generals struggled to succeed him as sole ruler. (The son was eventually put to death at age sixteen by one of the contestants.) Finally, the exhausted combatants tired of the civil war and split up the vast territories conquered by Alexander into a series of kingdoms, each originally ruled by one of Alexander's generals. Collectively, these successor states in southwestern Asia and the eastern Mediterranean are called the **Hellenistic kingdoms**.

Everywhere Alexander led his armies, he founded new cities or towns, several of which bore his name. He then recruited Greeks from the homeland to come and establish themselves as a ruling group in the new cities. He encouraged them to follow his own example and intermarry with the locals. Tens of thousands of Greeks took up the invitation, leaving overcrowded, resource-poor Greece to make their names and fortunes in the countries now under Greco-Macedonian control. Inevitably, they brought with them the values they had cherished in their native land. As the conquerors, the Greeks could and did impose their ideas on the Asiatics and Egyptians with whom they had contact or had intermarried.

The result was a mixed culture that blended Greek and Asiatic attitudes. A major example of this is the fate of the Greek civic community. The conquering Greeks first tried

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

PLUTARCH ON ALEXANDER: PARALLEL LIVES

Alexander of Macedonia is known to us through several eyewitness accounts. A Greek citizen of the Roman Empire who lived several hundred years after Alexander, however, wrote the best biography of all. Plutarch wrote his *Parallel Lives* to provide the youth of Rome with examples of both Greek and Roman heroes for them to emulate. It has been a favorite ever since and includes this famous anecdote:

Philonicus the Thessalian brought the horse Bucephalus to Philip, offering to sell him for thirteen talents of silver; but when they went into the field to try him they found him so very vicious and unmanageable that he reared up when they endeavored to mount him and would not suffer even the voices of Philip's attendants. Upon which, Alexander, who stood nearby, said, "What an excellent horse do they lose for want of boldness to manage him! . . . I could manage this horse better than the others do."

Philip, who was a harsh father, challenged his son to prove his boast:

Alexander immediately ran to the horse and taking hold of his bridle turned him directly toward the sun, having, it seems, observed that he was disturbed by and afraid of the motion of his own shadow. . . . Then, stroking him gently when he found him beginning to grow eager and fiery, with one nimble step he securely mounted him, and when he was seated by little and little drew in the bridle and curbed him so, without

either striking or spurring him. Presently, when he found him free from all rebelliousness and only impatient for the course, he let him go at full speed, inciting him now with a commanding voice and urging him also with his heel. Philip and his friends looked on at first in silence and anxiety, till seeing him turn at the end of the course and come back rejoicing and triumphing for what he had performed, they all burst out into acclamations of applause; and his father, shedding tears of joy, kissed Alexander as he came down from the horse and in his exultation said, "O my son, look thee out for a kingdom equal to and worthy of thyself, for Macedonia is too little for thee!"

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Why might Plutarch, writing in the second century CE, want to use Alexander as one of his *Parallel Lives* for the instruction and entertainment of Roman youth? Besides bravery and intelligence, what other characteristics of Alexander are hinted at here that would appeal to a patriotic Roman?

 You can read Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* online.

Pinacoteca Capitolina, Palazzo Conservatori, Rome, Italy/Index/Bridgeman Art Library

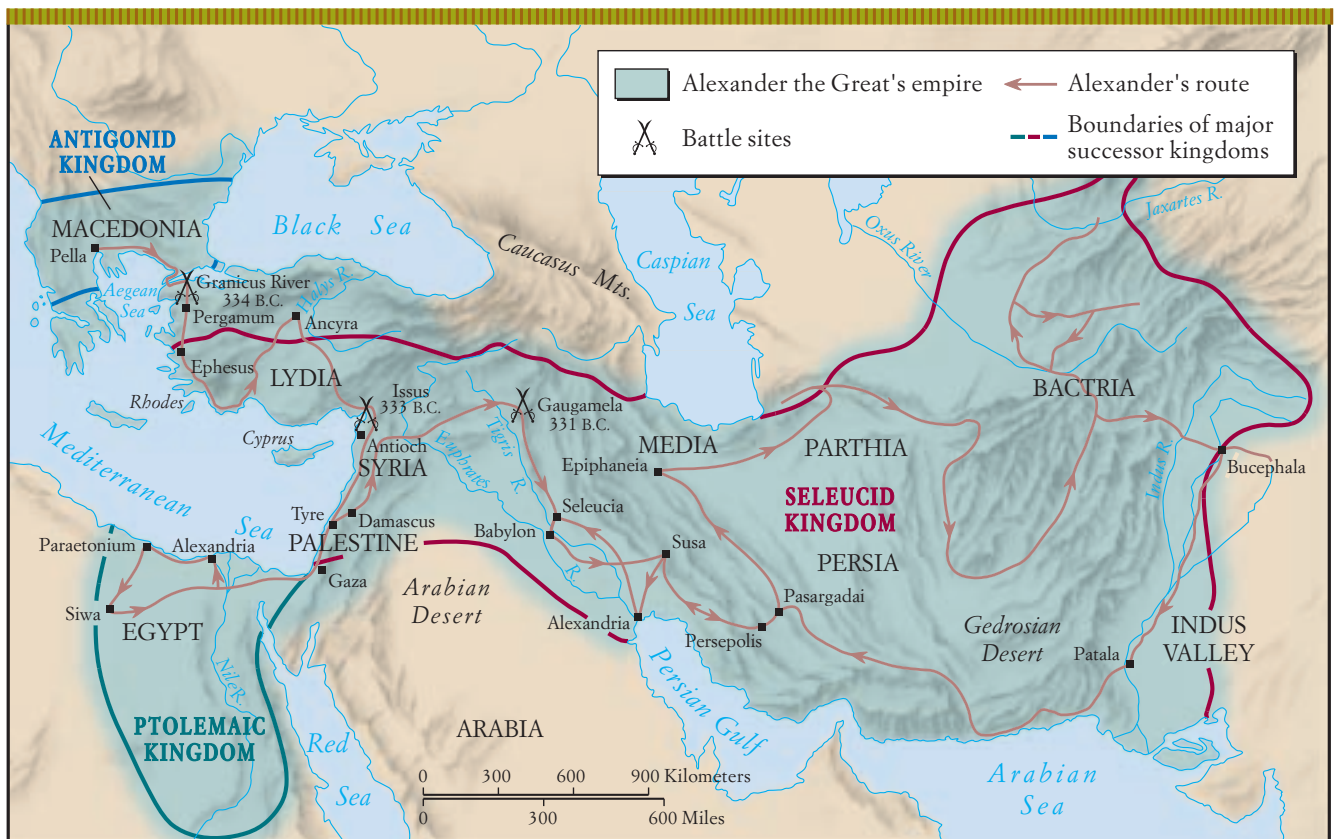


ALEXANDER. This marble bust of the conqueror is a Roman copy of a Greek original. It emphasizes Alexander's youthful beauty but may have been close to the reality of his appearance.

to reconstruct the polis mode of shared government and interdependent community in their new homes, but they quickly found that this was impossible. The Easterners had no experience of the polis form of government and did not understand it. They had never governed themselves but had always had an all-powerful king who ruled through his appointed or hereditary officials and generals. Soon, the ruling Greeks themselves adopted the monarchical form of government. Thus, instead of the small, tight-knit community of equal citizens that was typical of the polis

of the Classical Age, a Hellenistic state was typically a large kingdom in which a bureaucracy governed at the king's command. The inhabitants, whether Greek or native, were no longer citizens but subjects.

Although Alexander never conquered India's heartland, the Greek invasion of the Indus plains also had lasting effects. It introduced the Indian Hindu/Buddhist world to the Western world, and from this time onward, there were direct trade contacts between India and the eastern end of the Mediterranean. The invasion



MAP 8.2 Alexander's Empire and the Successor Kingdoms

The huge area conquered by Alexander between 334 and 324 BCE was too large to control from a single center. It quickly broke down into regional kingdoms under several of Alexander's generals after the conqueror's death.

MAP QUESTIONS

Using the map scale, measure the east-to-west distance of Alexander's Empire. Locate and name the three successor kingdoms.



[View an interactive version of this or a related map online.](#)

also disrupted the existing political balance in northern India, opening a vacuum that paved the way for the conquering Mauryan dynasty, including the great Ashoka (see Chapter 4).

Greeks and Easterners in the Hellenistic Kingdoms

The civil wars after Alexander's death resulted in the formation of three major successor kingdoms, each ruled by a former Greek general who had fought his way into that position (see Map 8.2):

1. The **Ptolemaic** (tah-leh-MAY-ihk) **Kingdom** of Egypt. A general named Ptolemy (TAH-leh-mee) succeeded in capturing Egypt, the richest of all the provinces of Alexander's empire. There he ruled as a divine king, just as the pharaohs once had. By the 100s BCE, the many immigrant Greeks and the Egyptian upper class had intermixed sufficiently to make Egypt a hybrid society. Many Greeks adopted

the Egyptian way of life, which they found pleasant. Meanwhile, ordinary Egyptians remained exploited peasants or slaves.

2. The **Seleucid** (seh-LOO-sihd) **Kingdom** of Persia. The Seleucid Kingdom, which was the successor to most of the once-mighty empire of Darius III, reached from India's borders to the shores of the Mediterranean. It was founded by a former general named Seleucus (seh-LOO-kus), and, like Ptolemaic Egypt, it lasted until the Roman assault in the first century BCE. Many tens of thousands of Greek immigrants came here as officials, soldiers, or craftsmen, and the contact between the locals and Greeks was extensive in the western parts of the kingdom, especially Syria and Turkey. The kingdom was too large to govern effectively, however, and it began to lose pieces to rebels and petty kings on its borders as early as the 200s. By the time the Romans were invading the western areas, most of the east was already lost.
3. The **Antigonid** (an-TIH-guh-nihd) **Kingdom**. This kingdom was also founded by a general, who claimed the old Macedonian homeland and ruled

part of what had been Greece as well. The rest of Greece was divided among several leagues of city-states, which vied with each other for politi-

cal and economic supremacy, until both they and the Macedonians fell to the Romans in the middle 100s BCE.

SUMMARY

THE GREEKS WERE AN INDO-EUROPEAN nomadic group who entered the Greek peninsula around 2000 BCE and were gradually civilized, in part through the agency of the Minoans on Crete. By 1200, the Greeks had developed to the point that they were able to conquer their former overlords and mount an expedition against Troy. Following the coming of the Dorian invaders, however, Greece entered a Dark Age of cultural regression. This period ended around 800, and the Greeks began their ascent to becoming one of history's most remarkable civilizations, a rise that culminated in the Classical Age from 500 to 325 BCE.

In the Classical Age, the democratically led polis of Athens became the most important of the more than 200 city-states. Athens evolved through the various types of Greek government to achieve a limited-but-real democracy in the early fifth century. Through its commercial and maritime supremacy, it became the richest and most culturally significant of the poleis.

Victory over the Persians in the two Persian Wars encouraged democratic and imperialist Athens to attempt dominion over many other city-states. Its main opponent was militaristic and conservative Sparta, and the two came to blows in the lengthy Peloponnesian War, which

ended with a Spartan victory in 404. Seventy years later, the real winner, however, proved to be the Macedonians, whose king Philip took advantage of the continuing intra-Hellenic disharmony and warfare to impose his rule over all of Greece at the battle of Chaeronea.

Alexander extended his father's ambitions by conquering the entire eastern world as it was known to the Greeks at that time, creating an empire that incorporated all the old eastern civilizations that had preceded Alexander's, save that of China. Alexander died just ten years after having set forth on his own path to fame, and his empire failed to survive him. Had he lived longer, perhaps Alexander might have derived satisfaction from witnessing the diverse peoples of the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia learning the language of their conquerors and colonizers and imbibing deeply from the wellsprings of their civilization, as indeed they did. Greek became the common language of discourse; it and Greek urban civilization were the twin foundations of most nations throughout this vast expanse, as we shall see in the next chapter. In the end, though, it was to be the Romans who would reap the greatest rewards of Greece's and Alexander's triumphs (Chapters 10 and 11).

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Alexander the Great
Antigonid Kingdom

aristocracy
Cleisthenes

democracy
Hellenistic kingdoms
Homer
Iliad
Messenian Wars
Minoans
monarchy
Mycenaeans

Odyssey
oligarchy
Peloponnesian War
Pericles
Persian Wars
polis
Ptolemaic Kingdom of Egypt
Seleucid Kingdom of Persia

For Further Reflection

1. What, if anything, was unique about the direction Greek civilization took in its time and place?
2. In your opinion, what factors made it difficult for the Greeks to organize themselves into political entities above the level of the *polis*?
3. In what ways was Classical Greek religion similar to religion in other, contemporary civilizations? In what ways was it dissimilar? How would you account for the differences?
4. Why, despite the enormous numerical advantages, did the Greeks in two separate wars manage to defeat the Persians?
5. Why did Alexander want to conquer Persia?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- The Mycenaean period of Greek history
 - preceded the Dark Age.
 - followed the Dark Age.
 - was the high point of Greek political culture.
 - saw the Greeks ruling several other peoples.
 - contributed a great deal to Dorian culture.
- In Homer's poem, *Odyssey* (Ulysses) conquered the Cyclops by
 - killing him in a duel.
 - blinding him.
 - tricking him to jump into the sea.
 - tying him down while he was sleeping.
 - convincing him to drink a poisonous concoction.
- The polis was a
 - warrior-king.
 - community of citizens.
 - commercial league of merchants.
 - temple complex.
 - barracks for military youth in Sparta.
- Athenian women were
 - secluded within the home after marriage.
 - considered the collective sexual property of all free Greek males.
 - excluded from any political role.
 - viewed as the more talented of the two sexes.
 - considered vital to the production of strong warrior offspring.
- Which of the following was not a form of classical Greek government?
 - Monarchy
 - Hierarchy
 - Oligarchy
 - Democracy
 - Aristocracy
- The founder of the Athenian democracy was
 - Solon.
 - Cleisthenes.
 - Pisistratus.
 - Plato.
 - Homer.
- The critical factor in transforming Sparta from an ordinary polis into a special one was
 - the war against the neighboring Messenians.
 - the invasions by the Persians.
 - the war against Athens.
 - its commercial rivalry with Athens.
 - its use of slavery to advance its standing as a polis.
- The battle of Marathon was fought during the
 - Peloponnesian War.
 - Second Persian War.
 - Siege of Sparta.
 - Athenian navy's rout of its enemy at Salamis.
 - First Persian War.
- The Peloponnesian War is best described as
 - a struggle between Athens and the rest of Greece.
 - the start of an era of Spartan dictatorship in Greece.
 - the discrediting of the Athenian democracy as leader of Greece.
 - the establishment of Persian influence in Greece.
 - simply one more in a line of victories for Athens.
- According to Plutarch, Alexander most impressed his father by
 - slaying the giant Hercules.
 - riding a wild horse.
 - leading the Macedonian army.
 - constructing a bridge over the Hellespont.
 - invading the Persian Empire.



Go to the History CourseMate website for primary source links, study tools, and review materials www.cengagebrain.com



Greek Humanism, 800–100 BCE

PHILOSOPHY: THE LOVE OF WISDOM

Pre-Socratic Philosophy

The Classic Age: Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle

Three Hellenistic Varieties

SCIENCE

GREEK RELIGION

THE ARTS AND LITERATURE

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

Slavery

Gender Relations

THE GREEK LEGACY

THE GREEK CONTRIBUTION to the creation of Western civilization equals that of the Jews and the Christians. In addition to the concept of democratic government, the Greek achievement was exemplified most strikingly in the fine arts and in the search for wisdom, which the Greeks called *philosophy*. In both areas, the Greeks developed models and modes of thought that have remained appealing for twenty-five centuries and are still valid and inspiring today. The overall achievement of the Greeks during their great age is summed up in the term *Hellenic culture*. After the Greeks fell to the Macedonian barbarians in 338 BCE, Hellenism in a diluted and corrupted form was spread into the East and Egypt by the conquerors and their Greek associates. This altered form of Hellenism is known as *Hellenistic* culture or civilization. It retained some of the values and attitudes of the classical Greek polis, but it also gradually dropped many in favor of the very different values and attitudes of the Eastern kingdoms and empires.

PHILOSOPHY: THE LOVE OF WISDOM

The Greek word **philosophy** means “love of wisdom.” The Greeks used it to mean the examination of the entire spectrum of human knowledge and not just the narrower fields of inquiry, such as the rules of logic, to which it is conventionally limited today. The ancient Greeks can legitimately be called some of the great originators of philosophy.

*For we are lovers of the
beautiful, yet simple in our
tastes; we cultivate the mind
without loss of manliness.*

—*The Funeral Oration of
Pericles*

776 BCE	First Olympic Games
c. 600–c. 500 BCE	Pre-Socratic philosophers
c. 500–c. 300 BCE	Classical Age
470–399 BCE	Socrates
c. 427–347 BCE	Plato
384–322 BCE	Aristotle
c. 300–50 BCE	Hellenistic Age in eastern Mediterranean

Scholars usually divide Greek philosophy into three periods: the Pre-Socratic period, the Classical Age, and the Hellenistic era. The first period extends from the earliest surviving philosophical writings around 600 BCE to the life of Socrates (470–399 BCE). The second period extends from Socrates through about 300 BCE. The third was from 300 to about 50 BCE.

Pre-Socratic Philosophy

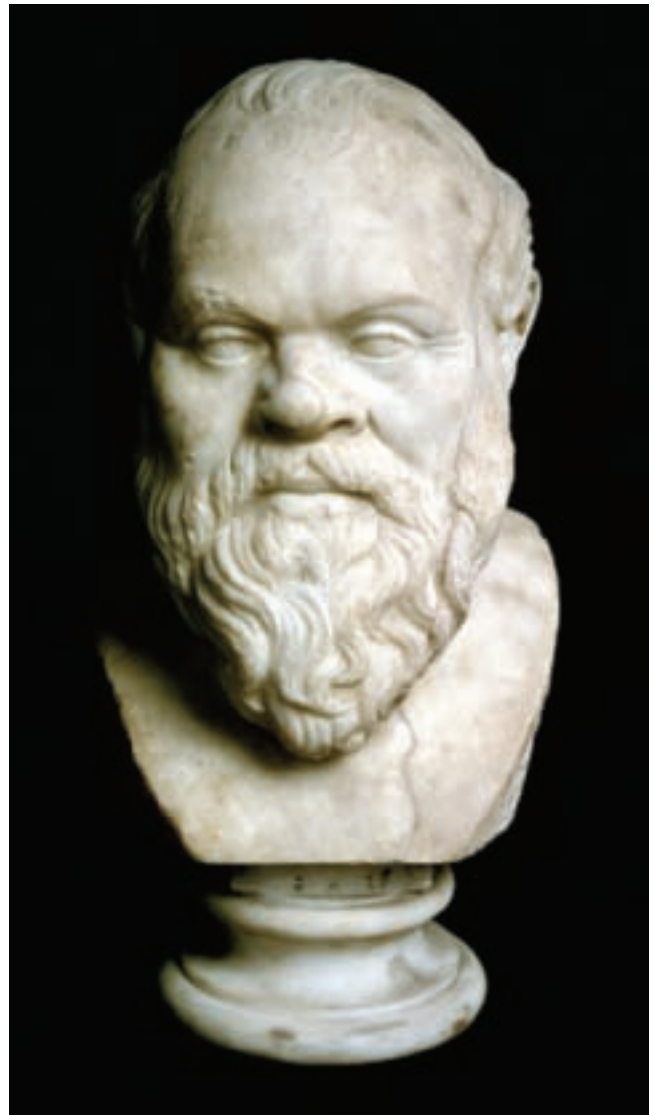
The greatest contribution of the **Pre-Socratics** was the concept of law in the universe. Unlike any previous thinkers, these Greeks believed that what happened in the physical cosmos was the result of laws of causation and thus understandable and predictable on a purely natural level. They did not deny the gods or the powers of the gods, but they did not look to the gods as the normal and usual causes of phenomena. Instead, they conceived of what we now call *natural law*—a set of phenomena in nature that, when properly understood, explains why certain things occur.

Two of the greatest of the Pre-Socratics were Anaximander and Hippocrates. Anaximander was the father of the theory of natural evolution of species—long before Darwin ever dreamed of it. He also thought that the physical universe had no limits. He conceived of it as boundless and constantly expanding, much as modern astronomers do. Hippocrates is best known as a founder of scientific medicine, but curing people was really only incidental to his intellectual interests. First and foremost, he wished to teach people to observe the life around them. He was the first great *empiricist* (ehm-PEER-ih-sist) in the natural sciences, arriving at his general theories only after careful and prolonged observation of those aspects of the world that could be weighed and measured.

The Classical Age: Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle

Socrates (470–399 BCE) was the first philosopher to focus on the ethical and epistemological (truth-establishing) questions that have haunted the thoughtful since the dawn of creation. Like most of the Classical Age figures, he concentrated on human rationality rather than on physical nature. He was more interested in “How do I know?” than in “What is to be known?” Systematic questioning is the essence of the *Socratic method*, which teachers have used ever since. He would systematically question his young disciples, allowing them to take nothing for granted. He challenged them to fearlessly examine and justify everything before taking it for truth.

Our knowledge of Socrates comes not from him directly but from the numerous works of his pupil and admirer, **Plato** (427–347 BCE). The conservative elders of the polis, Plato tells us, accused Socrates of poisoning the minds of the youth of Athens. Brought to trial, he was found guilty



Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples/Alinari/Bridgeman Art Library

SOCRATES. Plato tells us that his master Socrates was considered extraordinarily ugly, but his mastery of logic and beauty of expression made all those who heard him forget everything else about him.

and forced to drink poisonous hemlock. Plato defended his teacher from the unjust accusation, but he was a different thinker from his predecessor. Plato tried above all to solve the problem of how the mind can experience and recognize Truth and ultimate reality (see the description of his *metaphor of the cave* in the Patterns of Belief box). He also ventured into an analysis of politics as it should be (in the *Republic*) and as it existed (in the *Laws*). During his lifetime, Greece was in constant turmoil, which probably predisposed him towards views which were notably antidemocratic.

Aristotle (AYR-rih-STAH-tuhl; 384–322 BCE) was a pupil of Plato, but he too differed sharply from his teacher. Aristotle is the nearest equivalent to a universal genius

PATTERNS OF BELIEF



PLATO'S METAPHOR OF THE CAVE

The classical Greeks were the ancient world's great pioneers into the question of how the mind works. Seeing Man as a part of the natural world, they wished to know as much as possible about him. Of the great trinity of Greek classical philosophers, Plato distinguished himself by wrestling with the eternal question: How does the human brain penetrate appearances to attain Reality? Our impressions of the outer world are originally entirely dependent on sensory data: what can be touched or smelled or seen and heard. How, then, can we formulate ideas that go beyond the specific detail of particular objects that the senses perceive? Or is there any idea, beyond the specific object? Could there be an abstract idea of, say, a chair? Or only of this chair, with rounded legs and a straight back, made of walnut wood? Most particularly, are there ideals of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness that lie behind the weak and unstable versions of those virtues that human experience can conceive of?

Plato thought that such abstractions existed and were far more perfect in their nature than any specific version of them that the senses might perceive. But he also believed that most people were unable to apprehend such ideals in anything like their pure forms. Few men and women possessed the mental powers and the desire to allow them to penetrate beyond mere appearances into Truth and Reality.

Seeking to convey his meaning, Plato came to write the metaphor of the cave, which has remained one of the best-known philosophical anecdotes in history. Most people, he said, were like prisoners condemned to existence in a dark cave. They peered constantly through the dim light, trying to make out what was happening around them:

Imagine the condition of men living in a cavern underground, with an entrance open to the daylight and a long passage entering the cave. Here they have been since childhood, chained by the leg and by the neck, so that they cannot move and can see only what is directly in front of them. At some higher place in the cave, a fire burns, and between the prisoners and the fire is a track with a parapet built in front of it, like a screen at a puppet show which hides the performers while they show their puppets. . . .

Now behind this parapet, imagine persons carrying along various artificial objects, including figures of men and of animals in wood or stone or other material which project above the parapet. . . . The prisoners,

then, would recognize as reality nothing but the shadows of those artificial objects.

Our sense impressions, unenlightened by wisdom, deliver us into a prison of ignorance, where men mistake blurred shadows for reality.

Plato further says that if a prisoner were released and allowed to go out into the unaccustomed sunlight, he would, of course, be blinded by the light and utterly confused.

But this would change as he became accustomed to his new condition; his ability to see this huge new world would gradually increase:

He would need, then, to grow accustomed before he could see things in the upper world. At first, it would be easiest to make out shadows, and then the images of men and things reflected in water, and later on the things themselves. After that, it would be easier to watch the heavenly bodies and the skies by night, looking at the light of the moon and stars rather than the sun and the light of the sun in daytime.

Plato drew his conservative political and social conclusions from these beliefs about the nature of Reality and human ability to perceive it. He thought that relatively few people would ever be released from the cave of ignorance and shadow play. Those who did attain to the upper world of Truth and slowly and with difficulty worked through the ever-higher, more-accurate stages of Reality should be given the leadership positions. They deserved to be leaders not only because they merited power and prestige, but also because they—and not the masses who remained in the cave—were able to make proper choices for the welfare of the whole society. Plato, who lived through the Peloponnesian War, remained a convinced antidemocrat all his life.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Does the metaphor employed by Plato explain to you his point about the difference between Reality and appearances? In what way does this story link with Plato's contempt for democratic politics?

Source: F. M. Cornford translation, *The Republic of Plato*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941



You can read more of *Plato's Republic* online.

that Greece produced. His interests included practically every field of science yet known, as well as the formal analysis of thought and actions that we now know as philosophy. His best-known works are the *Politics*, *Physics*, and *Metaphysics*, but he was also a first-rate mathematician, an astronomer, the founder of botany, and a student of medicine. So great was his renown in the medieval world that both European Christians and Arab Muslims referred to him simply as “the Master.” Christian scholars thought of him as a sort of pagan saint, while learned Muslims thought of him as the greatest natural philosopher and man of science the world had yet produced.

Greek philosophy was marked at all times by the strong sense that humans were quite capable of understanding the cosmos and all that lived within it by use of reason and careful observation. They were not overawed by the gods, but created the gods in their own image and never resorted to supernatural powers to explain what natural law could explain. The knowledge the Greeks sought in their “love of wisdom” was that which was reachable by the unaided human intellect.

Three Hellenistic Varieties

During the Hellenistic era, the new **mystery religions** attracted the lower classes (below), but three philosophies appealed to the more educated. The first was **Cynicism**, which emerged as an organized school in the middle 300s. Its major figure was the famous Diogenes, who called for a return to absolute simplicity and a rejection of artificial divisions, whether political or economic. Relatively few people could adapt to the rigid poverty and absence of egotism that the Cynics demanded, but the philosophy nevertheless had a great impact on Hellenistic urban life.

The second philosophy was **Epicureanism**, named after its founder, Epicurus, who taught in Athens during the third century BCE. Epicurus taught that the principal good of life was pleasure, which he defined as the avoidance of pain. He was not talking about physical sensation so much as mental or spiritual pleasure and pain. He believed that only by consciously rejecting the values and prejudices of others and turning inward to discover what is important to you could you bring about inner peace. As did Daoism and Buddhism, Epicureanism taught that it was better to focus on finding your own serenity and to ignore the affairs of the world.

The third philosophy, **Stoicism**, captured the largest following among the Hellenistic population. It was the product of a freed slave, a Phoenician named Zeno, who emphasized the unity of all humanity and disdained the social conventions that falsely separated the human race. He taught that good people were obliged to participate in public life to help the less fortunate as best they could. Whether or not they were successful was not so

important as the fact that they had tried: Virtue was its own reward.

The Stoics popularized the concept of an overarching natural law that governed all human affairs. This concept was to gain a following among the Romans and became the normal belief of their ruling class. It was a philosophy of noble acts, which strongly emphasized the necessity of service to one’s fellows and the recognition that all are essentially equal under the skin.

SCIENCE

The pursuit of scientific knowledge did not really come into its own until the Hellenistic Period. The most important areas of inquiry were biology, astronomy, geography, physics, and math. The biggest center of science was the great city of Alexandria, Egypt, where the Ptolemaic kings established and supported many research centers and the ancient world’s largest library and museum. Both were destroyed much later by fire and earthquake (see the Science and Technology box).

Why did science flourish in the Hellenistic period? For one, the Greek habit of rational and logical thought was especially useful in the sciences. Aristotle, who had tutored young Alexander, insisted on the necessity of careful observation of phenomena before attempting to explain their causes. His successors at the *Lyceum*, the famous school he founded in Athens, proceeded along those lines and obtained worthwhile results in several fields.

Another of the chief stimuli to scientific work was the new exposure of the Greeks to the Babylonian mathematicians and astronomers/astrologers, thanks to the conquests of Alexander. Now in the Hellenistic Age, the Greek world was brought for the first time into extensive contact with the cumulative knowledge of the Middle East. Scientists profited from the work done by Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and especially Babylonian scholars during the previous three millennia.

The work in astronomy done at this time would stand without serious challenge until the sixteenth century CE. Among the outstanding astronomers were Aristarchus of Samos (310–230 BCE) and Hipparchus of Nicaea (260–190 BCE). Aristarchus proposed a *heliocentric* model of the universe in which the earth revolved around the sun. Hipparchus and others attacked it, however, and in the second century CE, a later astronomer named Ptolemy picked up the theory of a *geocentric* universe (that is, centered on Earth). The geocentric model became the standard wisdom of astronomy for the next 1,500 years, until Copernicus questioned it.

The most important figures in geography were the Greek Eratosthenes (Eh-rih-TOS-the-nees; c. 276–194 BCE) and Strabo (c. 64 BCE–c. 23 CE). Eratosthenes calculated the circumference of the earth accurately. His data

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY



HELLENISTIC SCIENTISTS

Egyptian Alexandria under the dynasty of the Ptolemaic kings was the largest city of the Hellenistic world. Founded and named by the world conqueror in the late fourth century BCE, it grew steadily, fattened by the increasing trade of the Nile Valley with the remainder of the Greco-Roman world. At some point in the third century BCE, a museum and library were established there, which quickly became the intellectual and scientific center of the Mediterranean region. A recent British historian of science tells us about the type of research carried on there, the nature of the museum, and three of the Hellenistic researchers. Quoting the Roman author Cicero, he says:

Strato the physicist was of the opinion that all divine power resides in nature, which is a power without shape or capacity to feel, containing within itself all the causes of coming-to-be, of growth, and of decay. Final causes, such as Aristotle posited, are out; nor is there any place in Strato's world for divine providence. Further . . . it seems clear that Strato endeavored to solve his problems by means of experimentation [a much debated question in the history of science].

[T]he second of our Hellenistic scientists, Philo of Byzantium, worked in Alexandria around 200 BCE. Philo's work was concerned with artillery, comprising mechanical arrow-firing catapults and stone-throwing ballistas. . . . The most important fact revealed by recent research is the indication of *repeated experiment* as a means of establishing a method and a formula to be incorporated in the specification for the construction of different types of missile launchers.

While Philo's name is associated with a variety of writings on scientific subjects, that of Ktesibios is linked with an equally wide range of inventions, most of which are based on the application of the principles of hydraulics. . . . His inventions included, in addition to the twin-cylinder water pump, a water-clock, a pipe organ powered by an ingenious combination of water and compressed air, and an improved catapult which

operated by bronze springs instead of twisted animal sinews. He is also credited with a considerable number of inventions designed for entertainment, the so-called automata. . . .

It is an easy step from the most famous inventor of his day [that is, Philo] to the Museum with which he was associated. The House of the Muses [the Museum] was evidently a research organization, supported, like the Library, by a royal endowment. Traditional accounts . . . assume that the Library, which rapidly acquired a worldwide reputation, was separate from the Museum; but it is more likely that both were parts of what might be called a research institute, which provided facilities for workers in a wide variety of disciplines belonging to what we would now call the humanities and the sciences.

Contrary to the commonly held opinion that under Rome the Museum and the Library suffered a rapid decline into total obscurity, we have evidence that both were still operating many centuries later, even if not as vigorously as in their heyday. . . . Medicine was in the most flourishing condition of all the sciences there, enjoying such a high reputation that the only qualification an intending practitioner needed to produce was a statement that he had received his training at Alexandria. The most important scientific advances seem to have been made in pure mathematics, mechanics, physics, geography, and medicine.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Why do you think it was important whether scientists of this age employed experiments to determine factual knowledge?

What might be a modern equivalent to the Alexandria institute?

Source: K. D. White, in *Hellenistic History and Culture*, ed. P. Green (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 216f. Used by permission.

provided the first reliable maps of the globe (see World-view MAP 9.1).

In physics, the outstanding researcher was Archimedes (Ar-kih-MEE-dees; c. 287–212 BCE), who was equally important in mathematics. In the third century

BCE, Euclid (YOO-clid), an Egyptian Greek, produced the most influential math treatise ever written, the *Elements of Geometry*.

The Greeks in general were not interested in the practical aspects of science, which we now call technology.

[illegible]

Compare Eratosthenes's map with a modern world map. What areas were unknown to the Greeks?

Greek religion was different from the religions of most agrarian civilizations in other important ways. First, Greek civilization of the Hellenic era was **humanistic**: Greeks were convinced that human beings occupied a position in the cosmos that was second only to that of the gods themselves. They believed, in fact, that the human race and the race of the gods were related because both were descended

IMAGES OF HISTORY

THE ANTIKYTHERA MECHANISM

In 1901, sponge divers off the coast of Greece discovered an extraordinary device at the bottom of the sea near the island of Antikythera. It mystified the entire community of experts on the ancient world. What was it? A navigation device? A primitive clock? Or something else? For years, scientists made little progress in solving the mystery of the **Antikythera** (An-tih-kih-THEER-ah) **mechanism**, as it came to be called. Recent research, however, has begun to yield some results. Made from thirty-seven bronze gears, it has been dated to the end of the second century BCE. Experts believe that the mechanism was a kind of mechanical analog “computer” that ancient Greeks operated to track the cycles of the solar system.



*Original
Antikythera
Mechanism*

Credit to come



*Scientists'
Reconstruction*

Credit to come

from the Earth Goddess. They had enormous confidence in human qualities and the ability of humans to solve any problem, believing that “Man is the measure of all things” and deserved serious study. This attitude was reflected in their art, their philosophy, and their religion.

From early times, the Greeks’ anthropomorphic gods were less threatening and less powerful than other peoples’ gods. Second, the Greeks never created a priestly class or caste, but used their priests only as informal leaders of loosely organized services. After about 500 BCE

especially, the priests and priestesses receded more and more into the background, and many of the gods themselves became mere symbolic figures.

As with the Chinese Confucians, it was *human existence in this world* that engaged the educated Greeks and provided the frame of reference for defining good and evil. Normally, the educated people did not speculate about the afterlife and saw no reason to fear it. By the opening of the Classical Era, most of them apparently no longer believed in immortality, if they ever had. For them, philosophy, as an exercise in humanism and reason, increasingly took the place once occupied by supernatural religion, with its emphasis on the gods and myth. The acts of the gods came to be viewed as myths—simply allegories that served a useful moral purpose in educating the people to their duties and responsibilities as good citizens of the polis. Behind and above the gods was an impersonal and unavoidable Fate, a force that could not be successfully defied by either humans or gods.

In Classical philosophy, the ideal of the **golden mean**, the middle ground between all extremes of thought and action, was a particular attraction. The Greeks distrusted radical measures and tried to find that which embraced the good without claiming to be the best. They believed that the person who claimed to have the perfect solution to a problem was being misled by **hubris** (HYOO-brihs), a false overconfidence. The gods were “setting him up,” as we might put it, and disaster was sure to follow. The wise person always kept this in mind and acted accordingly.

Adherence to the golden mean should by no means be seen as a sign of humility. The Greeks were not humble by nature but were quite willing to take chances and to stretch their intellectual powers to the utmost. They believed passionately in the human potential, but they did not defy Fate or the gods without expecting to be punished. The great tragedies written by Sophocles (SOFF-oh-cleez; c. 497–406 BCE) are perhaps the most dramatically effective expressions of this expectation—particularly his trilogy about the doomed Oedipus (EH-dih-puhs) Rex and his vain struggle to avoid the fate that lay in wait for him.

The Hellenistic religions that evolved after the conquests of Alexander were different from both the Greek religion of the Classical Age and the earlier religions of China and India. Worship of the traditional Greek gods such as Zeus and Athena died out completely in the East, and the Greek immigrants turned more and more to the native cults. Because they offered eternal life or earthly prosperity, they provided some concrete emotional support and responded to the human longing for security. Three of the most important cults were those of Isis, goddess of the Nile and renewal; *Mithra*, god of eternal life; and *Serapis*, the Egyptian god of the underworld and the judge of souls. All three shared certain characteristics, which allow them to be grouped as mystery religions—that is, they demanded faith rather than reason as the ultimate justification for their teachings. To believers who

followed the instructions of the powerful priests, they promised eternal life. Life would overcome death, and the afterworld would be an infinitely more pleasant place than this one. These deities were universal gods who had final jurisdiction over all people everywhere, whether individuals recognized the god or not. The stage was thus being set for the triumph of the greatest of the mystery religions: Christianity.

THE ARTS AND LITERATURE

The classical Greeks gave at least three major art forms to Classical Mediterranean civilization: (1) drama, a Greek invention that arose in the 600s, presumably in Athens, as a sort of pageant depicting scenes from the myths about the gods and their interventions in human affairs; (2) lyric poetry, originating in the pre-Classical Era and represented best by surviving fragments from the work of Sappho, a woman who lived on the island of Lesbos in the 600s; and (3) “classical” architecture—most notably the temples scattered about the shores of the Mediterranean by Greek colonists, as well as on the Acropolis in Athens and in many other poleis. Besides these forms, which they originated, the Greeks excelled in epic poetry (represented by the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*); magnificent sculpture of the human form and face at a level of skill not previously approached; dance, which was a particular passion for both men and women; fine ceramic wares of every sort; and painting, mainly on ceramic vessels and plaques.

The particular strengths of Greek pictorial and architectural art were the harmony and symmetry of the parts with the whole; the ability to depict the ideal beauty of the human form while still maintaining recognizable realism in their portrayals; and the combination of grace and strength balanced in vital tension. The models established during the Classical Age have remained supremely important to artists of the West ever since.

Greek literature took several distinct forms. Poetry of all types was very highly developed from the time of Homer (eighth century) onward. The outstanding names besides Sappho are Hesiod, Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Pindar. Most of these were dramatists as well as poets. Drama was one of the Greeks’ most popular arts, and the plays that have survived represent possibly a one-hundredth of what was written in the fifth and fourth centuries. The great trio of Euripides, Aeschylus, and Sophocles created the tragic form, while Aristophanes is the first noted comic playwright.

The ancient Greeks prized craftsmanship. They evidently learned much of their skill in ceramics and metalwork from the Egyptians and the Minoans, but they improved on those models. Greek ceramics were in great demand throughout the Mediterranean world, and Greek ships frequently set sail loaded with wine jugs, olive oil vessels, and other household utensils made from clay, as



Acropolis, Athens, Greece/Alinari/Bridgeman Art Library

THE PARTHENON. Atop the hill in central Athens called the Acropolis, the Parthenon was designed to be the center of Athenian spiritual life and its most sacred temple. Constructed in the fifth century BCE, the now-empty interior once featured a massive statue of the patroness of the city, the goddess of both war and wisdom, Athena. An explosion of gunpowder seriously damaged it during a seventeenth-century war between Turks and Italians. The style of its building has been praised and imitated throughout the world.

well as fine work. Much of the Athenian population evidently worked for the export trade, making objects of clay, metal, leather, and wood.

Generally speaking, art and literature in the Hellenistic age declined noticeably from the high standards of the preceding age. The fine arts were generally modeled on the art of the Hellenic Age but tended to be more realistic. They also lacked some of the creative vigor and imagination that had so marked Greek art in the earlier period, and they sometimes tended toward a love of display for its own sake—a sort of boastfulness and pretentiousness.

Much more literature has survived from the Hellenistic Age than from the Classical Age. Unfortunately, both artistic inspiration and execution seem to have declined. There were many imitators but few original thinkers. The main centers of literature were in Alexandria, Rhodes, Pergamum, and other Eastern areas rather than in Athens or Greece itself.

The same was true of the plastic arts. Great sculpture and buildings were more likely to be created in the East

than in Greece, in large part because the richest cities of the Hellenistic Age were found there, along with the wealthiest inhabitants. In imagination and execution, much Hellenistic sculpture and architecture was extremely impressive. Indeed, it was much superior to the literary works of the time. The absolute mastery of stone that was already established by the artists of the Classical Age continued and developed even further. Such great sculptures as *Laocoön*, *The Dying Gaul*, and *The Old Shepherdess* show an ability to “make the stone speak” that has been the envy of other ages. But even in sculpture, there was a great deal of copying of earlier forms and an abundance of second-class work.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

Most Greeks farmed, yet the polis was the heart of Greek life. It was usually a small place (Athens was the exception), and its inhabitants were generally racially and culturally homogeneous. At its center was a town of moderate



VENUS AND MARS. Frescoes humanizing the divinities were a favorite mode of art in the Hellenistic Age. This one shows the wedding of Venus and Mars, as the Romans called their epitomes of feminine beauty and virile manhood. It was painted on an interior wall in Pompeii, Italy.

size, with a population of 10,000 to 20,000 as a rough average. It supported all of the usual urban trades and crafts. Most—including many who farmed and lived outside its walls—debated about and participated in civic culture and politics, which were matters of wide concern.

The general level of education among the Greeks of the Classical Age was remarkably high and was not approximated again in the Mediterranean world until much later. The citizen-based, participatory nature of community life in the Classical polis necessitated high levels of education, and some scholars believe that Athens might have been the first literate society in history. Neither the Romans nor the medieval Europeans came close.

During the Hellenistic Age, a true urban civilization, in which the towns and cities were far more important than the more numerous rural areas, came into existence for the first time since the decline of the Mesopotamian cities. Large cities—such as Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, and Susa in Persia—dominated the life of the Hellenistic kingdoms. Like modern cities, Hellenistic towns were centers of commerce and learning with great museums, libraries, and amusement halls. One or two of them possibly had more than 500,000 inhabitants, drawn from a vast variety of ethnic backgrounds. Even the free majority felt little sense of community, largely because they came from so many different social and ethnic groups.

Originally, the Greeks were the governing class of the cities, but gradually they intermarried and were absorbed



DISCOBULUS. This Roman copy of a fifth-century Greek original by the great sculptor Myron is deservedly famous for its combination of manly strength and graceful control. The athlete prepares his body for an extreme effort at tossing the heavy stone disc—one of the feats at the original Olympic Games. Competition in the nude was the norm for both Greeks and Romans.

by the larger group that surrounded them. The Greek language remained the tongue of the cultured, but in most other respects, the Eastern way of life and thought became predominant.

Slavery

It has frequently been remarked that Athenian democracy was built on and supported by a large population of slaves. This statement is true, but it may not be as damning as it seems at first, because there were ameliorating circumstances. Both Greeks and foreigners could be enslaved—usually as the result of debt—and for many, slavery was neither lifelong nor hereditary. Masters normally did not abuse slaves, and many slaves were prized workers and craftsmen who worked for pay but were not free to go off at will to other employment. Many of these men and women were employed directly by the state, and most of the rest were used in a variety of domestic ways, rather than as chattel (farm labor). Only in the polis-owned silver mines

near Athens were slaves abused as a matter of course, and these slaves were normally criminals, not debtors.

During the Hellenistic era, most people were free, but there was a dramatic rise in the numbers of slaves. Also, for the first time, large groups of people were pulled into a slave status that lasted for their lifetimes; worse still, slavery became hereditary and was passed by parents on to their children.

Gender Relations

The degree of freedom accorded to women in classical Greek society has been a topic of intense debate in recent years. Historians agree that women were generally excluded from any effective exercise of political and economic powers, and that the Greeks were the Classical Mediterranean originators of *misogyny*, the distrust and dislike of women by men. Any women who took political action did so only under certain closely defined conditions, and unless they did so at least ostensibly on behalf of a male relative, they and those around them came to “a bad end.” The great tragic heroines such as Electra, Antigone, and Medea and the mythological heroines such as Cassandra and Artemis are examples of women who met such a fate.

One modern scholar notes that the antifemale prejudice exhibited in later Greek literature is not present in the Homeric period. The women of Sparta were free and equal with their menfolk. Spartan women allegedly shared the sexual favors of their men, regardless of marriage. The men were so frequently away in the field or in barracks that both they and the government saw this practice as essential to Sparta’s survival. Because our knowledge of Sparta comes exclusively from non-Spartan literary sources, however, it is impossible to know whether this very unusual attitude was actual fact.

In contrast, we have a good deal of definite information about Athens. Respectable Athenian women were limited to the home. Their work was closely prescribed for them: management of the household and supervision of children and servants. Within the four walls of the home, one or two rooms were reserved for their use. In multistoried houses, these rooms were normally upstairs, but in any house, they would be in the back, away from the street. This segregation served one purpose: keeping women, as the valuable possession of men, away from the prying eyes of nonfamily members and all sexual temptations. Poor urban women undoubtedly had more freedom to leave the home and enter the workplace unescorted, as did rural

women, who had a great many essential tasks to perform daily—some of them outdoors. A freeborn, native Athenian woman was recognized as having some civic rights, but her citizenship was limited and very different from that enjoyed by males. Its main advantage was that Athenian citizenship could be passed on to (male) children through her.

Homosexuality seems to have been relatively common, at least among the educated, and to have been looked on as a tolerable, although somewhat disreputable, practice. It was viewed as particularly disreputable for the older man, because he was sometimes led to ignore his family responsibilities by a younger lover. From the glancing attention paid to the subject in the surviving literature, it is impossible to know how common such relations were, what the nonhomosexual majority thought of them, or indeed much else regarding the sexual practices of the time.

Mainly on the basis of literary sources, historians generally agree that women’s overall status gradually rose in the Hellenistic and Roman imperial eras. Of course, this statement applies more to the upper classes than to the lower ones. In the Hellenistic cities, upper-class women played an active role in business affairs, and the older prohibitions about leaving the family home seem to have faded. They were no longer regarded as the property of husbands and fathers, but as independent legal personages.

Women also had more opportunities for education in this age. The founder of the Epicurean philosophy, for example, admitted females to his school on the same criteria as males. Even physical exercise—always a justification for segregating males and females in classical Greece—was now opened to some females as well.

THE GREEK LEGACY

The dimensions and lasting importance of the Greeks’ bequest to Classical civilization cannot be overemphasized. When the poleis fell to the Macedonians, this bequest was retained, although in diluted forms. When the Greco-Macedonian world was then itself overtaken by the all-conquering Romans a couple of hundred years later, the new masters adopted much of the Greek heritage with great enthusiasm and made it their own. In this way, the Greek style and the content of their art, philosophy, science, and government gradually infiltrated much of Europe. In the process, though, parts were lost permanently, and much of it was radically altered by other views and conditions of life.

SUMMARY

HELLENIC CULTURE REPRESENTS ONE OF the high points in the history of the Classical world. The two or three centuries embraced by the Classical Age produced a series of remarkable achievements in the fine arts and in the systematic inquiry into humans and nature that we call philosophy. In some of these affairs, the Greeks built on foundations laid by others, including the Egyptians and the Phoenicians. In other fields, such as drama and lyric poetry, they were pioneers. In philosophy, the mighty trio of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle defined most of the questions that the world would ask of the universe ever since. In drama, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides played the same pathbreaking role. Poets such as Sappho and Pindar, sculptors such as Phidias, and the mostly unknown architects of the Classical Age created monuments that remain models of excellence. They believed, as they said, that “Man is the measure of all things” and that what could not be analyzed by the educated mind was probably best left alone as being unworthy of their efforts.

The Hellenistic Age is a convenient, although deceptively simple, label for a widely varying mix of peoples and ideas. For about three centuries, from the death of Alexander to the Romans’ coming into the East, the world affected by Greek ideas increased dramatically in physical extent, encompassing Mediterranean and western Asian cultures.

The philosophies and religious thought of the Hellenistic world eventually became the basic lenses through which the entire European continent (and its North American offspring) would perceive the world of the spirit. Our cultural debts to these Greco-Eastern forebears are beyond easy measure. In the next two chapters, we will see how the unimportant and provincial city of Rome became the inheritor of the Hellenistic East. We will also look at the way in which the Romans altered Hellenistic culture until it became a specifically Roman civilization.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Anthropomorphic gods
Antikythera mechanism
Aristotle
Cynicism
Empiricists
Epicureanism
golden mean
hubris

humanistic
mystery religions
philosophy
Plato
Pre-Socratics
Socrates
Stoicism

For Further Reflection

1. Given their rationalism during the Classical Age, why do you suppose Greek men still treated women and slaves as inferior?
2. How do you think the evolution of the Greek concept of citizenship affected other spheres of Greek life?
3. How representative do you think the achievements in culture and science were of Greek culture generally? Are there reasons to think that the citizens of the Greek city-states were cultured?
4. Compare Greek achievements in culture and science with the accomplishments of other civilizations of the ancient world. Do you believe that Greek achievements were greater or inferior to these? Be sure to give reasons for your position.
5. What significant changes occurred in Greek culture and science during the Hellenistic era?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- The pre-Socratic philosophers sought most of all to explain the
 - human capacity to reason.
 - motion of the stars.
 - composition and laws of the natural world.
 - reasons for the existence of good and evil.
 - creation of the world.
- The cave metaphor in Plato's writings refers to
 - the need of humans to have a place of refuge from their enemies.
 - the ability of humans to form a community.
 - the difference between reality and falsely understood images.
 - the importance of a stable physical environment.
 - the desire of humans to create a stable home environment.
- Greek religion was
 - controlled by a powerful priesthood.
 - the same from one end of the country to the other.
 - filled with gods created in man's image.
 - dominated by fear of the afterlife.
 - centered around an ethical system of high moral conduct.
- Sophocles and Euripides are best known as Greek
 - dramatists.
 - poets.
 - sculptors.
 - painters.
 - architects.
- In the Greek polis, the majority of urban adults
 - spent some time each year working in the surrounding fields.
 - owned between five and ten slaves.
 - allowed women more freedom than they achieved in rural areas.
 - rented slaves occasionally from the very wealthy.
 - participated in civic affairs as a matter of course.
- Which adjective is least appropriate for the classical Greeks?
 - Intimidated
 - Rational
 - Proud
 - Curious
 - Creative
- Hellenistic refers to a
 - blend of Greek and Eastern ideas and forms.
 - blend of Greek and Roman ideas and forms.
 - purely Greek style later transferred to Rome.
 - mixed style limited in extent to Europe.
 - blend of Greek, Roman, and Eastern styles.
- Stoicists believed in
 - the brotherhood of all men.
 - the natural superiority of Greeks over all others.
 - the quest for personal pleasure being the only meaning in life.
 - the impossibility of finding an honest man or woman.
 - the acceptance of one's lot in life.
- The scientific interests of the Hellenistic Period
 - were limited to math.
 - led to an industrial revolution.
 - were limited to agriculture.
 - had little connection with technology.
 - tended toward the practical application of knowledge.
- In the Hellenistic Period, the sociopolitical unit replacing the classical polis was the
 - village.
 - city.
 - city-state.
 - family.
 - kingdom.



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10

Rome From City-State To Empire

ROMAN FOUNDATIONS

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

Rome's Conquest of Italy
The Punic War
The Conquest of the East
The Crisis of the Late Republic
The Triumvirates

THE AUGUSTAN AGE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF EMPIRE

Augustus's Reforms
Imperial Government Policies
Peace and Prosperity
The Succession Problem

IMPERIAL UNIFICATION

ROMAN CULTURE

Law
The Arts
Patterns of Belief

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

Slave and Free
Gender Relations
Children and Education

It is the nature of a Roman to do, and to suffer bravely.

—Livy

c. 750–509 BCE	Etruscans rule Rome
c. 509–31 BCE	Roman Republic
300s–200s BCE	Conquest of Italy
264–202 BCE	The First and Second Punic Wars
50s–30s BCE	The two triumvirates
27 BCE–14 CE	Reign of Augustus
31 BCE–180 CE	Pax Romana
14 CE–69 CE	Julio-Claudian emperors
69 CE–96 CE	Flavian emperors
161 CE–180 CE	Marcus Aurelius

THE SUCCESSOR TO THE Greek and Persian civilizations in the Mediterranean basin and the Near East was Rome, the Italian city-state that grew to be an empire and the dominant power in East and West alike. Although Rome is considered the successor to Hellenistic Greece, they actually overlapped in time, and Rome itself is in many ways a Hellenistic entity. In this chapter, we will look at several centuries of Rome's growth—from an insignificant Italian town dominated by a traditional upper class to an unusual combination of aristocracy and merit, subscribing to pseudodemocratic principles: the Roman *res publica*, or republic. Eventually, the disparity of civic means and ends generated by territorial expansion became too much, and from the ruins of this Roman republic then arose a vision of empire that has served the Western world as a model ever since. For two and a half centuries, Rome maintained peace and relative prosperity throughout most of Europe and the Mediterranean basin. Striking

an uneasy but sustainable balance between the powers of a policy-making group in Rome and provincial officers drawn from many peoples, the system proved successful in a variety of circumstances, meeting needs both local and imperial.

ROMAN FOUNDATIONS

Rome is situated about halfway down the western coast of the Italian Peninsula, where one of the country's few sizable rivers, the Tiber, flows through fertile plains before emptying into the sea (Map 10.1).

Very-early Italy and the Italians are even more of a mystery than Greece and the Greeks. We do know that Indo-European peoples settled central and southern Italy at least as early as 1500 BCE. They developed farming villages but lagged seriously behind the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East.

About 800 BCE, three peoples from the East began to enter Italy first as colonists and then as rulers of various segments of the Peninsula: the Etruscans, the Greeks, and the Phoenicians. Each of these civilized groups contributed substantially to Italian development, and the first two had a decisive effect on Roman civilization's early forms.



MAP 10.1 Ancient Italy

The Italian Peninsula was invaded innumerable times in history. The native Italic peoples of the north and center were taken over by the more civilized Etruscans in the tenth to eighth centuries BCE.

Rome was probably founded by the uniting of several villages under a single government in the eighth century, as Roman legend states.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

How did being a peninsula affect Italy's ancient history?

The **Etruscans**, already highly civilized, came into Italy about 800, probably by following a route along the northern Adriatic Sea. They established a series of small city-states in the northern and central areas of the Peninsula, ruling over the native Italic people by virtue of their superior weaponry and organization. They left a small amount of writing, but it has never been deciphered, so we have no historical record in the strict sense. We do know that a federation headed by Etruscan kings ruled over early Rome from about 750 to about 509 BCE. The pictorial record left by the Etruscans, mainly in recently rediscovered underground tombs, makes it clear that the early Romans derived much of their religious beliefs, art forms, and architecture from these peoples.

According to Roman sources that may be unreliable, the Romans eventually rebelled against the idea of monarchy and were able to defeat the Etruscans because the pleasure-loving Etruscans could not stand up to the rigors of war as long as their rivals. After the Roman victory, the Etruscans gradually fade from history, absorbed by their former subjects.

In the long run, the Greeks had even more influence on Roman attitudes and manners than did the Etruscans. Whereas the Romans viewed the latter as rivals and defeated enemies, they regarded the Greeks as the one alien group that was superior to them in some ways. The early Romans were impressed by the advanced culture of the Greek migrants who had settled in southern Italy during the 700s. Overcrowding at home had caused these Greek colonists to leave their homes in Corinth, Thebes, and other Greek cities and to settle in foreign places. They soon transformed southern Italy into a prosperous and commercially advanced civilization but found that they had to fight both the Etruscans and the Phoenicians to hold on to it. True to Greek tradition, they made the job much harder by fighting among themselves.

Phoenician influence on Italian events came through **Carthage**. This great trading city had become independent of its homeland, Phoenicia, by 700. During this epoch, Carthage was the most powerful force in the western Mediterranean, sending ships as far away as Britain and the North

Sea, as well as up the Nile, and founding colonies of its own all over the coasts of Spain and France. The Carthaginians fought the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily to a draw until the Romans were able to take advantage of their mutual exhaustion to conquer both groups.

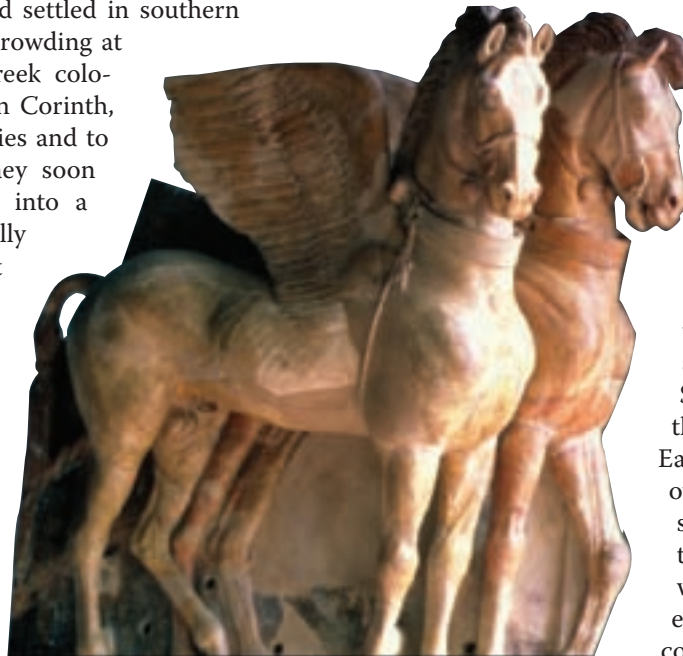
REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

According to ancient Roman tradition, the twin brothers Romulus and Remus, legendary descendants of the survivors who fled burning Troy after the Trojan War, founded Rome. Modern historians agree with tradition that the city-state of Rome was founded by the voluntary unification of seven agrarian villages at approximately 753 BCE. According to Roman history written much later, the town was under Etruscan rule until 509 BCE. In that year, a rebellion ousted the last king, and the city became a *res publica* (republic)—a state without a monarch, ruled by a combination of the Senate and the Citizens of Rome (*Senatus et Populus* in the original Latin).

How did the new republic govern itself? The Senate was composed of the upper class, the **patricians** (from the Latin *patres*, “fathers”), who made up perhaps 5 to 10 percent of the total population and had considerable power even under the Etruscan king. The **plebeians** (pleh-BEE-ans), or commoners (from Latin for “the mass”), composed the

other 90 percent and were represented in political affairs by delegates to the elective General Assembly. The executive branch was composed of a small staff of officials who were elected by the Senate and Assembly for short terms. The chief executive power resided in two **consuls**, elected from among the members of the Senate for one-year terms that could not be repeated. Each consul had veto power over the other. When one consul was in the field as leader of the republic’s forces, the other was the head of the civil government at home. Below the consuls in authority were the

censors, always drawn from the ranks of the senators. The censors (from *census*) were originally tax assessors, but later they came to have the power to supervise



Museo Etrusco, Lazio, Rome, Italy/ Bernard Cox/Bridgeman Art Library

ETRUSCAN WINGED HORSES. Etruscan statuary, characterized by its vivid quality, is one of our few sources of knowledge about these people, who were the forerunners of and cultural models for the Romans in central Italy. The superb mastery of anatomy displayed here was a particular strength of Roman sculpture at a later date.

the conduct and morals of their fellow senators. The tiny Roman bureaucracy also included a few other offices, which were dominated by the patricians until a series of plebeian revolts—or threats to revolt—gradually opened them up to the commoners.

Originally, the General Assembly was intended to be as powerful as—perhaps more so than—the Senate, which had only advisory powers. But soon after the foundation of the republic, the Senate had obtained decisive power while the Assembly became a seldom-summoned rubber stamp. For two centuries, the plebeians made considerable progress in their struggle to attain equality.

By about 250, the Roman political structure offered to all appearances a nice balance between the aristocrats and the common people. The chief officers of the plebeians were the **tribunes**. There were about ten tribunes, and they had great power to speak and act in the name of the common Romans. At first, the tribunes were chosen from the common people and were their true representatives. Later, however, after about 200, the tribunes were offered membership in the Senate, and as they sought to become censors and consuls, they came to identify increasingly with the interests of the patricians and less with those of the plebeians. This development was to be fateful for the republic.

After the passage of the Hortensian Law (named after the consul of the day) in 287, plebeians and patricians had equal voting rights and supposedly equal access to office. But in practice, this nod toward democratic principles was not authentic. Members with a combination of wealth and aristocratic birth retained control of the Senate. Democracy would eventually fail in Rome, just as it had in Athens.

Rome's Conquest of Italy

Under this mixed government of aristocrats and commoners, the Roman city-state gradually and painfully became the master of the Italian Peninsula. Until about 340, the almost constant conflicts focused on a strip of land along the west coast. The Romans led a federation of tribes living in this plain of Latium, first against the Etruscans and then against other Italians (see Map 10.1).

Although Rome suffered a devastating invasion by Celtic tribes called Gauls in 390, the Romans and their Latin allies ruled most of central Italy by 340 or so. When the Latins then attempted to revolt against Roman overlordship, the Romans crushed them. Next, they turned their attention to the Samnites, a group of Italic tribes in the south and east of the Peninsula.

The war against the Samnites was lengthy and difficult. During this conflict, the Romans perfected their military organization and created the myth of Roman invincibility. The surrender of the Samnites in 282 BCE brought the Romans a new neighbor and rival: the Greek city-states of southern Italy, which were supported by Pyrrhus, a powerful Greco-Macedonian general. After a

couple of costly victories, Pyrrhus was defeated. Rome thus inserted itself into the ongoing struggle between the Greeks and the Carthaginians in Sicily. It would only be a matter of time before the two burgeoning powers of the western Mediterranean engaged in a contest for supremacy.

During these almost continuous conflicts, the Romans learned how to assure that yesterday's enemies became today's friends and allies. A pragmatic and flexible people, the Roman governing groups very soon realized that their original practice of humiliating and enslaving the conquered was counterproductive. Instead, they began to encourage the subject populations to become integrated with Rome—to become “good Romans,” regardless of their ethnic or historical affiliations. The Romans gave partial citizenship rights to the conquered Italians as long as they did not rebel and they agreed to supply troops when Rome called. This arrangement was advantageous to the conquered because it eased their tax burden, assured them of Roman assistance against their own enemies, and gave them wide-ranging powers of self-government.

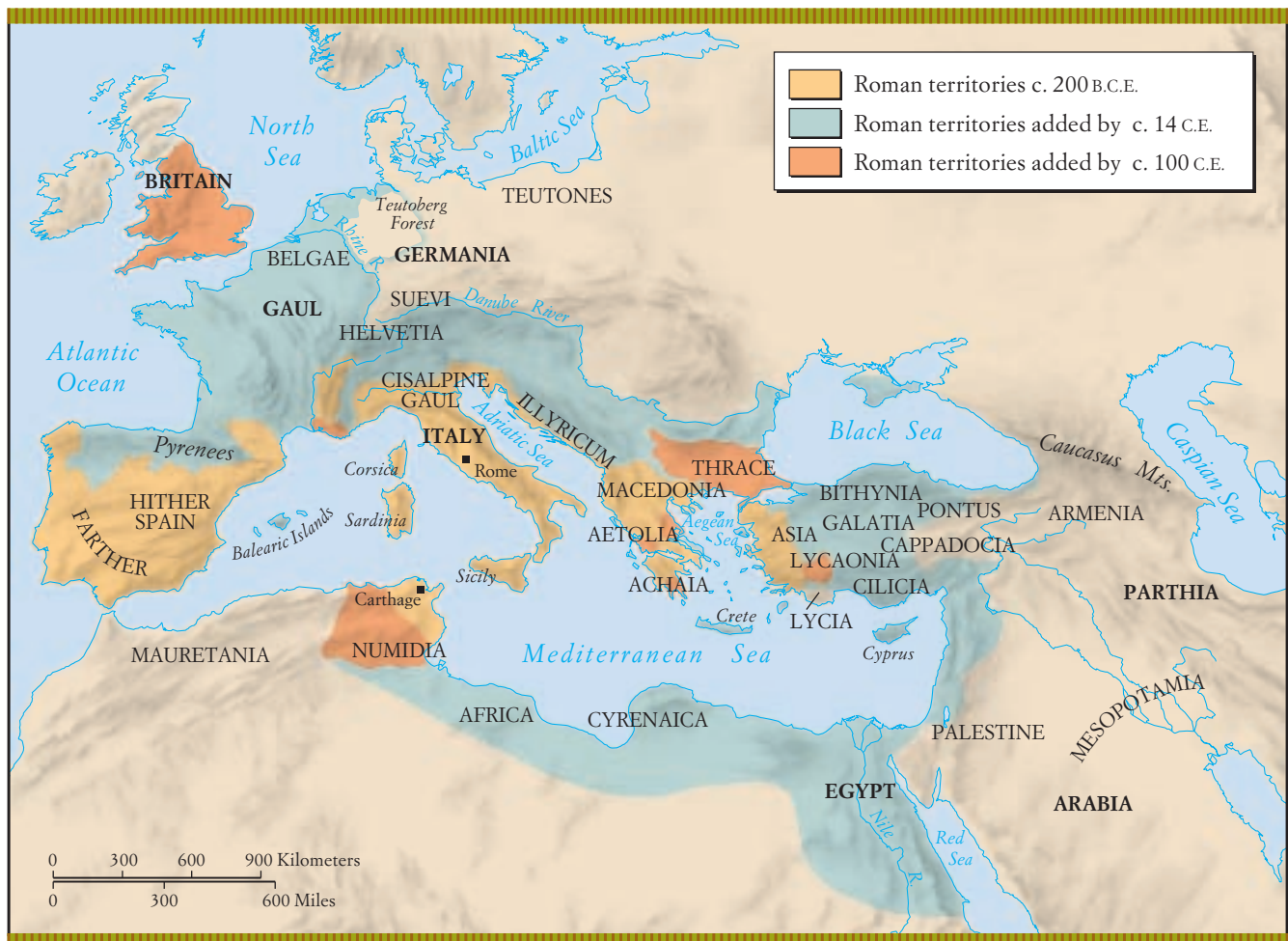
Some of the conquered were eventually allowed to become full citizens, which meant they could run for office and vote in Roman elections, serve in the Roman army and bureaucracy, and have protection for property and other preferential legal rights that were not available to noncitizens.

The upper classes of the conquered Italians and Greeks were soon eager to Latinize themselves and thus to qualify as full citizens. They achieved this status by intermarrying with Romans, adopting the Latin language, and accepting the basic elements of Roman custom and law.

The Punic Wars

Although the Romans were nearly constantly at war between 500 and 275 BCE, these conflicts generally dealt with peoples who were similar to themselves and whose conquered lands were adjacent to Roman possessions. Not until the First of the **Punic Wars** (264–241 BCE) did Rome more or less openly embark on imperial expansion. With that war, Rome started down the road to an *imperium* (empire), although it retained the laws and politics of a quasi-democratic city-state. This created internal tensions that ultimately could not be resolved.

The First Punic War broke out over the question of dominance in Sicily and ended twenty years later with the surrender of the important colonies of Sicily and Sardinia to Rome. Carthage, however, was far from completely subdued, and during the ensuing truce, it built up its forces and then invaded Italy. The brilliant Carthaginian general Hannibal won battle after battle against the desperate Romans but lost the war. Finally, after ravaging Italy for fifteen years in the Second Punic War (218–202), he was finally forced to return to Carthage



MAP 10.2 Expansion of Roman Territories, to 100 CE

Rome's empire was created not by plan but by a series of wars that had little or no relation to one another. Roman influences were permanently barred from central Europe after the massive defeat in the Teutoburg Forest in 9 CE and the establishment of the Rhine and Danube borders thereafter. In Asia, the Romans created a series of client kingdoms that relieved them of having to station large numbers of troops there.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Which of these areas were obtained through conquest from Carthage?



[View an interactive version of this or a related map online.](#)

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to defend the city against a Roman counterinvasion. The decisive **Battle of Zama** in 202 was a clear Roman victory, and Carthage was forced to give up most of its extensive holdings in Africa and Spain. These were made into new provinces of what by now was a rapidly growing empire (see Map 10.2). The Punic Wars determined that Roman—and not Carthaginian—culture and civilization would control the Mediterranean basin for the near future.

The Conquest of the East

Victorious against Carthage, the Romans at once turned their eyes eastward. Until now, they had tried

to stay out of the continuous quarreling of the Hellenistic kingdoms. But in the 190s, immediately after the Punic Wars, ambitious consuls saw an opportunity to profit from the internal Greek struggle. Within a very short time, the Greco-Macedonian kingdom was under Rome's control.

Roman armies soon defeated the other Hellenistic kingdoms around the eastern edge of the Mediterranean. These petty kingdoms could have been made into Roman provinces without delay. But some senators expressed strong opposition to this move, believing that the expansive, materialistic society being created by military conquests was far from what Roman traditions of thrifty living and modest ambition honored.

A seesaw struggle between conservatives, who wished Rome to remain an ethnically homogeneous Italian city-state, and imperialists, who wanted expansion (and wealth!), went on for about a century (150–50 BCE). The conservatives were fighting for a lost cause, however. By the latter date, the question had become which of the proimperialist groups would eventually seize supreme power.

An outstanding military machine executed the conquest of the East. It was composed mainly of infantry, which was recruited from all male citizens. In the early republic, only property holders were allowed citizenship, and only citizens could bear arms. The commanders were all patricians, whereas the plebeians served in the ranks. Service was for an indefinite term, and as the wars multiplied in the fourth and third centuries BCE, many citizens were away from their homes for lengthy periods. The effects were ruinous for many simple peasant-soldiers, who could not tend their fields adequately and had no other source of income (because army service was considered an honor, soldiers were not paid).

As early as the mid-300s, military needs were urgent enough that a group of permanent commanders/governors called **proconsuls** was created. The custom of electing commanders annually fell into disuse, as it was clear that men of talent would be needed for more than a year. In this way, a group of men emerged who were both politically potent through their connections in the Senate and militarily potent through their command responsibilities. So long as they continued to regard the Senate and the consuls whom the Senate elected as their rightful superiors, all went well.

But it was inevitable that an ambitious commander would come along who would look first to personal advancement and only later—or never—to the welfare of the state. Such men began to appear regularly after the First Punic War, which created myriad opportunities to get rich in the new territories won from Carthage. These opportunities redoubled after the Second Punic War. By then, Rome was rapidly developing a volunteer professional army that would look to its field commanders and not to a distant Senate as its legitimate director.



British Museum, photo © Michael Holford, London

ROMAN INFANTRYMAN. This picture shows a bronze figure of a Roman legionary in full dress at the time of the empire in the second century CE. The soldier's vest is constructed of overlapping metal bands that, although heavy and awkward, effectively protected him from enemy thrusts.

The Crisis of the Late Republic

All through this imperial expansion, Rome's government had remained technically that of an ethnically homogeneous city-state, with traditional powers allocated between the senatorial upper class and the masses. By the end of the second century, the real Rome had deviated far from this ideal, and the strains were beginning to show, as the Society and Economy box reveals.

Many poverty-stricken former farmers flocked into the city, seeking any kind of work and ready to listen to anyone promising them a better existence. Many of them had served in the army for years and were then discharged, only to find that their lands had been seized for debt or confiscated through the maneuvers of wealthy speculators. The new landowners created great estates that were worked by the vast numbers of slaves that the Roman overseas conquests were bringing into

Italy.

The members of this new urban **proletariat** (proh-leh-TAY-ree-uht)—people without sources of income except the daily sale of their labor—were citizens with votes, and they were ready to sell those votes to the highest bidder. They were also ready to follow any general who promised them a decent living in his army of long-serving veterans. Men would serve out their time and then be given a good mustering-out pension or a bit of land to support them in old age. That land could easily enough be taken from the victims of new Roman-incited wars around the Mediterranean and in what is now western Europe. But in Italy itself, this “land problem”—the forcing of the peasant-soldiers off their ancestral land—proved insoluble.

Starting about 150 BCE, Roman public life thus became a complex struggle between those upper-class individuals who saw the growing need for social and political reform and those who rejected reform under the banner of sacred tradition. Among the former was a certain Marius. This former consul saw his chance for fame in a war against

African rebels and had himself reelected consul for six terms—a first that was to become commonplace within a couple more decades. Marius also abolished the property qualification for his soldiers, thereby opening the way for an army composed of men who had nothing to lose by enlisting and would follow any leaders who made sure they got plunder and pensions. More and more, the Roman military was becoming a force for instability and the essential base for all who had political ambitions.

In 83 BCE, harsh soldier-consul Sulla made himself dictator and packed the Senate with new men who would obey him. Sulla instituted several beneficial political reforms as well, but they were abolished as soon as he died in 78, and the government reverted immediately to open or covert warfare of wealthy senatorial groups against each other.

The Triumvirates

The final collapse of the pseudo-democracy and the republican system was brought on by the patrician general and politician **Julius Caesar** (died 44 BCE), who saw that it had become corrupt and was unsuited for governance of a far-flung empire. He conspired with others who were also discontented with the Senate leadership to form an alliance known as the *First Triumvirate* (rule of three). The other members were wealthy speculator Crassus and brilliant general Pompey.

During the 50s BCE, Caesar made his reputation by conquering the semicivilized Gauls in what is now France, which he turned into a Roman province of great potential. His ambitions fully awakened, he now wished to become consul and use that powerful office to make basic changes in the structure of government. His former ally Pompey and the large majority of the Senate viewed him as a dangerous radical and opposed him. Emerging the victor after a difficult struggle, Caesar made himself dictator and fully intended to start a royal dynasty. He subordinated the Senate entirely to himself and initiated several major reforms of the existing system, even including the Roman calendar. But, in March 44, conservative senators assassinated him. His only surviving male relative was his adoptive son Octavian Caesar, whom he had made his political heir. But Octavian was only eighteen when Caesar died. He had little political experience and lacked military prowess, so it appeared unlikely that he would ever fill the office of his adoptive father.

When the senatorial assassins of Julius Caesar could not agree on what should be done to restore the republic, Octavian, financier Lepidus, and general Mark Antony formed an alliance known as the *Second Triumvirate*. The three allies crushed the assassins and then divided the empire: Antony took the East and Egypt; Octavian, Italy and the West; and Lepidus, Africa. Octavian soon showed himself a gifted politician, but he stood in the

shadow of Mark Antony. (Lepidus had no independent political hopes and could be ignored.) Antony made himself unpopular in Rome by apparently succumbing to the charms of the queen of Egypt, Cleopatra, and mistreating his noble Roman wife and her influential family. Octavian cleverly built his political strength in Italy and acquired much experience in handling men. When the test came, he was ready. In 32 BCE, Octavian maneuvered Antony into declaring war against him. The victory of Octavian's forces at the decisive **Battle of Actium** in 31 BCE marked the effective beginning of the Roman Empire.

THE AUGUSTAN AGE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE EMPIRE

Octavian's victory had made him master of the Roman world. The question was, how would he respond to this opportunity? Like his predecessor Julius Caesar, Octavian knew that basic reforms were necessary if the Roman state was to survive. But he also knew how resistant the Roman people were to innovations that challenged ancient custom.

Augustus's Reforms

Octavian's response was to *retain the form, while changing the substance*. Mindful of the Romans' respect for tradition, Octavian pretended to be simply another elected consul—another *Pontifex Maximus* (high priest of the state religion) and general of the Roman legions. In reality, he became consul for life, his priestly duties were crowned with semidivine status, and his military resources overshadowed all possible rivals. He enlarged the Senate, packing it with loyal supporters. He made a great show of working with the Senate, while giving it enough busywork to keep it out of mischief. Meanwhile, he made all real policy decisions. He cut the army's size by half, retaining all key military posts under his direct control.

Early in his reign, Octavian accepted the title *Augustus* ("revered one") from a grateful Senate, and it is as "Augustus Caesar" that he is best known. He preferred to be called *Princeps* ("first citizen"), and his rule is often called the **Principate**. It lasted from 27 BCE, when he was elected consul for life, until his natural death in 14 CE. In those forty years, Augustus placed his mark on every aspect of public affairs. He was so successful overall that his system lasted for the next two and a half centuries without fundamental change. Augustus created a type of constitutional monarchy that was suited to contemporary Roman realities. To many people, it long remained

the model of what effective and just imperial government should be.

Imperial Government Policies

In government and constitutional matters, Augustus kept the republican institutions intact. Supposedly, the Senate and the Citizens of Rome were still the sovereign power, with the consul simply their agent. In practice, however, Augustus had the final word in everything important, through his control of the military and the Senate. His steadily increasing prestige with the commoners also helped him. Ordinary Romans were appalled by the rebellions, civil wars, and political assassinations that had become commonplace in the last decades of the republic. After 31 BCE, however, Augustus was strong enough to intimidate any would-be troublemakers. He became immensely popular among the common people as a result.

In social policy, Augustus recognized the problems presented by the numbers of landless, impoverished citizens—especially in the cities. He therefore provided the urban poor with basic food rations from the state treasury, supplemented by “gifts” from the consul (from his own resources). This annual dole of grain and oil became an important means of controlling public opinion for Augustus and his successors. He also instituted

huge public-works programs, both to provide employment and to glorify his government. Projects were carried out all over the empire, but especially in Rome. Many of the surviving Roman bridges, aqueducts, roads (the famous, enduring Roman roads), forts, and temples were constructed during his reign or were started by him and completed later.

Augustus also attempted to institute moral reform and end the love of luxury that had become characteristic of the aristocratic class during the late republic. In his own life with his wife, Livia, he set an example of modest living. He also tried to discourage the influx of slaves because he believed that the vast number of slaves being imported into Italy represented luxury and, as such, threatened the traditional lifestyle. But none of these moral reform attempts proved successful over the long run. His imperial successors soon gave up the struggle.

Augustus also tried to revive the faith in the old gods and the state cult by conscientiously serving as high priest. Here, too, he was unsuccessful in the long run. The educated classes emulated the Greeks by turning from supernatural religion toward philosophy, and the masses sought something more emotionally satisfying than the barren ceremonies of the state cult. This they found in the mystery religions, with their promise of salvation.

In foreign policy, the northern frontiers in Germany and the Low Countries had long been a problem that Augustus was determined to solve by conquering the fierce tribes who lived there. This foray ended in spectacular failure: In 9 CE, Germanic tribes ambushed and exterminated a Roman army that had pushed eastward into the Teutoburg forests. The entire province of Germania was lost, and the borders between Roman and non-Roman Europe were henceforth the Rhine and Danube rivers (see Map 10.2). After Augustus, Rome’s only significant territorial acquisitions were in the British Isles and in present-day Romania.

To govern this vast empire of about 60 million, Augustus reformed its protection and administration. The outermost provinces—including Spain, Mesopotamia, and Egypt—were either put directly under his own control as “imperial” provinces or turned over to local rulers who were faithful satellites. Most of the army was stationed in the imperial provinces, enabling Augustus to keep the military under his surveillance and control.

Augustus initiated other reforms in military matters as well. The standing army had become increasingly large and unwieldy, as well as politically dangerous, so he reduced its size by more than half, to about 250,000 men. The army was made thoroughly professional and used extensively as an engineering force to build roads and public works all over the provinces. Twenty-eight legions, each with about 6,000 highly trained and disciplined infantry, were supported by cavalry and by a large number of auxiliaries, taken from the non-Roman populations of the provinces. The volunteers who made up the legions served for twenty years and were



ROMAN AQUEDUCT IN SPAIN. This modern photo shows the enduring nature of Roman civic architecture all around the Mediterranean basin. This aqueduct could still be employed by the citizens of Segovia, Spain, to bring fresh water to them. Similar structures survive in southern France and in Turkey.

Ken Welsh/Bridgeman Art Library

given a mustering-out bonus sufficient to set them up as small landowners or businesspeople.

The legionaries were highly mobile, and a common soldier often served in five or six different provinces before retirement. The auxiliaries served for twenty-five years and normally were granted citizenship on retirement. In and around Rome, Augustus maintained his personal bodyguard and imperial garrison, the **Praetorian Guard**. Containing about 10,000 men, it was the only armed force allowed in Italy. Whoever controlled its loyalty had a potent lever for political power in his hand.

Augustus also reorganized the Roman navy and used it effectively to rid the major rivers and the Mediterranean of pirates, who had been disrupting shipping. For the next 200 years, the navy protected the provinces and Italy from waterborne threats. Not until recent times were the seas around Europe as safe as in the first and second centuries.

Peace and Prosperity

The **Pax Romana**, the Roman peace from 31 BCE until 180 CE, was the greatest of Augustus's achievements. For nearly two and a half centuries, the Western world from Syria to Spain and from Bristol to Belgrade was unified and generally peaceful under a single central authority enjoined by common law. This record has not been approached since. With Augustus's reign, Rome entered six generations of peace and prosperity. Literature and the arts flourished, supported by generous subsidies from the state treasury and commissions from a new class of wealthy men who wished to celebrate their achievements. Augustus set the tone by encouraging the arts in public spaces and buildings of all sorts and providing personal financial support for many of the outstanding literary figures of his time.

How did the Pax Romana benefit people throughout the far-flung Roman Empire? It allowed, for example, Syrian merchants to move their textile goods safely from Damascus to Alexandria. From there, Egyptians would transport the goods through a peaceable sea to Gibraltar, and from there, the goods would go on to Cornwall in Britain, where they would be exchanged for tin ore, which would then be brought back to a bronze foundry in Damascus. Under the Pax Romana, people throughout the empire lived under a common concept of peaceful order, expressed and upheld through laws that were as valid in London as in Vienna or Barcelona (all cities founded by the Romans). Governors (proconsuls) appointed in Rome supervised the provinces, but they were allowed considerable freedom of action in local affairs, while being protected by Roman garrisons.

The Succession Problem

One important problem that Augustus was unable to solve was that of succession to his office and powers. Having

only a daughter (the scandalous Julia), he adopted her husband, Tiberius, as his son and coruler. He thus set an example that would be followed by most of his successors: a combination of *heredity*, meaning succession by blood, and co-option, meaning succession by designation of the ruler. But this method often resulted in chaos and was at times disregarded in favor of heredity alone.

Tiberius was an effective ruler, although by no means the equal of Augustus in popularity or ability to manipulate the Senate. Whereas a grateful Senate had deified (declared to be a god) Augustus almost immediately after his death, Tiberius was much resented. Other members of the family of Augustus (the Julio-Claudians) followed Tiberius until 68 CE, when the succession system experienced its first crisis. The last of the Julio-Claudians—the unpopular Nero—committed suicide in 69, and, after some bloodstained maneuvering, was replaced by the Flavian emperors from 69 to 96. They based their right to rule simply on having imposing military force behind them. Even though these generals were effective and wise rulers, they set an ominous precedent of coerced selection that would come back to haunt Rome in the third century.

IMPERIAL UNIFICATION

The successors of Augustus continued his work of bringing together the very diverse peoples over whom they ruled. Gradually, the Latin language became the common denominator of higher culture in the western half of the empire, while Greek continued to serve that function in the East. The government used both languages equally in its dealings with its subjects.

The imperial government became increasingly centralized. Roman directives curtailed the freedoms of the cities of the ancient East, and governors were sent out from Italy or selected from the Romanized locals. In the western half of the empire, the Roman authorities founded many **municipia**. These were towns with their surrounding countryside that formed governmental units similar in size and function to our own counties. The municipal authorities were partly appointed by Rome and partly elected from and by leading local families. The provincial governor (usually an Italian given the job as political patronage) was responsible for their good behavior. A garrison commander, who had wide-ranging authority in matters both military and civil, supported him.

Everywhere, the government became open to non-Italians, as soon as they had Romanized themselves sufficiently to become citizens. (Citizenship was eventually granted to all freemen by a popularity-seeking emperor in 212.) From the time of the emperor Hadrian (the 120s CE), half of the members of the Senate were of provincial origin. Men of talent could rise swiftly to the

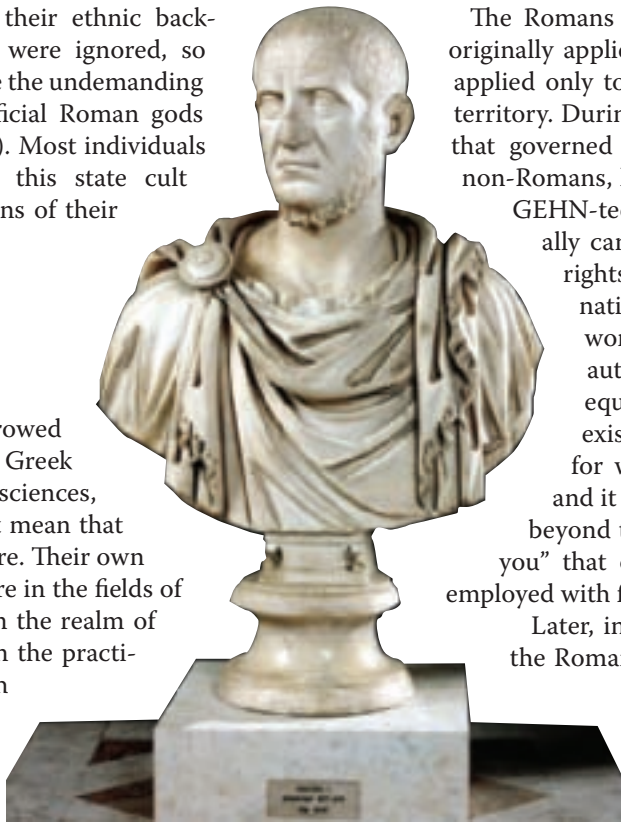
highest offices, regardless of their ethnic background. Religious differences were ignored, so long as one was willing to make the undemanding ceremonial tributes to the official Roman gods (Jupiter, Neptune, and the like). Most individuals had no difficulty combining this state cult with the more intimate religions of their preference.

ROMAN CULTURE

In general, the Romans borrowed heavily and willingly from the Greek heritage in philosophy, the sciences, and the arts, but that does not mean that they developed no native culture. Their own genius and inclinations lay more in the fields of law and administration than in the realm of imagination or the fine arts. In the practical aspects of public life—such as engineering, sanitation, finance, and a system of justice—the Romans had few equals. They were always willing to experiment until they found a winning combination, or at least one that was acceptable to the majority of citizens. At the same time, they never failed to make elaborate bows to a sometimes-fictional tradition and to insist that they were following in the footsteps of the hallowed past when, in fact, they were making changes demanded by new circumstances.

Law

An indisputably great Roman achievement was the development of a system of law with the flexibility to meet the needs of subject peoples as diverse as the Britons and the Syrians. This law system and a government that combined effective central controls with wide local autonomy are perhaps the most valued Roman gifts to later civilized society. Many types of law originally existed within the borders of the empire, but these gradually gave way to the system that the Romans had hammered out by trial and error during the republic and that continued to be developed in the empire. The basic principles of this legal system were (1) the notion of *precedent* as coequal to the letter of the law, (2) the belief that *equity* (fairness) was the goal of all law, and (3) the importance of *interpretation* in applying the law to individual cases.



Louvre, Paris, France/Lauros/Giraudon/Bridgeman Art Library

A ROMAN EMPEROR. The Roman preference for realism in their pictorial arts is shown by this bust of a man assumed to be Emperor Macrin. Although their techniques were generally dependent on classical Greek models, the Romans soon progressed beyond the desire to merely imitate.

The Romans had various codes of law. One originally applied only to citizens, and another applied only to aliens and travelers on Roman territory. During the early empire, the law code that governed relations between citizens and non-Romans, known as the **ius gentium** (yoos GEHN-tee-uhm; “law of peoples”), gradually came to be accepted as basic. The rights of citizens and noncitizens, of natives and aliens, came to be seen as worthy of protection by the Roman authorities. These rights were not equal, but they were recognized as existing. This concept paved the way for what we call “international law,” and it gradually took Roman justice far beyond the usual concepts of “us against you” that other ancient peoples normally employed with foreigners.

Later, in the third and fourth centuries, the Romans evolved *natural law*, the idea that all humans—by virtue of their humanity—possess certain rights and duties that all courts must recognize. As the Romans adopted Christianity, this natural law came to be viewed as the product of a God-ordained order that had been put into the world with the creation of Adam.

The Arts

Roman art forms varied sharply in development and imagination. The Latin language evolved rapidly as the republic expanded its contacts with others. Roman literature began in the third century BCE, when poetry of some excellence, historiography of a rather inferior sort, and drama modeled on that of the Greeks began to appear. During the republic’s last century, Cicero, Julius Caesar, Terence, Polybius, Cato, and Lucretius were major contributors. The best days of Roman literature, however, were still ahead, in the early imperial epoch, when a brilliant constellation around the emperors Augustus and Tiberius created a memorable body of poetry and prose. Virgil’s *Aeneid* (ah-NEE-id) became the official version of the founding of Rome by refugees from the burning Troy; Ovid, Horace, and Catullus established Latin poetry equal to yet different from its Greek models. In the hands of prose masters such as the historian Tacitus, the satirist Juvenal, and the storytellers Pliny, Petronius, and Suetonius, the Latin language became an extraordinary instrument capable of extreme directness and concision.

In the pictorial and plastic (three-dimensional) arts, the early Roman sculptors and architects worked from both Etruscan and Greek models without much elaboration of their own. With few exceptions, the “Greek” statues in the world’s fine arts museums are Roman copies of originals that have long since disappeared. By the end of the Republican era, this was changing, and a specifically native style was emerging. One of its greatest strengths was portrait sculpture, especially the busts that were produced in large numbers. These are amazingly realistic and seem modern in a way that other ancient art generally does not.

The architectural style favored in the republic was strongly reminiscent of the Greek temple, but it also

incorporated Hellenistic arches and circles—as in the frequent cupola roofs and semicircular altars—to a much greater degree. Roman skill in masonry work and affinity for the grand style combined to give magnificent expression to public works and buildings throughout the empire. The Forum and the Coliseum still stand in modern Rome, witnesses to the exceptional quality of Roman stonework.

Patterns of Belief

“How best to live?” was a question that preoccupied imperial Romans. Perhaps the greatest of all the emperors after Augustus was Marcus Aurelius (oh-REE-lee-uhs; ruled

PATTERNS OF BELIEF

THE MEDITATIONS OF MARCUS AURELIUS

Marcus Aurelius (121–180 CE) was perhaps the greatest of all the Roman rulers, in the sense of moral grandeur. As the last of the Five Good Emperors who ruled in the second century CE, he inherited an empire that was still intact and at peace internally.

But on its eastern borders, the first of the lethal challenges from the Germanic tribes materialized during his reign (161–180), and he had to spend much of his time organizing and leading the empire’s defenses.

Even during his campaigns, his mind was attuned to the Stoic philosophy, which the Roman upper classes had acquired from the Greeks. In *Meditations*, he wrote a personal journal of the adventure of a life consciously lived. His book, which was never meant for publication, has lived on into our day because of its nobility of thought and expression. Some excerpts follow:

Begin each day by reminding yourself: today I shall meet with meddlers, ingrates, insolence, disloyalty, ill-will and selfishness—all of them due to the offenders’ ignorance of what is good and what evil. But I have long perceived the nature of good and its nobility, the nature of evil and its meanness, and also the nature of the culprit himself, who is my brother . . . therefore, none of those things can injure me, for no one can implicate me in what is degrading. . . .

Never value the advantages derived from anything involving breach of faith, loss of self-respect, hatred, suspicion, or execration of others, insincerity, or the desire for something which has to be veiled or curtailed. One whose chief regard is for his own mind, and for the

divinity within him and the service of its goodness, will strike no poses, utter no complaints, and crave neither for solitude nor yet for the crowd. . . .

Hour by hour resolve firmly, like a Roman and a man, to do what comes to hand with correct and natural dignity, and with humanity, independence, and justice. Allow your mind freedom from all other considerations. This you can do if you will approach each action as though it were your last, dismissing the wayward thought, the emotional recoil from the commands of reason, the desire to create an impression, the admiration of self, the discontent with your lot. See how little a man needs to master, for his days to flow on in quietness and piety; he has to observe but these few counsels, and the gods will ask nothing more.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Of the various world religions encountered thus far in this book, which seems closest in its ethical principles to Marcus’s *Meditations*? Can you see why the *Meditations* was a particular favorite with Christians after Constantine’s time?

Source: Excerpt from Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, trans. Maxwell Staniforth. © 1964, Penguin Classics. Reprinted by permission of Penguin, Ltd.



You can read more from Marcus Aurelius’s *Meditations* online.



161–180 CE), the last of the Five Good Emperors who ruled in the second century CE. He left a small book of aphorisms called *Meditations*, which has been a best seller ever since (see the Patterns of Belief box). Marcus settled on a pessimistic Stoicism as the most fitting cloak for a good man in a bad world—especially for a man who had to exercise power. This was a common feeling among upper-class Romans, and it became ever more popular in the third and fourth centuries as civic difficulties multiplied. Like Marcus Aurelius, Roman Stoics often opposed Christianity because they rejected external prescriptions for morality. Instead, they insisted that each person is responsible for searching and following his own conscience. Seneca, another Stoic and the most persuasive of the Roman moralists, had a somewhat different way of looking at things. He introduced a new note of human compassion, a belief that all shared in the divine spark and should be valued as fellow creatures.

The Roman character, insofar as one can sum up a heterogeneous people's character, leaned toward the pragmatic and the here and now. Romans admired the doer more than the thinker, the soldier more than the philosopher, and the artisan more than the artist. The educated class could and did appreciate “the finer things.” They admired and cultivated art in many media and many forms and spent lavishly to obtain it for their own prestige and pleasure. But they did not, generally speaking, provide that sort of intense, sustained interest that led to superior aesthetic standards and to the inspiration of superior and original works of art such as the Greeks possessed in abundance. The early empire's successes in several fields were magnificent and long lasting, but they were not rooted in an original view of earthly life or a new conception of humans' duties and aspirations.

The religious convictions of the Romans centered on duty to the state and the family hearth. Toward the state, the Roman patricians felt a personalized attachment, a sense of duty, and a proud obedience to tradition handed down from generation to generation. Toward the patriarchal family and its symbol, the hearth, the Romans felt the same attachment as most ancient peoples, with the honor of lineage being of usual great importance to them.

Roman religion was a matter of mutual promises: on the gods' side, protection for the community and survival for the individual; on the human side, ceremonial worship and due respect. Priests and priestesses existed in Rome but had relatively little power and prestige among the people. It was a religion of state, rather than of individuals, and it was common for Romans to worship other gods besides those of the official cult. In the imperial period, many emperors were deified, and most of the mystery religions of the Hellenistic world were eventually taken up by Rome.

Chief among the many Roman gods was Jupiter, a father figure modeled on the Greek Zeus. Also important were Apollo, Neptune (Poseidon), Venus (Aphrodite

[af-roh-DIE-tee]), Minerva (Athena), and Mars (Ares). Like the rituals of the Greeks, the worship given to these deities was more like a present-day patriotic ceremony than a modern church service. Even less than among the Greeks did the Romans look to the civic gods for ethical guidance or to secure personal immortality. The Roman notion of an afterlife changed from person to person and from age to age during Rome's long history. In broad terms, it resembled that of the educated Greeks: The existence of an afterlife was an open question, but if it did exist, one could know nothing about it or secure admission to it through the gods.

Ideally, and in their own musings about the good life, educated Romans generally affirmed Stoicism, believing that service to the state and the human community was the highest duty. They thought that the only way to ensure against the disappointments of earthly life was to renounce the pursuit of wealth and power and live a life of modest seclusion. But few Romans who had a choice did that! As a governing class, they were very much attuned to the delights of wealth and power and very much willing to make great efforts to get them. A people who made much of military virtue and unquestioning obedience, they also insisted on the autonomy of the individual's conscience. Notably conscious of the concept of justice and the rule of law, they also had many moments of collective blind rage when they exerted sadistic power over others. Base actions and even baser motives sometimes eclipsed nobility of thought.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

In general, the Romans were successful in creating a single, unified vision of what life was about—and how it should best be lived—that was accepted from Britain to Egypt and from Spain to Romania. We have a great deal of information about the economic and cultural life in the first and second centuries CE, when the empire was prospering.

Commerce and manufacturing enjoyed a considerable boom. Trade was conducted mainly within the borders of the empire, but the Silk Road and the Indian Ocean routes also extended it to India, Africa, and even China during the Han Dynasty (which closely paralleled the rise and fall of the Roman hegemony in Europe). This long-distance trade was focused on luxuries and was conducted mainly through Greek and Asian intermediaries. (See Chapters 4, 6, 12, and 13, as well as the Evidence of the Past box.) Increasingly, the balance of trade within the empire shifted to favor the East (meaning the area from the Adriatic to Mesopotamia and Egypt). Italy became more and more dependent on imports from other parts of the empire—mainly from the East, where the levels of skills far exceeded those of the West. In the East lived the bulk of the population and the majority of the urbanites.

Here, too, were the sophisticated, civilized traditions of the Hellenistic world. Even the skilled slave labor in Italy came almost exclusively from eastern sources.

During Rome's imperial age, the methods by which the ordinary man made a living had changed little from earlier days. Farming or herding animals remained the paramount occupation. At the same time, the urban population grew considerably, especially in the West. (See the Society and Economy box for details of what these people ate.) In the towns, the number of people—both men and

women—engaged in skilled or semiskilled labor steadily increased. But the real growth of urban population came from the influx of country people who had lost their land and their livelihood. They came to town hoping for a better life, but many ended up as beggars.

Most Roman subjects, as always, worked the land. But much of this land was now owned either by the imperial government or by wealthy absentee landlords. Small farmers were a declining species by the second century. They were replaced not so much by slaves as by

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRAEAN SEA

Beginning in Roman times, Europeans' appetite for spices used in seasoning and food preservation spurred trade with India. Indians grew and supplied pepper, cardamom, and ginger, but their knowledge of the monsoon winds had enabled them to obtain turmeric, saffron, cinnamon, nutmeg, and clove from colonies they had established in Southeast Asia. Scholars believe that a Greek sailor wrote the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* sometime in the first century CE. The following are a few passages about India:

Beyond the gulf of Baraca [Gulf of Kutch] is that of Barygaza [Kutch] . . . It is a fertile country, yielding wheat and rice and sesame oil and clarified butter, cotton and the Indian cloths made therefrom, of the coarser sorts. Very many cattle are pastured there, and the men are of great stature and black in color. The metropolis of this country is Minnagara, from which much cotton cloth is brought down to Barygaza. (Periplus, Chapter 41)

The *Periplus* then describes the trade of Kutch and Gujerat:

There are imported into [Kutch], wine, Italian preferred, also Laodicean [Greek] and Arabian; copper, tin, and lead; coral and topaz; thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds; bright-colored girdles a cubit wide; storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar [a rat poison], antimony, gold and silver coin. . . . There are exported from these places spikenard [incense oil], costus [ginger], bdellium [aromatic gum], ivory, agate and carnelian [a gem stone], lycium [nightshade], cotton cloth of all kinds, silk cloth, mallow cloth, yarn, long pepper and such other things as are brought here from the various market-towns. Those bound for this market-town from Egypt make the voyage favorably about the month of July, that is Epiphi. (Periplus, Chapter 49)

Further south, near the southern end of India, is the Tamil-speaking region named Kerala (KAYR-oh-lah). Located there was the second great emporium of India: Muziris.

Muziris, of the same kingdom, abounds in ships sent there with cargoes from Arabia, and by the Greeks; it is located on a river, distant from Tyndis by river and sea five hundred stadia, and up the river from the shore twenty stadia. Nelcynda is distant from Muziris by river and sea about five hundred stadia, and is of another Kingdom, the Pandian. This place also is situated on a river, about one hundred and twenty stadia from the sea. (Periplus, 53–54)

From the southwest coast of India, trade extended to the region of the Ganges River (in northern India), which, “Besides this there are ex-ported great quantities of fine pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum [?] from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds and sapphires, and tortoise-shell.” (Periplus, 56)

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What do these passages tell us about Greco-Roman knowledge of Asia in the first century CE?

Considering the types of items that were exchanged, which side seemed to be getting the better end of this trade between East and West?

Periplus quotations taken from W.H. Schoff (tr. and ed.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century* (London, Bombay & Calcutta, 1912).



sharecropper-tenants, who were still free in most of the empire but would not long remain so.

In the Italian and western European countryside, the land controlled by the *villa*, or country estate of the wealthy, was steadily gaining at the expense of the impoverished small farmers. More and more people were tempted or coerced into giving up their independence to obtain regular income and protection against rapacious tax collectors. Another ominous trend in the empire was the increasing social stratification, particularly in the towns of Italy. The rich were more numerous than ever before, and the poor were both more numerous and more miserable. Wealth seems to have become the main qualification for public office.

Slave and Free

The number of slaves climbed sharply in the first century BCE. Roman legions took over one province after another and made off with the human booty. The alien slaves were often more educated and better skilled than the native Italians, and slaves from Greece, in particular, brought high prices in the market. Augustus tried to protect the free citizens by banning the importation of additional slaves into Italy, but his measures were evaded and later revoked.

Roman slavery was harsher than had been the case earlier. The large merchant fleet and the navy depended on galley slaves. The extensive Roman mining industry also depended on slave labor, because this job was so dangerous that few freemen could be lured into it. Slave families were broken up and sold to the highest bidders.

Slaves supposedly could own no property of their own; nor could they inherit or bequeath property. The children from a marriage of slaves were automatically the property of the parents' owners. Rape of another's slave was considered an injury to the slave owner, not to the slave, and was paid for accordingly. The rape of a slave by his or her owner was not an offense at all.

Despite such treatment, by the third and fourth centuries CE, free persons were increasingly selling themselves into voluntary slavery, which promised them a better material life than freedom could. Sometimes, too, the self-sale was a dodge to avoid the tax, which a free person had to pay but a slave did not. It is not possible to know which motive predominated.

Gender Relations

The earmark of female status was the far-reaching authority of the father over his daughter and, indeed, over all his *familia*—defined as wife, children, grandchildren, and household slaves. This **patria potestas** (PAH-tree-ah poh-TESS-tahs; literally, the “power of the father”) extended even to life and death, although the exercise of the death penalty was rare.

All Roman law was concerned primarily with the protection of property, and the laws concerning women clearly show that they were considered the property of the male head of the familia. It is worth noting that the father's powers exceeded those of the husband. For example, if a wife died without leaving a will, the property she left reverted not to her husband but to her father. A woman who passed from her father's control and was not under



A ROMAN APARTMENT HOUSE. This model has been reconstructed from archaeological evidence found at Ostia, Rome's port. The building on the right is the home of a wealthy family, possibly the owners of the multistory tenement to the left. Although some tenements were solidly built, many were thrown up to maximize the income for the landlord and allowed to become filthy nests.

that of a husband was termed **sui iuris** (SOO-ee YOO-riss; “of his or her own law”). This status was quite unusual. Women who were neither married nor possessing *sui iuris* had to be under tutelage—that is, a male relative was legally responsible for her.

Roman girls married young by our standards, and betrothal was often much earlier still. Marriage at age thirteen was not unusual. The girl’s consent was not necessary. Unlike in many other civilizations, the Roman widow was expected to remarry if she could, and she was normally then *sui iuris*—legally equal to her new husband in terms of control over property.

Divorce of wives by husbands was common among the upper classes. Augustus, scandalized by the habits of some of his colleagues, decreed that a man catching his wife in adultery must divorce her or be considered her procurer and be punished himself. Divorce was much harder for a woman to obtain, and sexual impotence was one of the few grounds accepted. Because marriage was considered a consensual union rather than a legal obligation of the spouses, the lack of continued consent was itself grounds for its dissolution. This is the source of the modern divorce by “irreconcilable differences.” Abortion was legal until the first century CE, and when it was then declared a crime, it was because the act affected the property of the father of the fetus—a typical Roman viewpoint. Infanticide by exposure also continued, but no one knows how common it may have been or whether it favored the male over the female child, as is frequently assumed. A large proportion of slaves and prostitutes originated as girl babies picked up “from the trash heap,” as the Roman saying went.

Women worked in all trades not requiring the heaviest labor. Textile trades were still the most common occupation for women of all classes, slave and free. Midwives, many physicians, scribes, and secretaries were female. Personal servants, hairdressers, nannies, and masseuses (a Roman passion) were always women. Entertainers of all sorts—acrobats, clowns, actresses, musicians, dancers—were in high demand. They were often female and frequently combined their stage talents with a bit of prostitution on the side. The tradition that female artistes are sexually available continues in Mediterranean folklore to the present day.

Like most peoples, Romans attempted to legislate morality. Rape and female adultery were two of the most serious offenses. Both were punishable by death, although actual prosecutions seem to have been few. Homosexuality does not appear to have been as widespread in Rome as it had been in Greece, although it was certainly not unusual among the upper classes. Prostitution was not itself illegal, but it carried with it *infamia*, meaning disrepute and shame for the practitioners. Prostitutes were expected to register with the local authorities, and they paid heavy taxes on their earnings. Nevertheless, they

were not criminals but were simply engaged in business and were so treated. Brothel keeping in Roman times, as earlier and later, was one of the more dependable sources of wealth for the (generally female) proprietors.

Children and Education

The male child of patrician birth was important as the continuer of the familia, and much attention was devoted to his education, sometimes at a school but more often by a live-in tutor. Strict demands for achievement were placed on him from the earliest years. Learning was acquired for a communal purpose: to advance the welfare of the state. Therefore, the most important subjects to master were law and the principles of government. All men of affairs were also taught rhetoric and philosophy. Science and the fine arts were of secondary importance and were viewed as personal matters, possibly important to the individual but only incidental to the community.

The segregation of the sexes that was so marked in classical Greece was largely overcome in Roman theory and, to some extent, in practice. Roman females gradually received increased freedom to enter the “great world” of male concerns. They could do this through advanced studies and larger political responsibilities. Hence, by the second century CE, it was no longer absurd for a middle-class Roman girl to study mathematics or philosophy or to become an instructor in one of the arts—all careers that had been closed even to upper-class Greek females.



GIRL READING. This tender rendition of a young girl daydreaming over her studies is marked by a sentiment not often encountered in Roman painting.

Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples, Italy/Lauros/Giraudon/Bridgeman Art Library

SUMMARY

THE PECULIAR BALANCE OF POLITICAL power between aristocrats and commoners that the Roman republic established lasted as long as Rome remained a socially and ethnically homogeneous state and extended its rule only to Italy. This situation ended with Rome's hard-fought success in the Punic Wars of the third century BCE, when the city-state became in fact, but not yet in name, an empire.

The failure of the republic's pseudodemocratic political structure to adapt to the changed circumstances led to civil war and constant upheaval during the last century of its existence. Reformers attempted in vain to find a solution during these unstable years. Julius Caesar tried to establish a monarchy but was cut down by his conservative enemies. His adoptive son Octavian had better success, as the first emperor, Augustus Caesar.

For more than 200 years, the Augustan reforms, continued by a series of able successors, enabled Rome to prosper in peace while creating a Mediterranean and west European hegemony.

Roman republican culture and art forms were originally based on Greek and Etruscan models, with the Greeks of the Hellenistic Age being particularly important.

In form and content, philosophy and religious belief resembled the Greek originals from which they were largely derived. More innovation was shown during the late republican and imperial epoch, but the creative artistic imagination was generally not the Romans' strong point. In law and government and in the practical application of scientific knowledge to the everyday problems of society, however, few surpassed them.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Actium, Battle of
Carthage

censors
consuls

Etruscans
ius gentium
Julius Caesar
municipia
patria potestas
patricians
Pax Romana
plebeians

Praetorian Guard
Principate
proconsuls
proletariat
Punic Wars
sui iuris
tribunes
Zama, Battle of

For Further Reflection

1. Was Roman civilization *humanistic*? (For a review of this term, see Chapter 9).
2. Why and in what ways did the Romans imitate Greek civilization? Be sure to give specific reasons and concrete examples.
3. What was distinctive about Roman civilization? What contributions did the Romans make to world civilization?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The peoples who exerted the greatest influence on early Rome were
 - a. the Etruscans and the Hittites.
 - b. the Greeks and the Egyptians.
 - c. the Greeks and the Etruscans.
 - d. the Egyptians and the Etruscans.
 - e. the Etruscans and the Phoenicians.
2. Chief executive authority in the Roman republic was exercised by
 - a. a king.
 - b. two consuls.
 - c. four praetors.
 - d. ten tribunes.
 - e. three censors.

3. The first decisive change in the political nature of Rome from a homogeneous city-state to an empire came after the
 - a. conquest of Greece.
 - b. triumph of Octavian Caesar over his partners in the Second Triumvirate.
 - c. attainment of supreme power by Julius Caesar.
 - d. winning of the wars against Carthage.
 - e. death of Julius Caesar.
4. The first province outside the Italian “boot” to be added to the Romans’ sphere of government was
 - a. Gaul.
 - b. Greece.
 - c. Sicily.
 - d. Egypt.
 - e. Carthage.
5. The group of Roman officials who came to govern the new provinces was
 - a. the proconsuls.
 - b. the censors.
 - c. the triumvirates.
 - d. the tribunes.
 - e. the senators.
6. Roman law is notable for its
 - a. egoism and arrogance.
 - b. brutality and vengeance.
 - c. gentleness and mercy.
 - d. practicality and flexibility.
 - e. rigidity and stagnation.
7. A chief strength of the Roman’s arts was their
 - a. portrait painting.
 - b. dramatic tragedy.
 - c. miniature goldwork.
 - d. sculpted busts.
 - e. well-developed historiography.
8. The Roman state religion consisted mainly of
 - a. ritual and ceremony.
 - b. prayer for personal salvation.
 - c. theological discussions.
 - d. emotion-charged public devotions.
 - e. rejection of Greek polytheism.
9. Slavery after about 100 BCE was usually
 - a. harsher and more common than had been the case earlier.
 - b. a temporary condition that was easily overcome.
 - c. granted only for cases of homosexuality in the husband.
 - d. possible only when no children could be conceived.
 - e. difficult but obtainable on a few grounds.
10. For Roman women, divorce was
 - a. as easily obtained as for men.
 - b. an absolute impossibility because of patria potestas.
 - c. a punishment reserved for serious crimes against the state.
 - d. reserved for non-Italians.
 - e. much more difficult than it was for men.



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The Roman Empire and the Rise of Christianity in the West, 31 BCE–600 CE



INTERNAL UPHEAVAL AND INVADING BARBARIANS

RESTRUCTURING OF THE EMPIRE

CHRISTIANITY

The Appeal of Christianity
Christianity's Spread and Official Adoption
Early Church Organization and Doctrine

GERMANIC INVADERS

GERMAN CUSTOMS AND SOCIETY

Conversion to Christianity
The Foundations of the Medieval Manor
The Dark Age

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Carolingian Renaissance
Disintegration of the Carolingian Empire
Renewed Invasions
Development of the Manorial System

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

AFTER MARCUS AURELIUS'S REIGN (161–180 CE), Rome's power and its convictions of a mandate to rule began to decline. Germanic tribes in the mid-200s invaded several of the outer provinces briefly, and the whole empire was wracked by internal strife that threatened to bring down entirely its traditional authority. At the beginning of the fourth century came an effort at renewal and realignment, based in part on the official embrace of the formerly condemned Christianity and in part on absolute monarchy as the new style of rule. But this effort was doomed in the longer run. Germans increasingly forced their way into the empire's heartlands and imposed their own partially digested forms of Roman law and governmental technique on the populace at large. Only after the slow process of conversion to Christian belief had effected some softening of the Germanic warrior culture did the general regression in the art and craft of civilization become less apparent and this so-called Dark

They have no fixed abode,
no home or law or settled
manner of life, but wander.

—*Ammianus Marcellinus*
(Roman historian, speaking
of the German tribes)

c. 6 BCE–29 CE	Life of Jesus of Nazareth
284–305 CE	Diocletian/Empire divided East and West
313–337 CE	Constantine/Christianity tolerated
381 CE	Theodosius makes Christianity official religion
late 300s–400s CE	Germanic invaders enter western empire
527–565 CE	Justinian I/Corpus Iuris
c. 500–800	“Dark Age”/Germanic kingdoms
768–814	Charlemagne/Carolingian Renaissance

Age begin to lift. Charlemagne's interlude as reviver of Roman authority and belief, however bravely undertaken, proved to be a transitory moment.

INTERNAL UPHEAVAL AND INVADING BARBARIANS

After the unfortunate reign (180–193) of the corrupt and incompetent Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius, the central government fell into the hands of military usurpers for almost a century. Agriculture, which had always provided the livelihood of most Roman subjects, was increasingly dominated by large estates employing unfree labor. Cities declined in size and importance as civil wars among the generals reduced one urban center after another to ashes or strangled its commerce. Some of the provinces were relatively untouched by these conflicts, particularly in the East. This fact reinforced the ever-clearer political and economic dominance of the eastern half of the empire over the western.

In the half century between 235 and 284, Rome had twenty emperors, eighteen of whom died by violence. This was the infamous age of the Barracks Emperors. An ambitious commander who had the momentary support of a legion or two might attempt to seize power in Rome or in one or another of the provinces. Those who had the allegiance of the Italian garrison, the Praetorian Guard, were the most powerful at any given moment, and the Guard was easily bought with promises of booty.

Ordinary citizens were not involved in these struggles, of course, but they suffered the effects in many ways. Respect for imperial authority disappeared, the courts of law were overruled by force, and bribery and corruption of officials became commonplace. The long-distance trade that had sustained much of Roman prosperity was badly disrupted.

It was Rome's bad luck that the Barracks Emperors coincided with the first really serious challenges from the barbarian tribes beyond its borders. In the later third century, the "wandering of the peoples"—the long-sustained nomadic migrations begun much earlier from Asia and eastern Europe—reached the outer provinces from the Low Countries all the way to the Balkans. When these tribal peoples reached the river frontiers (the Rhine and the Danube), they found large gaps in the defenses, caused by the army's dissolution into a series of quasi-private forces. Sometimes peaceably and sometimes by force, the newcomers crossed into the civilized areas in groups both small and large.

Almost miraculously, the last few general-emperors in the 270s were able to beat off the barbarian attacks and manipulate the various tribes and nations into fighting one another more than the Romans. Rome gained breathing space that was utilized by the last of the Barracks Emperors, Diocletian, to reorganize the badly wounded government.

RESTRUCTURING OF THE EMPIRE

Under **Diocletian** (ruling 284–305), a capable general who had fought his way to supreme power, the fiction created by Augustus Caesar that the emperor was merely a first among equals was finally buried. From now on, the emperor was clearly the absolute ruler of a subservient *Senatus et Populus*. His bureaucrats were his instruments to affect his will, rather than agents of the Roman people. Diocletian brooked no opposition, not because he was a tyrant but because he saw that if the empire was to survive, something new must be tried immediately.

To make the huge empire more governable, Diocletian divided it into western and eastern halves and underlined the dominance of the East by taking that half for his personal domain (see Map 11.1). The other he gave to a trusted associate to rule from Rome as his deputy. Each of the two coemperors appointed an assistant, who was to follow him in office. This system, called the **Tetrarchy** (TEHT-rahr-kee; rule of four), was supposed to end the civil wars. It failed as soon as Diocletian retired (305 CE), but the reorganization of the empire into two halves remained.

Diocletian also attempted to revive the economy by lowering inflation, which had been rampant since the early Barracks Emperors. He issued the first governmental "price ceilings" on consumer goods in Western history (which failed, of course). He attempted to restore the badly damaged faith in the value of Roman coinage, whose gold and silver content had been steadily and surreptitiously reduced. He also increased the tax burden and insisted that the tax collectors be personally responsible for making up any arrearages in their districts. The net result was to make taxes more hated than ever and the tax collectors' posts almost unfillable.

Constantine the Great (ruling 313–337), Diocletian's successor to supreme power after an eight-year civil war, generally continued these policies and increased the restrictions on personal freedoms that the central government was steadily imposing. The measures were aimed especially at free peasants, who were being forced into debt by the big landlords and who often ran away or sold themselves into slavery or were otherwise lost to the tax collector.

In the 330s, Constantine took the long-expected step of formally transferring the government to the East. Perched on the shore of the strait between Europe and Asia in a highly strategic location, the new capital city of Byzantium was well defensible from both land and sea. In time, the city of Constantine (**Constantinople** in Greek) became the largest city in the Christian world. Greek was the dominant language in the new capital, and Greeks were the dominant cultural force from the beginning.

What happened to the old Rome in the West? Although the deputy emperor maintained his government there for another century and a half, that city and surrounding Italy were in steady decline. Rome was ravaged by Visigoth (410) and Vandal (455) raids, which left parts of it in permanent ruin. Finally, in 476, a German chieftain pushed aside the



MAP 11.1 The Later Roman Empire

Note the outlines of the four subdivisions of the empire after Diocletian, whose reign ended in 305 CE. Although the West had more area, the East had much more people. The total population at this era has been estimated at about 60 million—actually a decline from the second century's total of about 65 million and

attributable to the ravages of a plague that hit the West in the late second century.

MAP QUESTIONS

Locate the capital cities of the Western and Eastern Empires. Which capital was more vulnerable to attack? Why?

insignificant and powerless deputy of Constantinople and crowned himself king of Italy—an event conventionally taken as the end of the Roman Empire in the West.

CHRISTIANITY

While the Roman Empire weakened and crumbled, a new force—Christianity—developed within it. **Jesus of Nazareth** (c. 6 BCE–29 CE), whom about one-third of the world's population assert to be the Son of God and Redeemer of Mankind, was born during the reign of Augustus Caesar, about a generation after Pompey had incorporated Judaea into the growing Roman Empire.

During the last century BCE, the Hellenistic mystery religions had become widely popular. Egyptian, Persian, Greek, and Italian cults promising power and immortality appealed to the lower ranks of a population that was steadily being divided into economic haves and have-nots. The Jews were not immune to this appeal and subdivided into several factions that held different views of the messiah that had been promised to them long ago (see Chapter 5). None of these factions were receptive to the pacifist and provocative message of love and forgiveness that Jesus preached between 26 and 29 CE. To the Sadducees and Pharisees, Jesus's admonition to stop confusing the letter of the law with its spirit was an attempt to seduce the Jews, who had survived and remained a distinct nation only because of



Bridgeman Art Library

THE WALLS OF CONSTANTINOPLE. After the move from Rome, the government devoted much money and energy to making the new capital impregnable from both sea and land. On the land side, a series of gigantic walls were erected, which protected Constantinople from all attacks until 1453, when the Ottoman Turks succeeded in capturing it by breaking down the walls with newly discovered gunpowder.

their unbending adherence to their Mosaic laws. Zealots wished to fight the Romans and had no empathy with a prophet who asked them to “render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s”—that is, to accept the legitimate demands of their Roman overlords.

Meanwhile, the Roman administrators must have regarded Jesus as a special irritant among an already-difficult, religiously obsessed people. The Romans were usually remarkably tolerant of their subjects’ religions, but Jesus’s challenges to the traditionalist rabbis did create difficulties in governing Israel and Judea. As a result, when the Jewish leaders demanded that the Roman procurator, Pontius Pilate, allow them to punish this disturber of the peace, he reluctantly ordered his crucifixion.

For a couple of decades thereafter, the Christian cult spread slowly in Judea. This situation changed as a result of two developments. First, educated Jew Saul of Tarsus (c. 6–67 CE), a Roman citizen and sophisticate, was miraculously converted to Christianity on the road to Damascus. As the Apostle Paul, he insisted on preaching to the Gentiles (non-Jews), thus giving Christianity an appeal that was more universal. Second, the fanatical element among the Jews rebelled against the Roman overlords in the **Jewish War** (67–71 CE). After the Romans

crushed it, they decided to punish this troublesome people by dispersing them in what came to be known as the **Diaspora** (actually, the second Diaspora; see Chapter 5). One result of this forced eviction from Judea was the establishment of Jewish exile colonies that became breeding grounds for Christianity throughout the eastern Mediterranean basin and soon in Italy itself. Spurred by the strenuous efforts of the Apostle Paul and his band of missionaries, the Christian doctrine was steadily spreading among both Jews and Gentiles by the end of the first century.

The Appeal of Christianity

What was the appeal of the new religion? First, it distinguished itself from all of the other mystery religions by its *universality*. All persons were eligible: men and women, Jew and Gentile, rich and poor, Roman and non-Roman. Second, Christianity offered a message of *hope and optimism* in a Hellenistic cultural world that appeared increasingly grim for the aspirations of ordinary people. Not only were believers promised a blessed life to come, but the prospects for a better life on this earth also appeared to be good. The Second Coming of the Lord and its accompanying Last Judgment, when the just would be rewarded and the evil punished according to their desserts, were thought to be not far off. Third, Christians were far ahead of their rivals in the *spirit of mutuality* that marked the early converts. To be a Christian was to accept an active obligation to assist your fellows in any way you could. It also meant that you could count on their help and prayers when needed. Finally, Christianity featured an *appeal to idealism* that was much more powerful than anything its rivals offered. It emphasized charity and unselfish devotion in a way that had strong appeal for people weary of a world that seemed to be dominated by the drive for wealth and power.

Christianity’s Spread and Official Adoption

Slowly, Christian cells sprang up in the major towns all over the Mediterranean basin (see Map 11.2). The story of Peter the Apostle coming to Rome and dying a martyr’s death shortly after the death of Jesus may well be factual. Certainly, several disciples, spurred on by Paul, left the strictly Jewish environment in which the religion had begun and “went out into the world” of Roman pagan culture. Paul himself is thought to have died a martyr in Rome under the persecution ordered by the emperor Nero.

By the early fourth century, it has been estimated that about 10 percent of the population of the East had become Christian and perhaps 5 percent of the West. In this situation, Emperor Constantine (whose mother Helena was a Christian) decided to end the persecution of Christians that had been going on at intervals since Nero’s time. In 313, he issued the **Edict of Milan**, which



MAP 11.2 The Spread of Christianity, 300–800 CE

After the emperor Theodosius made Christianity the official imperial religion, Christianity spread dramatically throughout the Roman Empire.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

How was Christianity disseminated so widely from the small pockets that existed in 300 CE?



[View an interactive version of this or a related map online.](#)

announced the official toleration of Christianity and signaled that the new religion was favored at the imperial court. Constantine seemingly became a Christian only on his deathbed in 337, but from this time on, all emperors in East and West, with the exception of Julian (361–363), were Christians. In 381, Emperor Theodosius took the final step of making Christianity the official religion of the empire.

Why did the suspicious and warlike Constantine decide to stake his own fate, and possibly the fate of the empire, on a new religion that had distinguished itself by its pacifism and its rejection of the traditional Roman state cult? As the story has it, Constantine became convinced that the

Christian God had aided him in a crucial battle during the civil war, but historians suspect that something more was behind such a momentous decision. Probably, he expected that this move would assist him in shoring up a wounded political system by gradually creating a new unity between the governors and the governed. Certainly, too, he recognized the growing support that Christianity was attracting among those who counted in Roman society.

Constantine's recognition would both aid and hinder the new religion. Giving Christianity a favored status and putting the resources of the secular government behind it spurred its growth. Soon, Christians were a majority in the cities. At the same time, Constantine's decision ensured



JESUS OF BETHANIA. This masterpiece of late Byzantine art shows Jesus with his disciples at Bethany. It is a fresco in the Ascension church at Decani, in southern Serbia, painted in the mid-fourteenth century by an anonymous group of Greek and Serbian artists who had been trained in Byzantine technique. Note the use of curvature to focus the viewer's attention on the prostrate figure at the bottom.

AKG, London

that the Christian church would be linked with the state and that its eventual organization would forever bear the imprint of the Roman Empire.

Early Church Organization and Doctrine

Under Constantine, Christians came out into the open and organized their church on Roman civil models. In each community of any size, bishops were elected as heads of a diocese. They in turn appointed priests on the recommendation of the local faithful. The early Christian emperors made the fateful decision of allowing the bishops to create their own courts and laws (*canon law*) for judging the clergy and administering church property—a decision

that later led to great friction between revenue-seeking kings and wealthy bishops.

Several bishops of important eastern dioceses—such as Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria—claimed direct office-holding descent from the twelve apostles of Jesus and therefore possessed special prestige and the title of *Patriarch*. But the bishop of Rome claimed to be first among equals through the doctrine of **Petrine Succession**. According to this concept, the bishop of Rome was the direct successor of Peter, the first bishop of Rome, whom Jesus had appointed as the leader of the twelve disciples when he proclaimed Peter to be the “rock” [Latin *Petrus* = Peter] upon which “I will build my church.” Therefore, because the bishop of Rome succeeded Peter, he also succeeded him as the preeminent leader of the church. Emperor Theodosius reinforced this argument when he commanded all his Christian subjects to believe as the bishop of Rome believed. Despite the force of this argument and the official sanction it received, it took several additional centuries for it to be widely accepted.

Today, the bishop is known to most by the other (unofficial) title he bears, that of **pope**. The early church experienced many serious disputes in theology as well. To address some of these, the first ecumenical council was the **Council of Nicaea** [neye-SEE-ah], in Turkey, which was held in 325 with the sponsorship of Emperor Constantine. More than 300 bishops attended and defined many important questions of theology and church administration. The secular government implemented some of the decisions of the council. From this time onward, the Roman emperors in the East and West saw themselves as possessing executive powers within the Christian community—a development that led to conflict when the emperor and bishops had differing opinions on the civic implications of theological issues.

Challenges that paganism presented to Christianity also contributed to the rise of a school of Christian apologists (explainers) of sacred doctrine in the 300s and 400s. The most important of these “Fathers of the Church,” as they are called, were Augustine and Ambrose, the bishops of Hippo (North Africa) and Milan, respectively. Their writings are the secondary foundation of the Christian faith, as the Gospels are the primary one. St. Augustine has been especially influential in molding belief. His *Confessions* and *The City of God* have been the most important repositories of Christian teaching after the Gospels.

By the early fifth century, the Christian faith was giving the tottering Roman Empire a new system of morality and ethics that challenged the old beliefs in myriad ways. After Theodosius’s reign (378–395), the imperial government was a Christian entity, so Christians could actively support it and perhaps even defend it against its external enemies. But if this worldly empire fell, it was no tragedy. It was only the otherworldly kingdom of the Lord that should count in man’s eyes. By thus shifting the focus to the next world, Christian doctrine made it easier to accept the

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

ROMAN TOMB INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions on burials in ancient Rome provide glimpses of ordinary Romans, their familial ties, and their roles in society. Romans of financial means placed their tombs side by side along the major roads, with the inscriptions facing the roads. Prosperous freedmen built highly visible, elaborate tombs, perhaps intending to establish a new family line. For example (see item *a*, below), Eurysaces's unusual bakery-shaped tomb is situated at the busy intersection of two major roads. The coffins of the uncremated wealthy owners might be flanked by niches containing the ashes or bones of slaves and freedpersons (ex-slaves). Many inscriptions are narratives about the deceased, with family members mentioned by name. The preservation of family history was well worth the cost of having these tributes chiseled in stone. The emphasis was on events in this life; the shadowy afterlife held no appeal for pagan Romans (see the first four inscriptions below). The infant's epitaph in the last item shows a picture of the dove of Noah, symbol of a Christian grave.

The baker and his wife (50–20 BCE)

This is the monument of M. V. Eurysaces [freedman of Marcus Vergilius, of Syrian origin]

baker, bread-contractor to civil servants. Atistia was my wife, she lived the best of women, whose remains lie in this 'bread-basket'.

The boy prodigy (late first century CE)

To Q. Sulpicius Maximus, son of Quintus, born in Rome, and lived eleven years, 5 months, 12 days. He won the competition, among 52 Greek poets, at the third celebration of the Capitoline games. His most unhappy parents, Q. S. Eugramus and L. Januaria, have had his extemporized poem engraved here, to prove that in praising his talents they were not inspired solely by their deep love for him.

Inscription on the urn of a son, Marius Exoriens *The preposterous laws of death have torn him from my arms! As I have the advantage of years, so ought death to have reaped me first.*

Aurelia Philematium, faithful wife

I was a woman chaste and modest, unsoiled by the common crowd, faithful to her husband. My husband whom, alas, I now have left, was a fellow freedman. He was truly like a father to me. When I was 7 years old he embraced me. Now I am 40 and in the power of death. Through my constant care, my husband flourished.

Beloved infant (fourth century CE)

To Brumasia, sweetest daughter, well-deserving [of this tribute], who lived one year nine months. She is at peace.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Compare and contrast the three epitaphs for children, (The boy prodigy, Inscription on the urn of a son, and Beloved infant). Which of these inscriptions is most like a modern one? Explain your answer.

What do you surmise about the characteristics of the ideal Roman matron, based on the epitaph about the faithful wife?

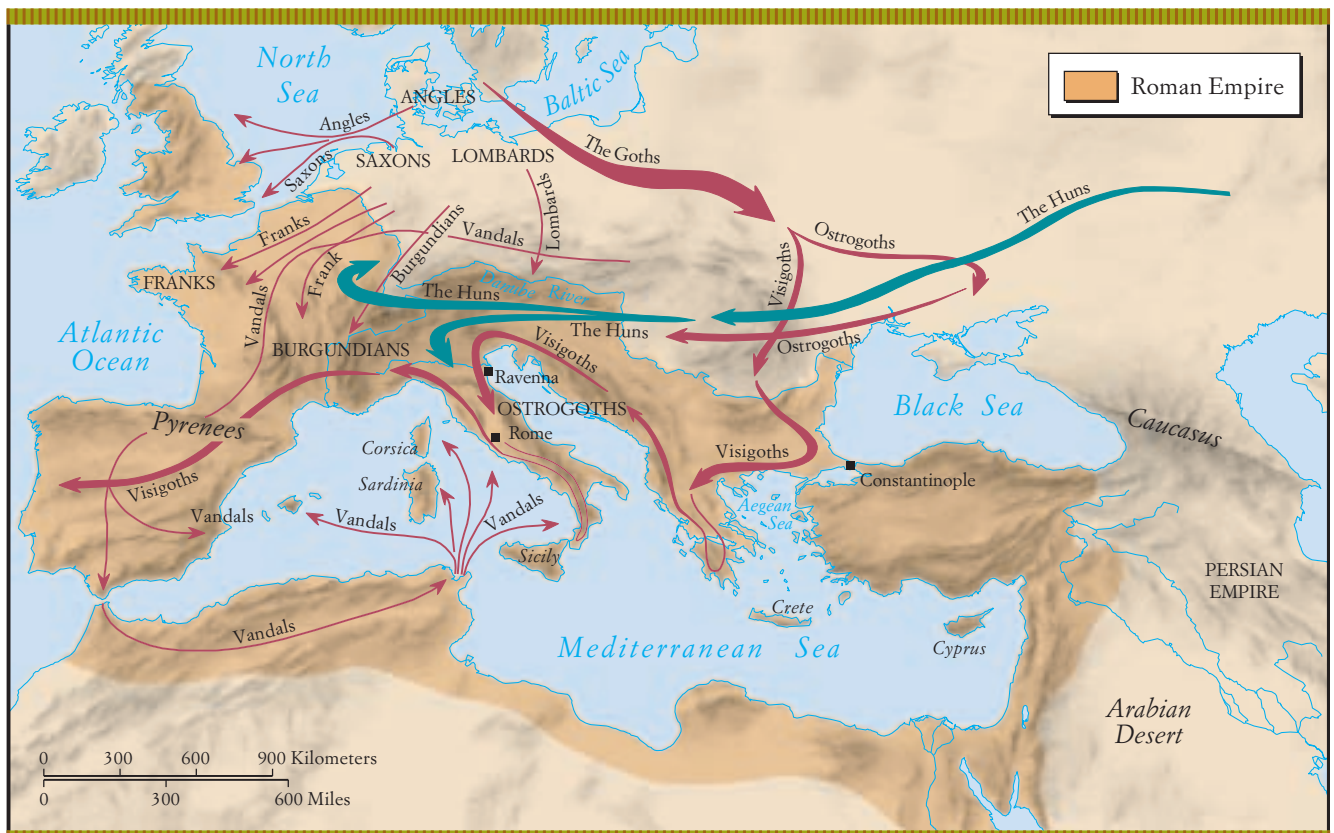
sometimes painful ending of the western Roman Empire that was occurring at the hands of Germanic warriors.

Only slowly did many Christians acquiesce to the idea of blending Christian and pagan worldviews and realize that there was something to be learned from the Roman secular environment while they awaited the Last Judgment. By the time they had arrived at this realization, however, much of that secular world had already been hammered to pieces.

GERMANIC INVADERS

After the capital was moved to Constantinople, the western provinces were gradually sacrificed to the Germans, who by this time were being pushed from behind by various Asiatic peoples. The invasion of the *Huns*, Asian nomads who suddenly appeared in the 440s and pillaged their way through Italy, confirmed the Romans' decision to more or less abandon the West (see Map 11.3). The Huns





MAP 11.3 Barbarian Migrations in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries CE

This map shows the movements of the major Germanic and Asiatic invaders of Rome's empire. Originating in southern Scandinavia, the Germans rapidly spread south and west. The Huns were the first of several nomadic Asian peoples to follow "the grass highway" through southern Russia into Europe.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Why was the Roman Empire vulnerable to invasion at this time?



[View an interactive version of this or a related map online.](#)

dispersed after the death of their warrior leader, Attila, but the vulnerability of the West had been demonstrated, and the Germans would take full advantage of that fact.

What we know of the early Germanic peoples derive entirely from Roman sources, for they left no writings of their own and, in fact, had no written language until they learned Latin from the Romans. What has often been described in historical literature as "tribes," in fact were collections of numerous ethnic groups and clans who had united behind a leader who offered protection against other groups. These "tribes" spent much time fighting one another, and the Romans encouraged this behavior to keep the Germans weak. But once they learned to band together, the outer defenses of the Roman Empire came under frequent attack from a fierce and determined foe.

In the fourth and fifth centuries, the Germanic tribes roamed through the western provinces more or less at will. Replacing the demoralized Roman officials with their

own men, the war chiefs began to create rough-and-ready kingdoms:

1. The *Franks* established the core of the French kingdom in the fifth century.
2. The *Saxons* set up a kingdom in northern Germany from present-day Holland eastward.
3. The *Angles and Saxons* invaded and conquered England in the fifth century.
4. The *Vandals* invaded Roman North Africa, established a kingdom there, and from it made the raid on Rome (455), which gave their name to history.
5. The *Visigoths* (West Goths) originally settled in Gaul, but the Franks drove them out, and they took over Spain.
6. The *Ostrogoths* (East Goths) took over most of Italy after the Huns' raid, but the *Lombards* finally expelled them.

By the 500s, the western half of the empire was an administrative—and sometimes also a physical—ruin. Germanic nobles had generally supplanted Italian or Romanized officials as the authorities. Small-scale wars, piracy, and general insecurity were the rule. Under such conditions, Roman government and traditions and the Roman lifestyle gradually disappeared except in a handful of cities and larger towns. Even there, trade and manufacturing dwindled, as the population supporting them shrank.

GERMAN CUSTOMS AND SOCIETY

It would take centuries for the two cultures—Roman and Germanic—to blend together to form the new culture that we call *medieval European*. The Germans were at first starkly differentiated from their subjects. Most of them wanted to be Roman, as they understood that term. They certainly did not hate or despise the Roman population or think themselves culturally superior. Intermarriage was practiced from the start. But they brought with them a large number of habits, beliefs, and values that were not at all like those of the conquered. From the comments of Romans who observed them, we know that the Germans had a highly personalized concept of government. An elected leader exercised authority. He received the sworn loyalty of his *thanes* (warriors), but in some cases, the leader's final authority applied only in time of war. In peacetime, the Germans remained organized around families and clans led by the oldest male. If the war leader was defeated or the thanes were dissatisfied with his leadership, he could be deposed. There was no hierarchy below the chief and apparently few, if any, permanent offices.

For many years, the new Germanic leaders had no fixed residences but traveled continuously about their domains, “showing the flag” of authority and acting as chief justices to resolve disputes. Gradually, this changed to the extent that as the tribespeople settled in fixed locations, the chieftain had a favorite castle or a walled town named for him, where he might stay for part of each year. Very slowly, the idea made headway that the subject paid tribute and gave loyalty to the *office* of leader, rather than to the particular individual who held the office. Leadership had congealed, and the leader of warriors had burgeoned into a leader who had driven out competing groups and ruled over a kingdom and its subjects (who were usually a mixture of various ethnic groups and Roman citizens). This development contributed significantly to peaceable transfers of power and stable government. Christian church authorities helped in this by preaching that the crown itself was a sacred object and that its holder was a sacred person, ordained by an all-wise God to exercise civil powers over others.

Conversion to Christianity

The Germans had strong supernatural beliefs when they entered the Roman Empire, but we do not know much about their religion because it was thoroughly rooted out during the Christian Era. Originally, the Germans saw spiritual powers in certain natural objects, such as trees. As with many other peoples around the globe (consider the Aryans in India or the Egyptians), their chief gods were sky deities, such as Wotan and Thor, who had no connection with either an afterlife or ethical conduct, but served as enforcers of the people's will. The Germans had little in the way of formal theology, while their spiritual leaders were *shamans* or priests who oversaw sacrificial rites.

The various Germanic peoples within the old Roman Empire converted to Christianity between about 450 and 700. Those beyond the empire's borders converted somewhat later. Last of all were the Scandinavians and Lithuanians, some of whom remained nonconverts as late as 1100.

The method of conversion was similar in all cases. A small group of priests or monks secured an invitation to go to the king and explain to him the Christian gospel. If they were fortunate, conversion of the king, his queen, or important nobles was achieved on the first try. After baptism (the outward sign of joining the Christian world), the new Christian would exert pressure on family and cronies to join also, and they, in turn, would exhort their vassals and dependents. When much of the upper class was converted—at least in name—and some indigenous priests were in place, the tribe or nation was considered Christian, a part of the growing family of ex-pagans who had adopted the new religion.

Why did the German authorities accept Christianity? Their reasons were almost always a combination of internal politics, desire for trade, and recognition of the advantages that Christian law could give the ruler in his efforts to create a stable dynasty. It generally took decades for the faith to filter down to the common people, even in a rudimentary sense. Centuries might pass before the villagers could be said to have much knowledge of church doctrine and before they would give up their most cherished pagan customs. Medieval Christianity was in fact a hodgepodge of pagan and Christian images and beliefs. Most priests were satisfied if their faithful achieved a limited understanding of sin, heaven and hell, and the coming Last Judgment. More could not be expected.

The Foundations of the Medieval Manor

In the countryside, a process that had begun during the Barracks Emperors' rule accelerated dramatically. This was the establishment of large estates, or **manors**, which were almost entirely self-sufficient and self-governing. The manor normally began as a villa, the country hideaway of a wealthy Roman official in quieter days. As order broke down and the province could ignore the central government,

PATTERNS OF BELIEF



POPE GREGORY I (540–604)

As pope (590–604), Gregory I had a vital influence on the shape of the papacy in the medieval Roman Catholic Church. He was born into a wealthy and influential Italian family; so at the age of only 32, he was appointed to the high church office of urban prefect, but he gave it up after just two years to devote himself to the spiritually demanding life of a Benedictine monk. As an act of devotion, Benedict turned his own personal wealth to the service of his faith, using it to found a monastery in Rome. Later, with additional inherited sums and property, he used his wealth to establish another six in Sicily.

However, the church demanded more from him. Following an exceptionally catastrophic year of floods in 590, Pope Pelagius II died, and Gregory was chosen unanimously as the new pope. Gregory protested against his own election because he greatly loved the simple monastic life; nevertheless, once

chosen, he proved to be an exceptional leader at a time when Christians and the Roman Church were facing many trials. In the absence of the all-protecting hand of the Roman Empire, now moribund, he used his authority and the wealth of the church to alleviate the sufferings of Christians. For those suffering from the barbarian assaults, he created shelters; he founded hospitals for the sick and the dying; and eventually, he assumed for the church the responsibility of providing schools to train priests and educate members of the Christian laity. In the absence of an empire, he concluded a peace treaty with the Lombards to stave off their attacks on Christians under the protection of the church. To reinforce Christian unity, he proved to be a strict enforcer of church doctrines.

Pope Gregory's greatest legacy regarding the future of Christianity and Europe, however, lay in his efforts to convert the German invaders to Roman Catholic Christianity. Gregory's attitude to non-Christians was generally tolerant, but he displayed a degree of militancy in evangelizing the Germans. The barbarians had been establishing new kingdoms throughout western Europe, so he understood that the future of the church lay with normalizing its relationships with them. He decided that it was up to him to seize the initiative and try to win them to Roman Catholicism. (Many barbarians were in fact already Christians, but they often adhered to a heretical version of it called *Arianism*) He chose Benedictine monks for this enormously risky task. His work soon met with the first successes in Britain, where a missionary claimed to have convinced a Saxon king, Ethelbert of Kent, and 10,000 of his followers accepted baptism on Christmas Day, 597.

Following these successes in Britain, Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks converted the barbarians of the European continent. The process took nearly another four centuries to complete, but its accomplishment was of inestimable importance in helping to resettle the tribespeoples and fusing both German and Latin cultures into what came to be European civilization. Although Gregory did not live to see this, it was during his nine-year papacy that the foundations of this great achievement were laid.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What possible connections were there between Gregory's life before he was elected as pope and the later successes of his papacy?

In what ways do you think his actions as pope might have drawn people—both Christians and non-Christians alike—to Roman Catholicism and to see the pope as the supreme pastoral leader of the church?



POPE GREGORY I, "THE GREAT" (r. 590–604). As pope, Gregory took in hand the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon tribes of Britain. His first deputation of Benedictine monks, led by Augustine the Missionary, succeeded in converting King Ethelbert of Kent, establishing a toehold for the later conversion of England and western Europe. Here he is depicted dictating the Book of Job to a copyist.

Bibliothèque Municipale, Laon, France/Bridgeman Art Library



THE FARMER'S TASKS. Pastoral life in medieval Europe required the work of men, women, and children. This painting shows some details of the manor and its peasants at work shearing sheep and harvesting a summer wheat crop.

Musee Conde, Chantilly, France/Giraudon/Bridgeman Art Library

some of these officials became the equivalent of Chinese warlords, maintaining private armies to secure the peace in their own localities. Frequently extorting services and free labor from the villagers nearby, they evaded the central government's controls and taxes. These men grew ever more wealthy and powerful and began to acquire the peasants' lands through bribery, intimidation, and trade for the protection they offered.

When the invasions began, these strongmen simply took over the basic elements of government altogether. In return for physical protection and some assurance of order in their lives, the peasants would often offer part of their land and labor to the "lord" for some period—perhaps life. In this way were born both the later European nobility (or a large part of it) and various systems of agricultural estates (often called "feudal"), worked by laborers, or "serfs," whose rights and status varied considerably from one region to another. The serfs of later days were the

descendants of these free men and women who were desperately seeking protection in a world of chaos and danger.

As the cities and towns declined, more and more of the population found itself in manorial villages, dependent on and loosely controlled by the Roman or German lord and his small band of armed henchmen. Economic life became much simpler, but it was more a daily struggle for survival than a civilized existence. The skills and contacts of Roman days fell into disuse, for there was little demand for them in this rough and sometimes brutal world. Trade in all but the barest necessities over the shortest distances became rare. Neither the roads nor the waters of western Europe were safe from marauders and pirates, and the Roman transport network fell to pieces.

The Dark Age

So backward did much of society become that it was once usual to refer to the centuries between 500 and 800 as the Dark Age in Europe. Similarly to its namesake in ancient Greece, this term refers as much to the lack of documentation as to the ignorance of people living then. Not only have many documents perished through vandalism and neglect, but relatively few records were kept in the first place. Only the clergy had much need of writing, and many of the priests and monks in the seventh and eighth centuries did well to read or write more than their names. They were almost always illiterate in the official Latin language of the church and knew their church history and doctrines only by hearsay. Many a bishop could not write his sermon.

The venal and immoral conduct of some clergy gave rise to scandal. In many places, church offices were bought and sold like so many pounds of butter. Rome was far away and could easily be ignored in church affairs, as it was in civil ones. Besides, the pope in this era was always an Italian nobleman who rarely gave much attention to things spiritual. This was particularly the case after 700.

In some countries—notably the German lands east of the Rhine—the bishops were more or less forced by the king to take on secular and even military duties as the king's lieutenants. The churchman was often the only educated person in the area and the only one who had some concept of administration and record keeping. The combination of civil and religious duties, however, was injurious to the religious. The bishop or abbot (the head of a monastery) often devoted more time and energy to his secular affairs than to his spiritual ones. All too frequently, important clergymen bribed their way into their position with the intention of using it as a means of obtaining wealth or influence in political matters. Their ecclesiastical duties played little or no role in these considerations. In the circumstances, it is more remarkable that some clergy were good and gentle men who tried to follow the rules than that many were not.

Having said all that, it is still true that the Christian church was the only imperial Roman institution that survived the Germanic onslaught more or less intact. The church was changed, usually for the worse, by German customs and concepts, but it did survive as recognizably the same institution that had won the religious allegiance of most Roman citizens in the fourth century. The church, which also operated whatever charitable and medical institutions that existed, supplied all of the education that was available in early medieval Europe. When the higher concepts of Roman law were recovered in Europe, the church adopted them first in its canon law and spread them to secular life by its teaching.

The Age of Faith had opened, and the church's teachings and preaching about the nature of humans and their relationship with God were to have tremendous influence on every facet of human affairs—an influence that did not diminish noticeably for about a thousand years.

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The greatest of the Germanic kings by far was **Charlemagne** (SHAR-luh-mane; Charles the Great), king of the Franks (768–800) and the first Holy Roman Emperor (800–814). The kingdom of the Franks had been in a favored position because its founder, Clovis, had been the first important German ruler to accept Roman Christianity, in or about 500. Charlemagne became king through the aggressive action of his father, a high official who seized royal power. An alliance with the pope in Rome did much to cement the new king's shaky legal position. Charlemagne earned the papacy's lasting gratitude by crushing the Lombards, a Germanic people who had settled in northern Italy and were pushing south, threatening Rome.

For more than thirty years (772–804), Charlemagne was at war with one or another non-Christian German neighbor. His persistence was rewarded by the establishment of the largest territory under one ruler since Roman times and by Pope Leo III's granting him the title of Emperor. (See Society and Economy box and Map 11.4) Charles's new empire was an attempt to revive Roman order in Europe, in close cooperation with the Christian church. According to medieval theory, the civil government and the ecclesiastical establishment were two arms of a single body, directed by one head: Christ. Charlemagne's coronation by Leo on Christmas Day 800 was looked upon as the culmination of that dream of proper governance and as the greatest event since the birth of Jesus.

Carolingian Renaissance

Charlemagne's claims to fame stem more from his brave attempts to restore learning and stable government to

Europe than from his coronation as the first emperor. He revived the Roman office of *comes*, or counts, as the representatives of the king in the provinces. He started the **missi dominici** (MEE-see doh-MIH-nih-kee), special officers who checked up on the counts and others and reported directly to the king. Knowing that most people were touched more directly by religion than by government, Charlemagne also concerned himself with the state of the church. Many of his most trusted officials were picked from the clergy, a practice that would lead to problems in later days.

Charles admired learning, although he had little himself (supposedly, he could not even sign his name!). From all parts of his domains and from England, he brought men to his court who could teach and train others. Notable among them was *Alcuin*, an Anglo-Saxon monk of great ability, who directed the palace school for clergy and officials set up by the king. For the first time since the 400s, something like higher education was available to a select few. Not overly pious himself, Charlemagne still respected and encouraged piety in others. At his orders, many new parishes were founded or given large new endowments, and the establishment of many more monasteries reinforced these.

But all Charlemagne's efforts were insufficient to turn the tide of disorder and violence. His "renaissance" was short lived, and his schools and governmental innovations were soon in ruins. The times were not ripe for them. In the first crises, they collapsed, and the darkness descended again.

Disintegration of the Carolingian Empire

Charlemagne eventually bequeathed his empire to his only surviving son, Louis the Pious, a man who was unfit for the heavy responsibility. By Louis's will, the empire was divided among his three sons: Charles, Lothar, and Louis. Charles received France; Lothar, the midlands between France and Germany reaching down into Italy; and Louis, Germany. Fraternal war for supremacy immediately ensued. The Treaty of Verdun in 843 (which established the peace) is one of the most important treaties in world history, for the general linguistic and cultural borders it established still exist today, 1,160 years later (see inset, Map 11.4). When Lothar died a few years later, the midlands were divided between the survivors, Charles and Louis. After a brief period, the title of Holy Roman Emperor was settled on the king of Germany, the successor of Louis, who retained it until the nineteenth century.

Renewed Invasions

In the late ninth century, the center and western parts of Europe were attacked from three directions: The Vikings swept down from the north, the Magyars advanced from



MAP 11.4 Charlemagne's Empire

Charlemagne intended for the territories of the first Holy Roman Empire to be divided among his three sons. However, two died before their father, so the entire realm passed to Louis. Louis then repeated his father's plan and divided the empire among his three sons: Louis, Lothar, and Charles.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Why was Charlemagne's empire known as the Holy Roman Empire?



[View an interactive version of this or a related map online.](#)

the east, and the Muslims attacked from the Mediterranean. In the ensuing chaos, all that Charlemagne had been able to do was extinguished, and government reverted back to a primitive military contract between individuals for mutual defense.

The Vikings, or Norsemen, were the most serious threat and had the most extensive impact. Superbly gifted warriors, these Scandinavians came in swift boats to ravage the coastal communities and then flee before effective countermeasures could be taken. From their headquarters in Denmark and southern Sweden, every year after about 790, they sailed forth and soon discovered that the Franks, Angles, and Saxons were no match for them. In 834, a large band of Vikings sailed up the Seine and sacked Paris. Seventy years later, they advanced into the Mediterranean and sacked the great city of Seville in the heart of the Spanish caliphate.

By the late 800s, the Vikings were no longer content to raid; they came to conquer. Much of eastern England, Brittany and Normandy in France, Holland, and Iceland fell to them. In their new lands, they quickly learned to govern by intimidation rather than to plunder and burn, and taxes took the place of armed bands. They learned the advantages of literacy and eventually adopted Christianity in place of their northern gods. By about 1000, the Vikings had footholds ranging from the coast of the North Sea to the eastern Mediterranean. They had become one of the most capable of all the European peoples in government and administration, as well as the military arts.

The Magyars were a different proposition. They carried out the next-to-last version of the Asiatic invasions of western Europe, which had begun as far back as the Huns. Their resemblance to this earlier group earned their descendants the name *Hungarians* in modern

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

CHARLEMAGNE

The monk Einhard was a German. In the 790s, he went to join the school founded by Charlemagne and administered by Alcuin in the Carolingian capital at Aachen. After Charles's death, Einhard found time to write the most famous biography of the Christian Middle Age. He was particularly concerned with giving his readers a view of Charles as a human being. Very brief and easily read, the *Life of Charlemagne* is our chief source of information about the character of the first Holy Roman Emperor.

Chapters 18 and 19: Private Life

At his mother's request he married a daughter of the Lombard king Desiderius but repudiated her for unknown reasons after one year. Then he married Hildegard, who came from a noble Swabian family. With her he had three sons, Charles, Pepin, and Louis, and as many daughters. . . . [H]e had three more daughters with his third wife Fastrada. . . . When Fastrada died he took Liutgard to wife. . . . After her death he had four concubines. . . .

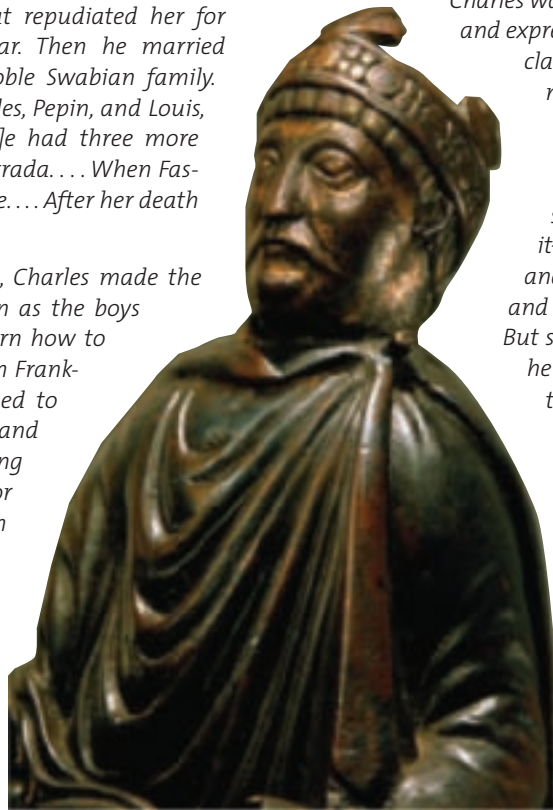
For the education of his children, Charles made the following provisions. . . . [A]s soon as the boys were old enough they had to learn how to ride, hunt, and handle weapons in Frankish style. The girls had to get used to carding wool and to the distaff and spindle. (To prevent their getting bored and lazy he gave orders for them to be taught to engage in these and in all other virtuous activities). . . . When his sons and daughter died, Charles reacted to their deaths with much less equanimity than might have been expected of so strong-minded a man. Because of his deep devotion to them he broke down in tears. . . . For Charles was by nature a man who had a great gift for friendship, who made friends easily and never wavered in his loyalty to them. Those whom he loved could rely on him absolutely.

He supervised the upbringing of his sons and daughters very

carefully. . . . Although the girls were very beautiful and he loved them dearly it is odd that he did not permit any of them to get married, neither to a man of his own nation nor to a foreigner. Rather, he kept all of them with him until his death, saying he could not live without their company. And on account of this, he had to suffer a number of unpleasant experiences, however lucky he was in other respects. But he never let on that he had heard of any suspicions about their chastity or any rumors about them.

Chapter 25: Studies

Charles was a gifted speaker. He spoke fluently and expressed what he had to say with great clarity. Not only was he proficient in his mother tongue (Frankish) but he also took trouble to learn foreign languages. He spoke Latin as well as his own language, but Greek he understood better than he could speak it—He also tried his hand at writing, and to this end kept writing tablets and notebooks under his pillow in bed—But since he had only started late in life, he never became very accomplished in the art.



Louvre, Paris/Peer Willi/Bridgeman Art Library

CHARLEMAGNE (r. 742–814). The first Holy Roman Emperor briefly succeeded in unifying Western Europe. Within two generations after his death, however, his empire was divided into three parts. This casting was made within a few years of his death and is probably a close likeness.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

How does Charles's possessiveness toward his daughters make him more believable as a human being? What do you make of Einhard's statement that Charles "had to suffer a number of unpleasant experiences"? What do you think about the fact that this pillar of the church took at least four wives and four concubines?



You can read more selections from Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* online.



IMAGES OF HISTORY

SILK CLOTH FROM
CHARLEMAGNE'S PALACE AT
AACHEN

Woven sometime in the eighth century, this silk cloth was displayed in Charlemagne's palace chapel. Silk was not produced in Europe at that time and was considered a rare item. The depiction of elephants indicates that India was the likeliest place of production, especially because we know that the secret of making silk had escaped from China and that India was second only to China in its manufacture by Charlemagne's time. Its presence and display as a rarity at Aachen suggests that contacts between Western Europe and Asia had not declined entirely in the centuries after the German incursions.



Scala/Art Resources ART 367797

Silk was virtually unknown in eighth-century Europe

Elephants were unknown to the Franks

nomenclature. The Magyars arrived in Europe at the end of the ninth century and for fifty years fought the Christianized Germans for mastery. Finally, in a great battle in 955, the Magyars were defeated and retired to the Hungarian plains, where they gradually settled down. In 1000, their king and patron saint, Stephen, accepted Roman Christianity, and the Magyars joined the family of European nations.

The Muslims of the Mediterranean were descendants of North African peoples who had been harassing southern Europe as pirates and raiders ever since the 700s. In the late 800s, they wrested Sicily and part of southern Italy from the Italians and thereby posed a direct threat to Rome. But the Muslims were checked and soon settled down to join the heterogeneous group of immigrants who had been coming to southern Italy for a long time. The Muslims' highly civilized rule was finally disrupted by the attacks of the newly Christian Vikings, who began battling them for mastery in the eleventh century and eventually reconquered Sicily and the southern tip of the Peninsula from them.

Development of the Manorial System

The invasions fragmented governmental authority, as the royal courts in France and Germany were unable to defend their territories successfully, particularly against the Viking attacks. It fell to local strongmen to defend their own areas as best they could. Men on horseback had great advantages in battle, and the demand for them rose steadily. Thus, the original knights were mercenaries, professional warriors-at-horse who sold their services to the highest bidder. What was bid was normally land and the labor of those who worked it. In this way, large tracts passed from the king—technically the owner of all land in his kingdom—to warriors who were the lords and masters of the commoners living on these estates.

The invasions thus greatly stimulated the arrival of the professional army and the military system of mounted warfare in northern Europe, which bore the brunt of the attacks.

Any headway Charlemagne had made in restoring the idea of a central authority was soon eradicated. The

noble, with control over one or more estates on which manorial agriculture was practiced with serf labor, now became a combined military and civil ruler for a whole locality. The king remained the object of special respect, and all acknowledged the sacred powers of the royal crown. But the nobles and their hired men-at-arms carried out all day-to-day administration, military defense, and justice.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

The eastern half of the early Christian world is usually known as the **Byzantine Empire** (BIZ-an-teen; from Byzantium, the original Greek name for the town Constantine renamed for himself). It proved to be an extraordinarily resilient competitor among the several rivals for supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean.

In keeping with Eastern traditions, the nature of the imperial throne became even more autocratic than in Rome. The emperor became a semidivine figure, ruling by a large and efficient bureaucracy. Despite occasional religiously inspired revolts (notably the Iconoclastic uprising against the imperial decree forbidding worship of images), the government and the population were strongly bonded by Christianity and a belief in the emperor as Christ's deputy on Earth. In fact, this spiritual bond enabled the long life of the empire in the face of many trials, until its ultimate death at the hand of the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth century.

Unlike the West, the East accepted the emperor as the dominant partner in affairs of church and state. He appointed his patriarchs, and he had the power to remove them. This **Caesaro-Papism** (the monarch as both head of state and head of church) was to sharply distinguish the Byzantine from the Latin world of faith. The founder of this tradition was the powerful emperor Justinian (ruling 527–565), who also put his stamp on the appearance of the capital through a huge program of public works. The most spectacular was the great central church of Constantinople, the **Hagia Sophia** (HAH-yah soh-FEE-ah), or Church of Holy Wisdom, which remains today as a magnificent reminder of past glories.

As already noted, after the transfer of imperial government to Constantinople, the western provinces became expendable. The heartlands—those areas that had been assigned to the eastern half as organized by Diocletian—were given the bulk of the army and received the major part of state expenditures (as it produced by far the greater amount of state taxes). Even after large regions had been lost to Slavic, Persian, and Asiatic invasions, the Christian Eastern Empire would remain the most potent political and military entity in the Mediterranean basin.



Graudon/Bridgeman Art Library

FRESCO DEPICTING JUSTINIAN (r. 527–565). Justinian, the Emperor of the eastern Roman Empire, tried to reconquer the western Empire after the various barbarian tribes had occupied it. His armies were successful in retaking most of Italy and parts of North Africa, but most of this territory reverted to Germanic control within a few years. He is remembered more as the builder of the Hagia Sophia and for his Corpus Iuris.

In the mid-500s, the ambitious Justinian made a concerted and initially successful effort to recover the lost western provinces. The dream of recreating the empire was ultimately a failure, however. Within just two generations, almost all of the reconquered areas (in Italy, Spain, and North Africa) had fallen to new invaders. The effort had exhausted the Byzantines and would never be attempted again.

From the early 600s, the empire was under more or less constant attack for two centuries. During this period, it lost not only the western reconquests but also most of its own eastern territories, first to Avars and Persians and then to Arabs and Slavs. The besieging Muslims nearly succeeded in taking Constantinople in 717, when the desperate defenders used “Greek fire,” a combustible liquid, to beat them off at sea. While the imperial defenders were occupied, their tributary Slavic subjects in the Balkans

(Bulgars, Serbs) established independent states that soon became powerful enough to threaten the Greeks from the north. Yet again and again the Constantinople authorities would somehow find the energy and skill to foil their opponents or set them against one another.

In the long term, perhaps the most outstanding achievement of the Byzantine rulers was the Christianization of eastern Europe. By the 700s, priests of the Western church, supported by the bishop of Rome, had made many converts among the Germanic tribes and kingdoms. But they had not yet ventured into eastern Europe, which had never been under Roman rule. Here, the field was open to the Byzantine missionaries.

The mission to the Slavic peoples was pursued with energy and devotion. Beginning in the 800s, Greek monks moved into the nearby Balkans and then to the coast of the Black Sea and into Russia. Their eventual success in bringing Christianity to these regions meant that the inhabitants of the present-day states of Russia, Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and, of course, Greece would look for centuries to Constantinople rather than Rome. Constantinople molded their religious and cultural values, their laws and their literature, their styles of art and architecture, and—thanks to their ethnically organized churches—their very sense of nationhood.

The conversion of the Slavs to Greek-rite Christianity proved to be a crucial and permanent turning point in European history. The split that originated in the rivalry between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople gradually deepened. It was reflected in the cultural and religious differences between Greek and Latin. After many years of alternating friction and patched-up amity, the rift culminated in the division of Christianity between West and East. In 1054, a headstrong pope encountered a stubborn patriarch who refused to yield to the pope's demands for complete subordination in a matter of doctrine. The two leaders then excommunicated each other in a fit of theological egotism. Despite several efforts—most recently, Pope John Paul's visit to Orthodox Ukraine in 2001—their successors have not been able to overcome their differences.

One other enormously influential result of Byzantine initiative was the huge collection called the **Corpus Iuris** (COHR-puhs YOO-rihs). This sixth-century distillation of Roman law and practice was undertaken (once again!) at the emperor Justinian's command and passed on to posterity. It is the foundation for most Western medieval and early modern law codes, and its basic precepts are operative in many Roman Catholic countries of Europe and Latin America to the present day.

SUMMARY

THE GERMANIC INVASIONS OF THE third and fourth centuries found a Roman society that was already sorely tried under the burdens of heavy taxes, declining productivity, population loss, and instability at the top. The demoralization was slowed but could not be stopped by the authoritarian reforms of Diocletian and Constantine. In the meantime, the new mystery religion named after Jesus gathered strength within the Roman realm. Christianity spread rapidly after winning the favor of Constantine and his successors, but it could not halt the constellation of forces laying waste to the western provinces.

The Germanic tribes took note of Rome's weakness and acted accordingly. A regressive Dark Age of violence and ignorance ensued, from which relatively little documentation has survived. In time, the efforts of missionaries and the examples of civic organization demonstrated by the Romanized subject populace showed results, as the Germanic warriors set up royal or princely governments of a rough-and-ready sort. By the 700s in the former Roman provinces, these attempts had become stabilized and Christianized—at least in the governing classes.

The most important of the early medieval rulers was Charlemagne, the first Holy Roman Emperor as well as king of the Franks. His attempts to restore the ancient empire went astray almost as soon as he was dead, and the renaissance that he promoted also proved ephemeral. New invasions by Vikings, Magyars, and Muslims, and the chaotic conditions they created in Europe, were too much for the personal system of government that Charlemagne had established. It collapsed and was replaced by a highly decentralized administration based on agrarian manors and local military power in the hands of a self-appointed elite, the nobility.

In the eastern half of the old empire, a form of semi-divine monarchy possessing great power continued for a thousand years after the collapse in the West. After the failed attempt of Justinian to recover the western provinces, attacks came from all sides. The most persistent and successful attackers were the Arab Muslims, who by the 700s had taken most of the former imperial lands of the eastern Mediterranean. The conversion of the Slavs and some other peoples to Greek-rite Christianity was an outstanding achievement, but the split with the Roman Church that came in the eleventh century was to be fateful.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Byzantine Empire
Caesaro-Papism

Charlemagne
Constantine the Great

Constantinople
Corpus Iuris
Council of Nicaea
the Diaspora
Diocletian
Edict of Milan
Hagia Sophia

Jesus of Nazareth
Jewish War
manors
missi dominici
Petrine Succession
pope
Tetrarchy

For Further Reflection

1. It was the Romans who labeled the various wandering tribespeoples outside the boundaries of their Empire as "Germans." What reasons can you think of that might explain the origins of the term? Do you think it is likely that the people we know as Germans today are their direct descendants? What other modern Europeans might be their descendants?
2. People often talk about the period after about 410 as the time when the Roman Empire "fell." What do you think that means? Did it actually "fall," or did something else happen?
3. What lasting influences did Greek and Roman civilizations have on the West? What kind of a civilization was created in Europe in the centuries following the fifth century?
4. Why were Charlemagne and his descendants called "Holy Roman" emperors?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The reforming emperor who created the Tetrarchy was
 - a. Commodus.
 - b. Constantine.
 - c. Diocletian.
 - d. Augustus.
 - e. Justinian.
2. Which of the following does not help explain the appeal of early Christianity?
 - a. Encouragement of military valor
 - b. Sense of supernatural mission
 - c. Receptivity to all potential converts
 - d. Promotion of a sense of community among its adherents
 - e. Emphasis on moral behavior and concern for others
3. Christianity became a universal faith rather than a Jewish sect in large part due to the efforts of
 - a. the Roman officials in Judaea.
 - b. the Apostle Paul.
 - c. the Apostle Peter.
 - d. the Zealots.
 - e. Emperor Constantine.
4. Emperor Theodosius is important to Christian history for
 - a. his final persecution of Christians.
 - b. making Christianity the official religion of the empire.
 - c. beginning the practice of intervening in internal church affairs.
 - d. moving the church headquarters to Constantinople.
 - e. issuing the Edict of Milan, which was the first official acceptance of Christianity.
5. The first attempt to clarify matters of church administration was the
 - a. Treaty of Verdun (843).
 - b. Edict of Milan.
 - c. Corpus Iuris.
 - d. Carolingian revival.
 - e. Council of Nicaea.
6. The first Holy Roman Emperor was
 - a. Pippin I.
 - b. Richard the Lion-hearted.
 - c. Charlemagne.
 - d. Leo III.
 - e. Diocletian.

7. The biographer of Charlemagne tells us that the king
 - a. cared greatly about the manners of his courtiers.
 - b. enjoyed the company of his daughters.
 - c. despised physical exercise.
 - d. read and wrote a great deal.
 - e. encouraged his children to marry and bear him grandchildren.
8. The decisive advantage held by the Vikings in their raids on Europe was their
 - a. overwhelming numbers.
 - b. superior weapons.
 - c. great courage under attack.
 - d. use of naval tactics to strike swiftly.
 - e. willingness to adopt the ways of those they conquered.
9. The Treaty of Verdun in 843
 - a. divided Europe between Muslims and Christians.
 - b. created the kingdom of the Franks.
 - c. was a compromise between Eastern and Western Christianity.
 - d. divided Charlemagne's empire into three states.
 - e. provided for religious toleration within the Holy Roman Empire.
10. Which of the following was not accomplished by Justinian?
 - a. Temporary reconquest of part of the western empire
 - b. Construction of the Hagia Sophia
 - c. Defeat of the Arab invaders
 - d. Composition of a new code of law
 - e. Establishment of the concept of the monarch serving as head of the church



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Classical India



THE KUSHAN EMPIRE, LONG-DISTANCE TRADE, AND THE BUDDHIST COMMUNITY

THE GUPTA DYNASTY

Economic and Cultural Progress

POLITICAL FRAGMENTATION: SOUTH AND NORTH

South: Hinduism and Buddhism

North: Islam Comes to India

HINDU DOCTRINES IN THE CLASSICAL AGE

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASTE SYSTEM

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Sexuality

INDIA AND EAST ASIA

FOLLOWING THE DECLINE OF THE MAURYAN EMPIRE, India's frontier defenses were critically weakened. Consequently, by way of the Indus Valley and the Punjab, and with almost no impediments, Persians, (Seleucid) Greeks, and various steppe land groups subjected India to frequent predations. Among the latter were the **Kushan** (KOO-shahn), a wandering people who had been driven from their Turkistan homelands by another, more warlike group, the Xiongnu (shung-new). Forced into a westward migration, the Kushan arrived in northwestern India between 165 and 128 BCE and set about extending control over a large region that included what is today Pakistan and Afghanistan. With additional conquests, eventually their empire reached from the Aral Sea through the Indus Valley and eastward over most of northern India.

THE KUSHAN EMPIRE, LONG-DISTANCE TRADE, AND THE BUDDHIST COMMUNITY

Recent archaeological research, with additional documentation gleaned from coins and inscriptions, has produced critical evidence that ties the Kushan Empire and its greatest emperor, **Kanishka the Great** (c. 78–125 CE), to the expansion of Buddhism and long-distance trade. An important ingredient of this was the Fourth Buddhist Council, one that settled important doctrinal

The people are numerous and happy... if they want to go, they go; if they want to stay on, they stay... Throughout the whole country the people do not kill any living creature.

—Fa Xian

c. 50–300	Kushan Empire
c. 100–125	Kanishka the Great
c. 200–500	Ajanta caves constructed and painted
320–480	Gupta Dynasty
c. 406	Arrival of Fa Xian in India
480	Onward, India divided between North and South
c. 500–c. 800	Formative period of caste system
711	Muslims begin to invade northwestern India
c. 700–1000	Hindu revival and decline of Buddhism in India
Late 1100s–1400s	Delhi sultanate in North India

issues, which took place under Kanishka's aegis. Kanishka also managed to extend control over the strategically crucial oases and monasteries of the Tarim Basin through which the Silk Road passed. When considered together, these facts suggest why Kanishka's reign (and his successors') coincided with a major push of Buddhism out of its bases in the Punjab and Kashmir eastwards along the silk routes to China. Buddhist traditions regard him and Ashoka as its greatest patrons.

The expansion of Buddhism that occurred under the patronage of Kushan rulers created Asia's earliest **community of discourse** (see the Introduction to Part II). Along with the growing tempo of trade, cultural exchanges increased across most of central and eastern Asia. In its early centuries, Kushan Buddhists were able to accompany the caravans to Loyang and Nanjing, where they translated sacred texts into Chinese and made the first Chinese converts. In later centuries, Chinese pilgrims like Fa Xian (below) and Xuan Zang (629–644) made the return journey to visit shrines, study and debate, and access scriptures in their original language.

Kanishka minted gold coins on which he placed images of the Buddha, a monk, and the *bodhisattva* Avalokitesvara. (For *bodhisattva*, see Chapter 4.) Coins were essential to pilgrims and to merchants of the long-distance trade, so the combination of these particular elements hints elegantly at the interplay between Mahayana Buddhism

and Asian commerce that existed in the early centuries CE. Buddhism, at least until the Gupta era, proved to be more adaptable than Brahmanism to the needs of trading communities. Buddhism helped facilitate usury and capital investment in trade. Monastic communities conveniently located *sanghas* (monasteries) at strategic points along the trade routes; these provided shelter and safety equally to religious or commercial travelers (in many instances, it could be both). Most intriguing perhaps was the development of the **bodhisattva Avalokitesvara** (ah-VAH-lo-kih-tehs-vah-rah) as a kind of savior to travelers and seafarers. His image appeared everywhere trade and Buddhism spread, and the dating of the images acts almost as a chronology of these developments. (See the Images of History.)

THE GUPTA DYNASTY

For nearly 500 years, Buddhism had flourished with the patronage of Mauryan and Kushan rulers. Beginning with the **Gupta Dynasty** in 320, however, India experienced a great rebirth of Hindu culture. The caste system assured everyone of a definite place in society, and political affairs were in the hands of strong, effective rulers for a century and a half. Vedic Hindu religious belief responded to the challenge of Buddhism and reformed so effectively that it began to supplant Buddhism in the country. Indian merchants and emigrants carried Hindu theology and Sanskrit literature to Southeast Asia, where they merged with native religions and cultures. Long after the political unity under the Guptas ended, India continued to produce scientific advances and technological developments that are still not fully recognized in the West. The invasions of Muslim Turks and others from the northwest redivided India into political fragments, but the essential unity of its Hindu civilization carried on.

The Gupta period is the first in Indian history for which more or less reliable firsthand accounts have survived. The most interesting is that of the Chinese Buddhist monk **Fa Xian** (fah shan). He was one of the first Chinese Buddhist monks who traveled the Silk Road seeking manuscripts and opportunities to debate other scholars in the birthplace of the Buddha himself. He visited India around 406 and left a diary of what he saw and did. According to his account, India was a stable society, well ruled by a king who was universally respected because he brought prosperity and order everywhere. Nevertheless, despite such sources, we know relatively little about Gupta India compared with what we know of other world civilizations of this date. Indians did not begin to keep historical records until very late, so, aside from works such as Fa Xian's, the main written materials we have are religious poetry and folklore. Even these sources are sparse, for the tradition of both Hinduism and Buddhism was not literary but oral. What was important was memorized, generation after



GOLD COIN OF KANISHKA THE GREAT. The only surviving images we have of Kanishka are from coins he minted. Numismatic experts think that Kushan rulers like Kanishka melted down Roman coins that were imported from the Mediterranean region for making their own coins.



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MAP 12.1 The Buddhist Community, 100–600 CE

Royal sponsorship of Buddhism by the Mauryan and Kushan empires and its spread into eastern Asia in the time of the Kushan and Gupta rulers made it Asia's earliest community of discourse. Buddhist monasteries provided places of aid and refreshment for merchants and pilgrims like Fa Xian.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

How would the creation of this religious sphere have facilitated trade along the Silk Road?

generation, but inevitably with some changes. It was not written down until much later, and then only in a much-altered version.

Economic and Cultural Progress

In this classical age, the overwhelming majority of Indians continued to gain their daily sustenance from farming and herding. The agrarian villages changed little in activity

or appearance over the centuries. Throughout the Gupta period and for some time thereafter, India remained free from the problems of insufficient land and overpopulation in its rich river basins. The average villager seems to have been a landowner or tenant who worked a small plot that he had inherited and that he would pass on to the oldest son or sons.

In most of the subcontinent, rice was the chief crop, as it had become in most of South Asia. The huge demands



Paolo Koch/Photo Researchers, Inc.

BUDDHIST SANGA. The Takht-i-Bahai Buddhist monastery was built during the first to fourth centuries CE in Sind, or Pakistan.

this crop imposed on labor determined many aspects of life in the village: The cycle of rice planting, transplanting, and harvesting was the fundamental calendar. Water was crucial for rice growing, and control and distribution of water were the source of constant controversy—and in some cases even wars—between the numerous small principalities. In this respect and in its dependence on intensive irrigation agriculture, India resembled both Mesopotamia and South China. The arts flourished during the Gupta period, and several models of architecture and sculpture were developed that remained the standards of beauty for a long time. The greatest of ancient India's playwrights, **Kalidasa** (kah-lee-DAH-sah), wrote a series of works that remain popular today. He was a major contributor to the upsurge of Sanskrit literature at this time. Sanskrit, the language of the Aryans, was now formally adopted as a sacred literary script, but literacy remained exceptional.

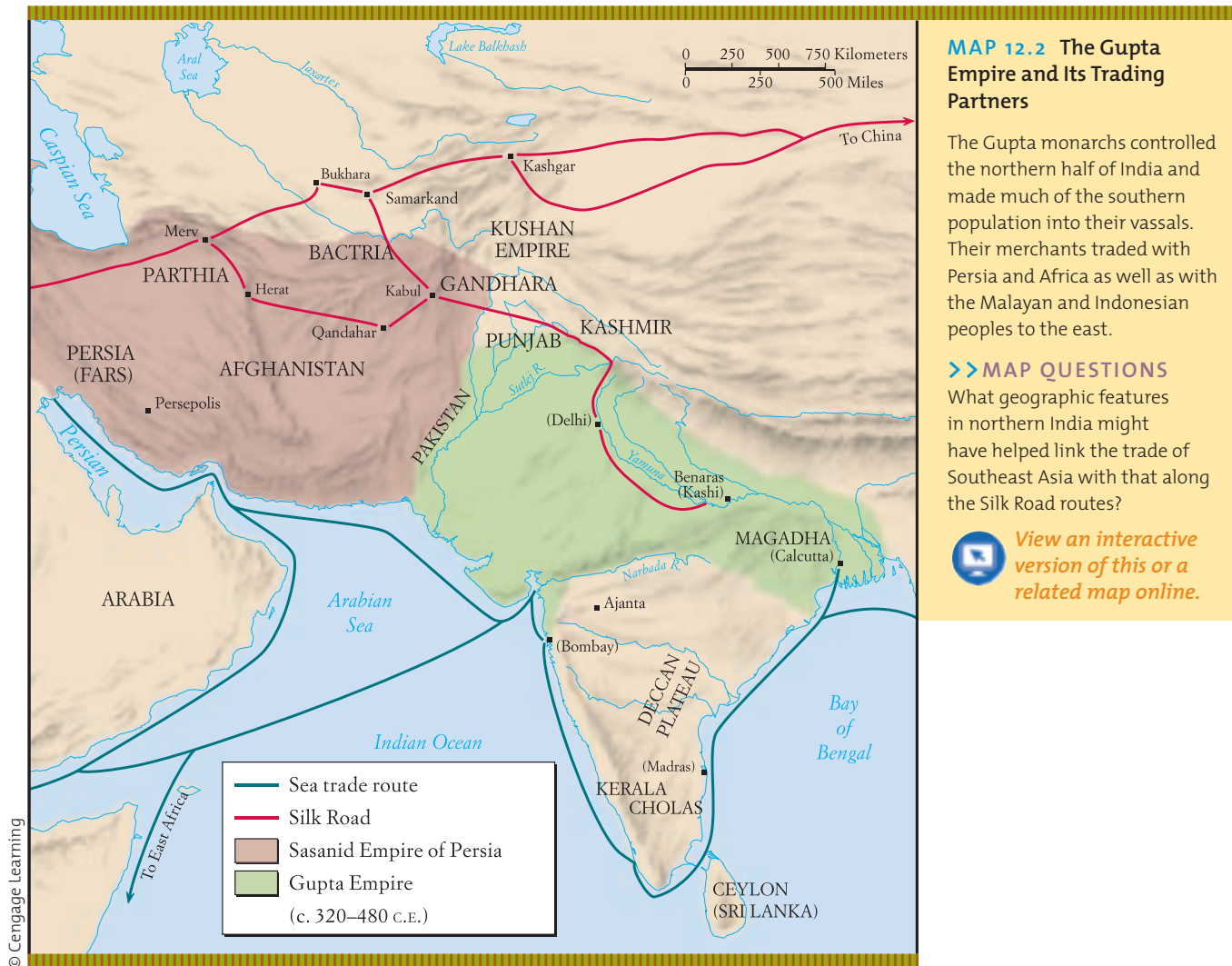
The Gupta period also produced notable achievements in the sciences. Mathematicians worked out the concept of zero, which enabled them to handle large numbers much more easily; zero is closely associated with the decimal system, which was probably also an Indian invention. The “Arabic” numbers that are used universally

today originated in Gupta India, so far as historians can determine. Indian astronomers also made several breakthroughs in explaining eclipses of the moon and in calculating geographic distances.

The medical sciences developed significantly during and after the Gupta period. Pharmacy, surgery, and diagnosis of internal ills were Indian specialties, and wealthy Muslims from the West often came to Indian doctors for treatment. In this way began the active interchange between the Muslim and Hindu medical men that so profited the Muslims in the period after 850 and was eventually passed on to the backward Europeans.

POLITICAL FRAGMENTATION: SOUTH AND NORTH

After the demise of the Gupta Dynasty, India divided into political-cultural regions: South and North (see Map 12.2). Each of these regions further subdivided into several units ruled by hereditary or aristocratic leaders, but each region shared some common features distinguishing each from the other.



South: Hinduism and Buddhism

Below the Deccan plateau, peoples whose languages came from the Dravidian and Pali families—quite different from those of the North—inhabited the South. The South's political history is almost unknown for several centuries, as it was never brought under direct Gupta rule and few written records have survived. The invasions that perennially wracked the North had little effect on the South, whose contacts with foreigners were in the nature of peaceful commerce both east and west over the Indian Ocean. From the Gupta period onward, little common political bond existed between the two regions for many centuries.

The culture of the South was strongly influenced by varieties of Hinduism and particularly Buddhism, which differed from the Mahayana version favored in the North. Theravada (Hinayana) Buddhism became dominant in the South and in Southeast Asia—especially in Java. There, Theravada holy men and monasteries who had arrived

with merchants from southern India and Sri Lanka were instrumental in the conversion of much of Southeast Asia. The Theravada devotees tended to look down on the relatively flexible doctrines of the Mahayana adherents and rejected many as unworthy or inauthentic.

The South saw a great flourishing of both Buddhist and Hindu architecture and sculpture between 300 and 700 CE. Both religions encouraged the construction of massive stone *stupas* (STOO-pahs), rounded temples that stood in the midst of extensive complexes that served for both worship and living quarters. In the interiors stood statues of the gods and goddesses and all types of holy shrines. Sculpture, mainly in stone but also in bronze, seems to have been the art form of choice among Hindus during most of their history. Some of their life-size and larger-than-life-size works have survived to demonstrate the artists' skills. Even more impressive are the many panels and figures that decorate the exteriors of the stupa temples and show us the vigor and life-affirming nature of Hindu art. Much of it was

IMAGES OF HISTORY

THE BODHISATTVA AVALOKITESVARA

Avalokitesvara, the *bodhisattva* of Buddhist travelers, ranged the world wherever Buddhist merchants took their business. Therefore, a useful indicator of the spread of Buddhism was the spread of the saint's images. The earliest examples appeared in northwest India and Afghanistan in the early centuries CE. As trade and the religion fanned outwards in later centuries, the images also turned up, as these examples show. At the same time, as Buddhism was absorbed into other cultures, such as those of Southeast Asia, the bodhisattva underwent transformations that reflected the influences of other religions. In Java, for example, Buddhism and Hinduism arrived about the same time, so the images assumed some of the features of the Hindu god Shiva.

Chinese Avalokitesvara
ca. 500 CE



Yanni/Art Resource, NY

© The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY



Kushan
Avalokitesvara ca.
2nd century CE

Java Avalokitesvara
ca. 900 CE



Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, from central Java, 9th–10th century (bronze), Indonesian/Musee Guimet, Paris, France/Lauros/Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library

erotic and created a great deal of embarrassment among nineteenth-century British colonial observers. What would have been considered pornographic in a modern Western context apparently had no such connotations to peoples whose cultures were agrarian, and for whom sexuality and fertility were both inseparable and essential to plant and animal life.

Some painting has also survived, most notably in the **Ajanta Caves** (ah-JAHN-tah) in the South. Like most architecture and sculpture of India's Golden Age, all paintings were inspired by religious legends and stories, much as medieval European artworks were. The paintings portray gods good and bad and all sorts of quasi-divine demons, taken from the rich religious folklore.

North: Islam Comes to India

We have a good deal more political and military data from the North of India than from the South during the 700 years between the fall of the Gupta Dynasty and the erection of the Muslim sultanate in Delhi. The major question facing all North Indian rulers was how to defend themselves against the repeated and ever-fiercer assaults coming from Muslim forces out of Afghanistan on the northwestern frontier. From the eighth century onward, bands of Muslim raiders and would-be conquerors of the Hindu and Buddhist areas had harassed northwestern India.

The first wave of conquests of the seventh century had carried Islam only as far as northwestern India, reaching the Indus Valley and Multan in 711, and no farther. For another three centuries, Hindu dynasties in central India proved sufficiently vigorous to discourage further invasion. By the early eleventh century, the military balance of power had shifted dramatically, however. A strong regime had been established in Afghanistan. Its military power rested on highly trained and mobile professional slave-troops of Turkish origins for whom the riches of India beckoned like ripe fruit. Between 1001 and 1030, their warlord, Mahmud al-Ghazni (mah-MOOD al-GAHSnee), launched powerful raids into northwestern India for the purpose not of empire building but of seizing booty. In one raid alone against the Temple of Shiva in Gujarat, Mahmud reportedly carried off nearly 3,000 pounds of gold. Yet the effects of these first raids hardly outlived Mahmud's death in 1030, and for another 165 years, Islamic rule fragmented. By the late 1100s, effective Islamic control had shrunk to the region of the Punjab only.

After a second wave of invasions beginning in 1192, Muslim commanders made their headquarters in the city of Delhi, which then became the capital of what came to be called the **Delhi** (DEL-ee) **Sultanate**. Additional conquests were directed eastward as far as Bengal, until most of northern and central India fell to Muslim arms.

The sultanate lasted for another three centuries, and in that long span, the patterns of Muslim–Hindu relations were cast. Muslim intolerance of people they considered pagan meant that violence from raids and counter-raids was the keynote of these relations from the beginning. Successful raids and victories frequently led to exceedingly high losses of life for Hindus and Buddhists defending their temples, monasteries, and homes. Mahmud's raid on the Temple of Shiva was followed by a slaughter of 50,000 Brahmins, or high-caste Hindus. Culturally speaking, the contacts between Islamic and native Indian civilizations were important. Beginning as early as the 800s, many Muslim merchants visited the west coast of India. Some of their travel accounts survive and are important sources of Indian history. So many resident Muslims lived in some of the coastal towns as to justify building mosques. In addition to carrying cottons, silks, and fine steel swords from India to the world of Islam, these merchants, traders, and other Muslim visitors took back the Indians' knowledge of algebra and astronomy and other cultural achievements. Indian visitors went to Harun al-Rashid's Baghdad to train Islamic scholars at the request of the caliph. When Harun fell seriously ill, an Indian physician, who was then rewarded with the post of royal physician, cured him.



FRESCOS AT AJANTA CAVES. The Ajanta Caves complex was begun sometime in the second century BCE and completed in 478 CE.

Originally a Hindu project, it became a Buddhist retreat, and the hundreds of fresco sculptures that grace it are mainly representative of Buddhist belief. The picture shows a multitude of seated bodhisattvas.

© The Bridgeman Art Library

Muslim conquest brought on the final stage of the long decline of Buddhism in India. Buddhism was a proselytizing religion, like Islam, and the two competitors did not get along well. Whereas the Muslims were able to ignore or come to terms with Hinduism, they attacked Buddhism and its institutions, especially the few remaining monasteries that were the heart of the faith. Already weakened by a revitalized Hinduism, the Buddhist faith was now, in the twelfth century, wiped out in the land where it had originated. Its strong roots in the Javan kingdom of Sri Lanka, as well as in China, Korea, Japan, and much of Southeast Asia, guaranteed its continued existence, however.

HINDU DOCTRINES IN THE CLASSICAL AGE

The doctrines of Hinduism stem from a great mass of unwritten tradition but also from three written sources: the Vedas, the *Upanishads*, and the *Mahabharata*. The Vedas (see Chapter 4) are four lengthy epic poems that were originally brought to India by the Aryans. Dealing with the relationships between the many gods and their human subjects, they relate tales of the god-heroes who created the earth and all that lies in it. The most significant is the *Rigveda*, which was written down in relatively modern times; it contains a great deal of information about the Aryan-Indian gods and their relationships with humans. The chief deities are Indra and Varuna. As did most agrarian religions, the original version of Vedic Hinduism (often called *Brahmanism*) was almost entirely a religion of ritual and sacrifice, with priests (Brahmans) playing the leading role.

The *Upanishads* (oo-PAH-nih-shads) are a series of long and short philosophical speculations, apparently first

produced in the eighth century BCE; gradually, they were expanded to number more than one hundred with a body of poems that deal with the human dilemma of being alive on Earth as a partial, incomplete being. The *Upanishads* are a long step forward from the relatively unsophisticated rituals and anecdotes of the Vedas; with them begins the tradition of involved speculation that became a characteristic of later Hindu thought.

The supreme deities of all modern Hindus are Brahman, Vishnu, and Shiva. Although individuals may worship many gods, all Hindus believe in the paramount importance of these three. Brahman is the world-spirit, the source of all life and all objects in the universe—roughly equivalent to the Christian God the Father, but entirely impersonal. Hindus are generally subdivided into the devotees of either Vishnu or Shiva.

Vishnu is the Preserver, a sort of Christ figure without the ethical teachings. He (or sometimes she—the Hindu deities are often bisexual) has appeared in nine incarnations thus far in world history, and there will be a tenth. The most popular of all Hindu gods, Vishnu is particularly beloved in the form of Krishna, the instructor and protector of all humans. The last of the Hindu trinity is Shiva, the Destroyer and also Creator. Shiva is best appreciated as the god of becoming, lord of both life and death. At times he or she is depicted as a beneficent bringer of joy; at other times he is the ruthless and irresistible destroyer, making way for new life to come.

The old Vedic Hinduism proved unable to match the appeal of these religions to people seeking a more personal and spiritually fulfilling experience. Some of these beliefs, and particularly the position of the priests who interpreted them—the Brahmins—were challenged by the Buddhists and the Jains. Consequently, in the 500 years between Ashoka's reign and the end of the Kushan Empire, Buddhism and Jainism attracted the allegiance of a large part of the population. As Buddhism gradually evolved into a supernatural religion after its founder's death, Hinduism responded to the Buddhist challenge by developing a less-formal and more-speculative approach to the mysteries of eternal life and the gods who ordained human fate.

The *Upanishads* and the *Mahabharata* are the embodiment of this response, which changed the old Vedic religion into something different. The *Mahabharata* (mah-hahb-hah-RAH-tah) is the world's longest poem. It contains about 200,000 lines, relating the exploits of the gods and some of their favored heroes on Earth. The most popular part, known by all Hindus, is the **Bhagavad-Gita** (bah-gah-vahd-GEE-tah), a segment in which the god Krishna instructs a warrior, Arjuna, in what it means to be a human being who strives to do good and avoid evil to his fellows (see Patterns of Belief). This new Hinduism was capable of arousing strong adherence among ordinary souls by giving them a meaningful guide to moral and ethical belief.



HINDU GOD VISHNU. Vishnu, the god of preservation (right), is depicted with his consort Lakshmi, riding the huge bird-demon Garuda as it circles the universe in search of prey.

PATTERNS OF BELIEF



AN EXCERPT FROM THE BHAGAVAD-GITA

Of the myriad Hindu sagas and poems, the Bhagavad-Gita is the most popular and the best known among westerners. Indian holy men and parents have also used it to teach moral behavior to succeeding generations. It is a part of the larger poem *Mahabharata*, a tale of the distant and mythical past, when two clans fought for supremacy in India. Just before the decisive struggle, one of the clan leaders, the warrior Arjuna, meditates on the meaning of life. His charioteer, who is the god Krishna in human disguise, answers his questions. Arjuna regrets having to kill his opponents, whom he knows and respects, but Krishna tells him that his sorrow is misplaced because what Arjuna conceives of as the finality of death is not that:

Text not available due to copyright restrictions

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What does Krishna attempt to show Arjuna about the nature of his duty as a warrior?

Is his counsel coldhearted or realistic, in your view? How could devout Hindus take comfort from this poem?

Source: From *Bhagavad Gita: Krishna's Counsel in Time of War*, trans. B. S. Miller, © 1996 by Barbara Stoler Miller. Used by permission of Bantam Books, a division of Random House, Inc.



You can read the Bhagavad-Gita online.

Hinduism in time evolved into *Bhakti* Hinduism, which produced many subdivisions, or sects, each of which emphasized the individual's worship of one or more gods (see Chapter 4). All of these sects are notable for their tolerance toward others; in contrast to the historical Western religions and Islam, they do not assert that there is but one true path to heaven.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASTE SYSTEM

By the end of the Gupta period, the caste system founded by the Aryan conquerors reigned supreme. It had grown ever more refined in its applications and more complex

in its structure as time passed. Subcastes had multiplied and were determined by geographic, ethnic, and kinship factors as well as by the traditional social and economic categories. Along with the restructured Hindu belief, caste had become one of the two defining factors in the lives of all Indians. At the bottom were the outcastes or untouchables, who were condemned to a marginal existence as beggars, buriers of the dead, and dealers in animal products that were thought to be polluting. Above them were hundreds of varieties of farmers, craftsmen, and merchants, as well as laborers, each of which constituted a more-or-less closed grouping with its own (unwritten) rules of religious belief and social conduct (*dharma*).

Although caste members tended to belong to a distinct occupation, caste membership could also differ according to the caste's territory or doctrines. For example, members of the caste that specialized in credit and money lending in Calcutta were not members of the caste that dominated the same activity in Bombay or in Delhi. They could be seen as higher or lower in the intricate gradings of social prestige that caste imposed. Although it was possible to raise one's status by marriage with a higher-caste member, it was also possible to debase oneself by marriage to a lower one. It seems that impoverished members of the high-prestige castes who sought material advantage from marriage with lower, but wealthy, individuals attempted the usual rationalizations. All in all, such mixed marriages with their attendant changes of caste were rare in India, and the stratification of society—which commenced in Aryan times—grew ever stronger.

By about the ninth or tenth century CE, the system had become so entrenched as to be a fundamental pillar of the revitalized Hindu culture. It was the cement holding the subcontinent together, giving everyone a definite, easily comprehended place in society. Yet at the same time, the caste system created permanent barriers among individuals—separations that persist even today. The modern Indian constitution, adopted after independence in 1947, outlaws caste privilege and guarantees all Indians equality before the law. But the old categories continue, especially in the villages, where about 75 percent of Indians still live.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

How did the Hindu masses organize their day-to-day lives? For Indians, as for most early agrarian peoples, blood ties were the basis of social and economic life. The extended family was universal: In-laws and second and third generations all lived together in the same compound. The oldest male always exercised authority. Polygamy (the practice of having several wives) was common, as was concubinage (sexual servitude). Children, especially the oldest sons, had an honored place and were often pampered.

Females were clearly and unequivocally subservient to males. Women were expected to be good wives and

mothers and to let the husband decide everything that pertained to affairs outside of the home. Marriage was arranged early in life by the parents of the bride and groom. As in most societies, marriage was primarily an economic and social affair, with the feelings of the individuals being distinctly secondary. Ideally, the girl was betrothed at about age thirteen or fourteen and given into the care of her much-older husband soon after. The reality usually differed, however, as many families began to betroth children as young as one-to-two years of age to ensure that they would have proper partners, always within their caste. The actual wedding did not take place until both parties were at least at the age of puberty, however. The wife was to be the faithful shadow of her husband and the bearer of children, preferably sons. A barren wife could expect that her husband would take additional wives to ensure the continuation of the family name, much as among other Asian and African civilizations. Divorce was rare among the upper castes; we know little about the others.

Considerable evidence indicates that in early times, Hindu women—at least in the upper classes—had more freedoms than in other ancient societies. The *Rigveda*, for example, makes no mention of restricting women from public affairs, and women composed some of the numerous sacred texts. By the time of the *Mahabharata* epic, composed about 400 BCE, the female's status had become inferior to that of any male. The veiling and strict social isolation of women among Hindus was reinforced with the Muslim conquests. From that time onward, the Hindu population began a much stricter seclusion of respectable women and treated them as the property of fathers and husbands. The position of widows was especially pitiful. A widow was expected to be in permanent mourning and never to remarry. She was looked on with disdain, even by her relatives, and as the bringer of bad luck. It is no wonder that some women chose to follow their dead husbands into voluntary death through *sati* (SAH-tee), the ritual suicide of a wife after her husband's death. Actually, it seems, few widows—even in the priestly castes that were supposed to be a model to others—ever went so far in their devotion.

Sexuality

One of the attributes of Hindu culture that is noted by almost all foreigners is its readiness to accept all forms of pleasure that the day might bring. In sharp contrast to Jewish and Christian suspicion of the senses' delights, Hinduism teaches that human beings had a positive duty to seize pleasure where they might, so long as dharma is not violated. This is particularly the case in terms of sexual matters, which are given prominence in the famous *Kama Sutra* (kah-mah SOO-trah), composed sometime before the first century CE as a treatise on one of the four spheres of Hindu life.

Prostitutes were as common in Indian life as elsewhere. Many were attached to the temples, where their services

were offered to those who donated for the temples' support. Others were educated and artful women who served the upper class and held a position of general respect. Although the sacred texts denounced prostitution as being unworthy, the attitude of the ordinary man and woman was apparently more flexible. The Indian male's attitude toward women was marked by a strong duality: Woman was (and is) both saint and strumpet, to be cherished and to be guarded against.

INDIA AND EAST ASIA

The culture and customs of Hinduism were rarely disseminated to other peoples. The Hindu faith was peculiarly interwoven with the historical experience and ancient beliefs of the peoples of the Indian subcontinent. Lacking a sacred book that defined a uniform dogma, Hindus normally showed little or no interest in converting others to the path of righteousness or initiating them into the mysteries of dharma.

There was, however, a major exception to this rule. In part of Southeast Asia, Indian colonies were gradually established during the sixth through the thirteenth centuries CE (see Chapter 19). Why this emigration started, why it continued, and who participated are questions that cannot be answered definitively, although it was clearly a byproduct of India's commercial expansion that started during the late Mauryan period (Chapters 4 and above). These colonies must have been the result of invitation rather than conquest and were small in comparison with their host population. We know of but one example of Indian conquest in Southeast Asia over this lengthy period. Local rulers must have recognized the advanced civilization of the subcontinent as desirable in certain aspects for their own subjects. Precisely what the colonists offered is not certain and probably varied from place to place. It seems reasonable to assume that the Indian element functioned generally as teachers and administrators. Whether Brahmin priests, craftsmen, or artists of some type, the Asian hosts saw them as nonthreatening instructors or models, and they allowed them to settle in numerous places. Indians seem always to have remained a small minority, and the relationship between hosts and guests was both peaceable and productive.

The Southeast Asians were highly selective in what they chose to adopt, however. They rejected major aspects of Hindu culture, notably the caste system, which never spread into Asia beyond India.

The adoption of Indian customs by the host subcontinent was normally limited to linguistic, commercial, and some artistic spheres. Elements of Hindu religious and philosophical belief were introduced into local religions. What eventually emerged was a *mélange* of the flexible Hindu theology and ceremonies with indigenous beliefs and practices. Southeast Asian religion remains to this day one of the outstanding examples of **syncretism** (SINK-reh-tism; the blending of two or more faiths).

Buddhism succeeded Hinduism in India's cultural exports to the east. As their religion declined in India proper, thousands of Buddhist monks were encouraged to emigrate and establish their monasteries and temples among the peoples of the Asian islands and mainland. (And again, images of the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara appeared in many locations.) By the eleventh century, Buddhist practice completely supplanted Hinduism in Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The Hindu worldview seems to have depended largely on the peculiar traditions and conditions of the Indian Peninsula for flourishing, particularly with regard to caste.

This transplantation of Hinduism and Buddhism was linked to the development of the Indian Ocean trade, in which Indians played a central role. From the time of Emperor Ashoka, merchants and mariners from southern India were carrying on a lively trade in luxury items with Southeast Asian and South Pacific ports. Cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmeg, mace, and Chinese silk were transshipped via South Indian ports across the western



ANGHOR WAT. The enormous Buddhist temple at Anghor in Cambodia was the spiritual and political center of the ancient empire of the Khmer people. After the empire's fall, it was buried under jungle foliage for many centuries.

© Robert Harding Picture Library Ltd/Alamy

Indian Ocean and eventually to the Near East and the Mediterranean. After the seventh century, Arab and other Muslim entrepreneurs carried on most of this lucrative trade (see Chapter 16), and Islam supplanted Buddhism in most of India and Southeast Asia.

In the large Khmer (KAY-mer) kingdom of Cambodia, both Hindu and Buddhist merchants, craftsmen, and artists found markets and patrons. The largest building in the world devoted to religion is the temple of **Anghor Wat** (ANG-kor waht) in present-day northern Cambodia. It was built as a Hindu shrine under Indian inspiration—and possibly supervision—in the tenth century. Somewhat later, it was converted into a Buddhist temple. After the conquest of the **Khmers** by the neighboring Thais in the twelfth century, the great temple was neglected and forgotten for 700 years. Only since World War II has it been reclaimed from the surrounding jungle and become a major tourist attraction.

If the Khmers were the most notable partners of Indian cultural exchange on the mainland, the maritime empire of Sri Vijaya, based on the island of Sumatra, was the one that expanded Hinduism throughout the huge Indonesian archipelago. Originally a small city-state, **Sri Vijaya** (SREE vee-JAH-yah) had become a large state by the seventh century and remained so for 300 years. By about 1000 CE, its power had sufficiently declined as to allow a successful piratical conquest by one of the South Indian principalities, **Chola** (CHOH-lah). For the next two centuries, Sri Vijaya served as the partner of Chola in organizing the commerce of the nearby islands and the Malayan Peninsula. The upper classes became Hindu and spread the religion widely. As in India, the absorptive Hindu belief took myriad forms in Southeast Asia, sometimes so merging with the local animisms or with Buddhism as to be almost unrecognizable to outsiders.

SUMMARY

INDIA, IN ITS GOLDEN OR classical age (which was much longer than the classical age of the Greeks or of most other peoples), saw the slow evolution of a civilization that was centered on the quest for understanding the relationship between the earthly and the unearthly, between material reality and spiritual reality. Both Hindu and Buddhist beliefs evolved into forms quite different from their originals; in time, the revived Hinduism again became the faith of the vast majority. Written history is scarce until modern times because of the predominantly oral culture. We know that the Gupta Dynasty was a particular high point; after it collapsed in the fifth century CE, the subcontinent broke up into political fragments, often ruled over by non-Indians in the North.

Beginning with the Islamic invasions from Afghanistan in the eleventh century, North and South went their separate ways, though they remained linked by the Hindu faith. Priestly and commercial migrants from the South into Southeast Asia established colonies and a Hindu presence there among the upper classes. In the North, waves of Turkic peoples eventually were able to conquer the natives in the twelfth century and set up a Muslim sultanate at Delhi that ruled much of the subcontinent for the next several centuries.

Indian science, particularly mathematics, ranked near or on par with the world's most advanced types. In the temple ruins and the cave shrines that dot the Peninsula, we can also obtain at least a minimal appreciation of the Indians' achievements in the arts.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Ajanta Caves
Anghor Wat

Bhagavad-Gita
bodhisattva Avalokitesvara

Chola
community of discourse
Delhi Sultanate
Fa Xian
Gupta Dynasty
Kalidasa
Kanishka the Great

Khmers
Kushan
Mahabharata
sati
Sri Vijaya
syncretism
Upanishads

For Further Reflection

1. How would the spread of Buddhism, and Buddhist monasteries in particular, have contributed to trade along the Silk Road? How does the story of Fa Xian typify a community of discourse?
2. What regions of the Eurasian world were joined by the Silk Road during the classical period? Can you think of ways that this linkage would have affected the civilizations of these regions?
3. How did Hinduism eventually become the basis for an alternative community of discourse, both for India itself as well as for Southeast Asia?
4. How might the arrival of Islam have altered India's (and Asia's) commercial empires?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. Buddhist traditions compare Kanishka the Great to
 - a. Ashoka.
 - b. Chandragupta I.
 - c. Chandragupta II.
 - d. Mahmud al-Ghazi.
 - e. Buddha.
2. It can be said that Buddhism flourished in India during
 - a. Ashoka's reign.
 - b. the entire Mauryan era.
 - c. the period from Ashoka reign through the Kushan era.
 - d. the period from the Buddha's death through Ashoka's reign.
 - e. the Kushan period.
3. A peculiar facet of Indian civilization was its
 - a. lack of interest in mathematics.
 - b. avoidance of the pictorial arts.
 - c. slowness in producing a literary culture.
 - d. strong tendency toward political centralization.
 - e. refusal to portray religious subjects in its art.
4. The major source of foreign troubles for India has been its
 - a. sea frontiers to the east.
 - b. borders with China.
 - c. resident colonies of foreign traders.
 - d. frontier with Afghanistan.
 - e. lack of strong military leadership.
5. Southeast Asians experienced Hindu culture
 - a. as a result of Indian conquests.
 - b. in a selective and adapted fashion.
 - c. mainly among the lower classes.
 - d. both b and c
 - e. as one imposed on them arbitrarily.
6. The religion that suffered most severely from the Muslim Turks' invasion of India in the twelfth century was
 - a. Christianity.
 - b. Hinduism.
 - c. Buddhism.
 - d. Jainism.
 - e. Sikhism.
7. The Jains are especially concerned about
 - a. avoiding the killing of any creature.
 - b. avoiding being shamed by others.
 - c. spreading their religion.
 - d. being seen as superior to Hindus.
 - e. rejecting animal sacrifices.
8. The last native dynasty to rule over the greater part of the Indian subcontinent was that of the
 - a. Guptas.
 - b. Afghans.
 - c. Maurya.
 - d. Delhi sultans.
 - e. Ghaznavids.
9. Mahmud al-Ghazni and his troops were
 - a. Persian.
 - b. Arabs.
 - c. Turks.
 - d. Mongols.
 - e. Afghans.
10. It is believed that the Arabic numerals used today originated in
 - a. Saudi Arabia.
 - b. western Afghanistan.
 - c. Dravidian India.
 - d. the Ajanta region.
 - e. Gupta India.



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13

Imperial China in Its Golden Age

THE QIN EMPEROR: FOUNDATION OF THE STATE

THE HAN DYNASTY 202 BCE–220 CE

Arts and Science

The Economy, Government, and Foreign Affairs

The End of the Dynasty

THE TANG DYNASTY, 618–907 CE

BUDDHISM AND CHINESE CULTURE

Tzu-kung asked about the true gentleman. The Master said, “He does not preach what he practices until he has practiced what he preaches.”

—*The Analects of Confucius*

THE TREMENDOUS VITALITY AND flexibility of Chinese civilization in the 1,000 years we examine in this chapter have no match in world history, anywhere. The longest-lived continuous political organism in the world, China was in these years able to combine the stability of an Egypt with the adaptability of a Japan. The government centered on the person of an emperor who, although by no means divine, was able to inspire the loyalty of a great many talented and ambitious servants in his bureaucracy—the world’s first to be based more on merit than on birth. When the regime was at peace and working as designed, the life of the common people was about as good and secure as ever seen in the ancient world. Prosperity was widespread, and cities thrived, while the villages were secure. When the regime broke down, however, the country fell into anarchy with cruel results for all. But for most of these 1,000 years, anarchy was held at bay, the emperor was seen by all to be the authentic Son of Heaven, and the arts and sciences prospered.

221–206 BCE	Qin Dynasty
202 BCE–220 CE	Han Dynasty
220–580 CE	China divided
580–618 CE	Sui Dynasty reunifies China
618–907 CE	Tang Dynasty

THE QIN EMPEROR: FOUNDATION OF THE STATE

The last years of the Zhou Dynasty (see Chapter 6) were a sad tale of governmental collapse and warring feudal lords. By about 500 BCE, effective central government had become nonexistent, and a long period of intra-Chinese struggle known as the **Era of the Warring States** ensued until 220 BCE. It is significant that many of the outstanding philosophical contributions of Chinese thinkers—Confucian, Daoist, and Legalist—matured during this period. They aimed at either restoring proper order to a world gone astray or making it tolerable.

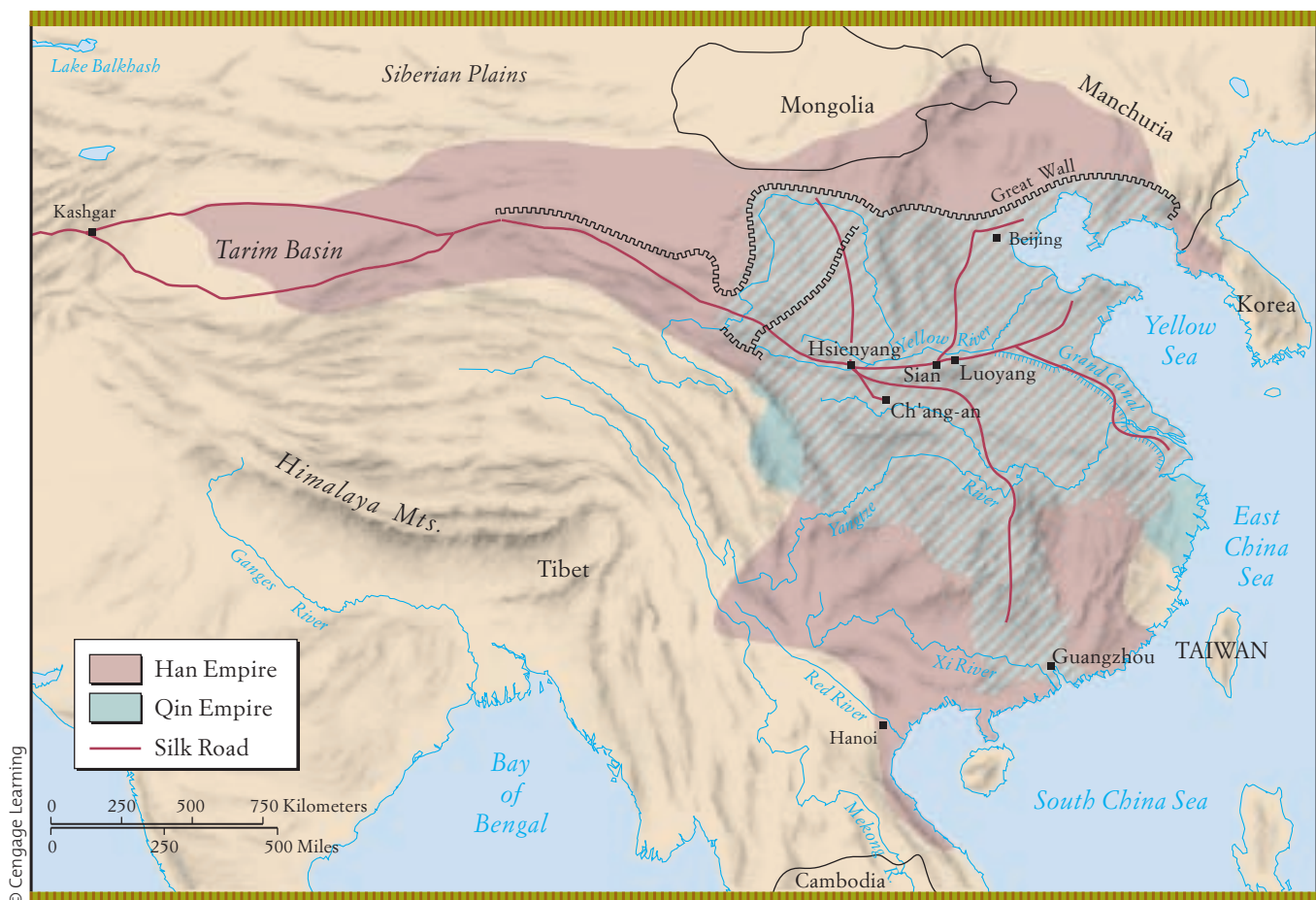
The relatively small northwestern state of **Qin** (chin) **Dynasty** adopted the Legalist doctrines wholeheartedly in the mid-200s BCE (see Chapter 6). Guided

by them, the Qin ruler managed to reunify the country by a combination of military force and administrative reorganization. The dynasty thus founded would have a short span, but the general principles that guided the Qin rule could still be traced in Chinese government until the twentieth century. Even the name of the country in Western languages comes from Qin. It was an awesome achievement.

The king of Qin (246–221 BCE), later **First Emperor** (221–210 BCE), ruled all China only eleven years, but he made an imprint that was to last—as he boasted, “10,000 generations.” Shih Huang-di (sheer wahng-dee), as he was called, was a man of tremendous administrative gifts and huge personality defects. His subjects felt both. His generalship overwhelmed the rival Chinese states. In only nine years (230–221 BCE), the six largest states fell to Qin armies or surrendered, and for the first time in its long history China became a unified empire. At once, the process of centralization got under way along ruthless Legalist lines. Guided by the minister Li Si (lee shoo), the emperor set out to make his rule irresistible and to eliminate the entrenched

feudal aristocracy. The country was divided into administrative units that persisted throughout later history. To create a unified administration based on Legalist principles, the emperor fixed weights and measures, made the size of the roads uniform so that all carts would fit the ruts, and introduced the first standard units of money. The system of writing was standardized so effectively that it is almost the same in the twenty-first century as it was then.

As a defense against the constant series of nomadic invaders from Mongolia, disconnected barriers that had been erected by various princes in the north and northwest were unified into the first version of the Great Wall (see Map 13.1). A whole list of other massive public works was started, including the tremendous imperial palace at Sian and the emperor's tomb in which more than 7,000 life-sized clay soldiers were buried with him. (They were discovered in 1974 and are now being restored.) Under Shih Huang-di, China expanded to both north and south. The region around Guangzhou (Canton) came under his control; it was to be China's premier port for many centuries to



MAP 13.1 The Qin and Han Empires

The Han Empire greatly expanded the borders established by the Qin emperor. By the mid-Han period, China's extent westward reached well into central Asia.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What factors would have encouraged the Chinese to extend their empire to the west? What human and physical barriers would they have had to overcome to do so?



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THE GREAT WALL. The golden light of sunset illumines a stretch of “the only earthly object visible from an orbiting space vehicle.” The wall extends more than 1,800 miles at the present time, but much of its mainly mud-brick construction has been allowed to sink back into the surrounding terrain through lack of upkeep. Started on a more modest scale by the First Emperor in the 200s BCE, it was last renewed by the early Qing dynasts in the 1600s.

come. First contacts were made with the Vietnamese and with several other Asian peoples to the west and south.

The First Emperor’s reign also had its negative side. Convinced by his Legalist principles of the inherent evil of human nature, Shih Huang-di apparently became paranoid and engaged in torture and other harsh treatment of his subjects and officials.

He especially hated the doctrines of Confucius, which he regarded as a menace to his style of autocratic rule, and ordered a **burning of the books** in a vain attempt to eradicate the Confucian philosophy from Chinese consciousness, an episode deeply resented by later generations. Shih Huang-di died of natural causes in 210, but the cruelties and heavy taxation and labor levies he imposed on the peasants caused unrest and assured that his son and weaker successor would not last long as ruler. The son’s overthrow in 206 BCE was followed by the establishment of one of the most successful of all the Chinese dynasties, the **Han Dynasty**, which lasted until 220 CE.

THE HAN DYNASTY, 202 BCE–220 CE

Han rule occurred almost simultaneously with the Roman heyday, and these two great empires of the East and West had other similarities as well. Both were basically urban in orientation, although the populations they ruled

remained decidedly rural and peasant. Both depended on a nonhereditary officialdom to carry out the distant imperial court’s will. And both finally collapsed under the combined impact of invading nomadic peoples and widespread regional revolts.

Why are the Han monarchs considered the primary shapers of China’s national consciousness? Even more than Shih Huang-di, the Han rulers greatly expanded the Chinese frontiers—into parts of Korea, Vietnam, and westward into central Asia. Under them, China took on more or less the geographic boundaries that it has retained ever since (except for the much later conquest of Tibet). With the extension of their control westward, the eastern half of the Silk Road came into permanent existence, and Chinese trade began to reach as far as India and the Mediterranean world, although mainly through intermediaries. Chinese



Ian McKinnell/Alamy

WARRIORS FROM THE FIRST EMPEROR’S TOMB. The accidental discovery of the tomb of Shih Huang-di, the First Emperor, at Sian in 1974 revealed the terra-cotta statues of more than 7,000 warriors buried with him. Armed with spears, swords, and bows, and presumably meant as a bodyguard in the next world, each of the life-sized warrior statues has individual facial features taken from a living model.



British Library/Bridgeman Art Library

CARAVAN. This detail from a fourteenth-century Spanish map depicts a caravan traveling on the Silk Road.

commercial contacts soon expanded into a massive cultural influence on the Japanese, Koreans, and Vietnamese. Everywhere on the Asian mainland north of India and east of Cambodia, the “men of Han,” as the Chinese called themselves, became the controlling factor in military, political, and commercial life.

The Han dynasts were not revolutionaries in any sense. They kept what the Qin had done to create the state and ensure its continued existence, while relaxing the strictness and brutality that had made the First Emperor hated. It was Wu-di (woo-dee; 141–87 BCE), the greatest of the Han emperors, who oversaw the creation of the **Han synthesis**. This was a new, imperial Confucian ideology of the state that selected and blended elements of all three of China’s prevailing systems of thought, creating a unified system of governance. Though essentially Confucian, this was a changed Confucianism, with a somewhat Legalist emphasis on the obedience owed by the people to the government. The person of the emperor was given a sacred aura by the renewed emphasis on the “mandate of Heaven”—the theory that the gods approved and supported the emperor and all his actions until they showed otherwise. They showed otherwise by allowing the imperial armies to be defeated by nomadic tribespeople, by allowing rebels to succeed, or by permitting the provincial administration to break down. In that way, the path was opened to a new ruler or new dynasty as the mandate of Heaven was being transferred to more competent hands.

Arts and Sciences

Under the Han rulers, arts and letters experienced a great upsurge in quality and quantity. History came into its own as a peculiarly congenial mode of understanding the world for the Chinese, who are perhaps the globe’s most historically conscious people. Records were scrupulously kept, some of which have survived in the scripts of the noted historian Sima Qian (soo-mah chen) and the Pan family of scholars, dating from the first century CE. As a result, we know far more about ancient China than almost any other part of the ancient world insofar as official acts and personages are concerned. History for the Chinese, of course, was the record of what the uppermost 1 percent did and thought—the peasantry and other ordinary folk were beneath consideration as a historical force. (See the Law and Government box for information about the First Emperor written by the great classical historian of China, Sima Qian.)

Mathematics, geography, and astronomy were points of strength in Han natural science, all of which led directly to technological innovations that were extremely useful to Chinese society. Some examples include the stern-post rudder and the magnetic compass, which together transformed the practice of navigation. The Han period saw the invention of paper from wood pulp—truly one of the world’s major inventions. By about the fifth century CE, paper had become sufficiently cheap to enter common usage, paving the way for the advent of woodblock printing and the refinement of painting in later centuries.

Medicine was a particular interest of the Chinese, and Han doctors developed a pharmacology that was even more ambitious than the later Muslim one. Also, acupuncture first entered the historical record during the Han period. Despite the persistence of superstition and folk medicine, a strong scientific tradition of healing through intensive knowledge of the parts of the body, the functions of internal organs, and the circulation of the blood was established during this period. This tradition has endured alongside the rather different approaches of Western and Muslim medical practices and long ago made China one of the permanent centers of the healing arts.

In the fine arts, China continued to produce a variety of metallic and ceramic luxury items, which increasingly found their way into the Near East and even into Rome’s eastern provinces. The production of silk was both an economic asset of the first rank and a fine art; for nearly 1,000 years, the Han and their successors in China maintained their monopoly, until the Byzantines were finally able to emulate them. Bronze work, jade figurines, and fine ceramics were particularly notable among the plastic arts, while poetry, landscape painting, and instrumental music figured prominently as part of the heritage of the Chinese educated class. The written language had become

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

LEGALIST DOCTRINES OF THE FIRST EMPEROR

The greatest of the classical historians of China, Sima Qian (c. 150–90 BCE), succeeded his father as Grand Historian of the Han court in 130 BCE. With his appointment, he began collecting sources from the imperial library and elsewhere. The result was his monumental *Records of the Grand Historian*, the story of China from the Xia and Shang dynasties to his own day. This is what he recorded concerning Qin policies.

The prime minister Li Si said, “The Five Emperors did not emulate each other nor did the Three Dynasties adopt each other’s ways, yet all had good government. This is no paradox, because times had changed. Now Your Majesty has built up this great empire to endure for generations without end. . . . In times gone by different barons fought among themselves and gathered wandering scholars. Today, however, the empire is at peace, all laws and order come from one single source, the common people support themselves by farming and handicrafts, while students study the laws and prohibitions.

“Now these [Hundred Schools] scholars learn only from the old, not from the new, and use their learning to oppose our rule and confuse the ‘black-headed people.’ As prime minister I must speak out on pain of death. In former times when the world, torn by chaos and disorder, could not be united, different states arose and argued from the past to condemn the present, using empty rhetoric to cover up and confuse the real issues, and employing their learning to oppose what was established by authority. Now Your Majesty has conquered the whole world, distinguished between black and white, see unified standards. Yet these opinionated scholars get together to slander the laws and judge each new decree according to their own school of thought, opposing it secretly in their hearts while discussing it openly in the streets. They brag to the sovereign to win fame, put for-

ward strange arguments to gain distinction, and incite the mob to spread rumors. If this is not prohibited, the sovereign’s prestige will suffer and factions will be formed among his subjects. Far better put a stop to it!

“I humbly propose that all historical records but those of Qin be burned. If anyone who is not a court scholar dares to keep the ancient songs, historical records or writings of the hundred schools, these should be confiscated and burned by the provincial governor and army commander. Those who in conversation dare to quote the old songs and records should be publicly executed; those who use old precedents to oppose the new order should have their families wiped out; and officers who know of such cases but fail to report them should be punished in the same way.

“If thirty days after the issuing of this order the owners of these books have still not have them destroyed, they should have their face tattooed and be condemned to hard labor at the Great Wall.’ The only books which need not be destroyed are those dealing with medicine, divination, and agriculture. Those who want to study the law can learn it from the officers. The emperor sanctioned this proposal.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Why did the Legalist Prime Minister Li Si reject the principles of China’s “Hundred Schools,” especially those of Confucians? All non-Legalist schools and especially Confucian principles? Why do you think the writings of “practical” scholars of agriculture, divination, medicine, and other sciences were exempted from the Qin bans and book burnings?

From Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, *Records of the Historian* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1974), 170–72, 177–78. Reprinted in Alfred J. Andrea and James H. Overfield, *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*, Vol. 1, 2d. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 97–100.

fully standardized by the end of the Han period, and its adoption throughout the empire meant that educated citizens, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, could read and write the same way. This achievement was to be crucial for Chinese national unity.

The Economy, Government, and Foreign Affairs

The Han period also saw major advances in economic affairs. Canals were built and the road system was

extended to the south and west, improving communication and commerce between remote regions and the capital and contributing to a more unified economy. Large cities and numerous market towns came into existence. In the Chinese scale of values, merchants did not count for much; they were considered to be more or less parasites who lived off the work of the craftsmen and tillers of the land. They had none of the social prestige of the scholars or of the government officials and wealthy landowners. But they were still recognized as vital to the well-being of all and were seldom exploited as in some other civilizations.





TRADE AND BUDDHISM IN

CHINA. During the height of the Tang period, the Silk Road brought Buddhist merchants and missionaries to China. Many temples like these at Bezeklik in western China were carved out of cliffs and rocky overhangs.

preliminary tests and be recommended by their teachers at all levels. This **meritocracy** was designed to bring the best talent to the service of the central government, regardless of social origin. Despite many individual interventions to ensure preference for sons and grandsons, an exclusively hereditary nobility was not allowed to develop. The mandarins (scholar-officials) of China were to give generally good service to their countrymen for most of the next 2,000 years.

The urban markets were impressive; in both the variety of goods and the number of merchants, they seemed to have surpassed those of other contemporary civilizations, including Rome's.

Iron came into common use after about 500 BCE, greatly aiding the introduction of new and cheaper weapons, which led to the expansion of the armies under imperial command. As such a widely used metal, iron, along with salt and alcohol, became a government monopoly. Furthermore, the increased availability of iron led to the growing use of the plow, which allowed newly conquered lands in the north and northwest to be cultivated. An improved horse harness was developed, enabling Chinese farmers to make much better use of the animal's strength. (This particular idea would not reach the West for another six centuries.) Animal fertilizer and crushed bones (phosphate) were applied to the land systematically. Through such methods, Chinese agriculture became the most productive in the premodern world.

Han government was more complex than anything seen earlier in China. The government functioned through the active recruitment of the educated elite into the bureaucracy. Its members were chosen by a written examination on the principles of correct action in given situations. The examinees were expected to be thoroughly familiar with the Confucian texts and commentaries on them, and by this time Confucius had become the mainstay of the Chinese educational system. To be eligible to take the final examination in the capital, candidates had to pass several

Traders and Buddhist monks made peaceful contacts with western Asia and India; like the devout trader Fa Xian (see Chapter 12), the Buddhists wished to learn more about the religion in the land of their religion's birth. In the first century CE, a Chinese trade mission was sent to make direct contact with the Romans in the Red Sea area. It reported back to the Han rulers that the westerners' goods held little interest for China. The Chinese attitude that China had what the West wanted but the West had little to offer the Middle Kingdom became steadily more rooted in the upper classes' mind as time wore on. Indeed, this belief was generally accurate—at least up to about 1500 CE—but when it was no longer true, it proved difficult or impossible to change. It then turned into the sort of unimaginative defensiveness and worship of the past that would also handicap the Muslim world in the face of the aggressive European challenge.

The ambitious visions entertained by the Han rulers in time generated familiar problems. The enormous building projects started by the emperors or continued from the Qin period, such as the building of the Great Wall and the grand mausoleums for the emperors, imposed heavy burdens on the common people. The bane of all Chinese governments, an exploited and rebellious peasantry, began to make itself heard in the first century CE. A reforming emperor, who in some ways resembled Rome's Augustus Caesar in his vision of the state, was killed before he could meet his goals. The result was an interval of chaos before order could be restored and the Later Han Dynasty was established in 25 CE.

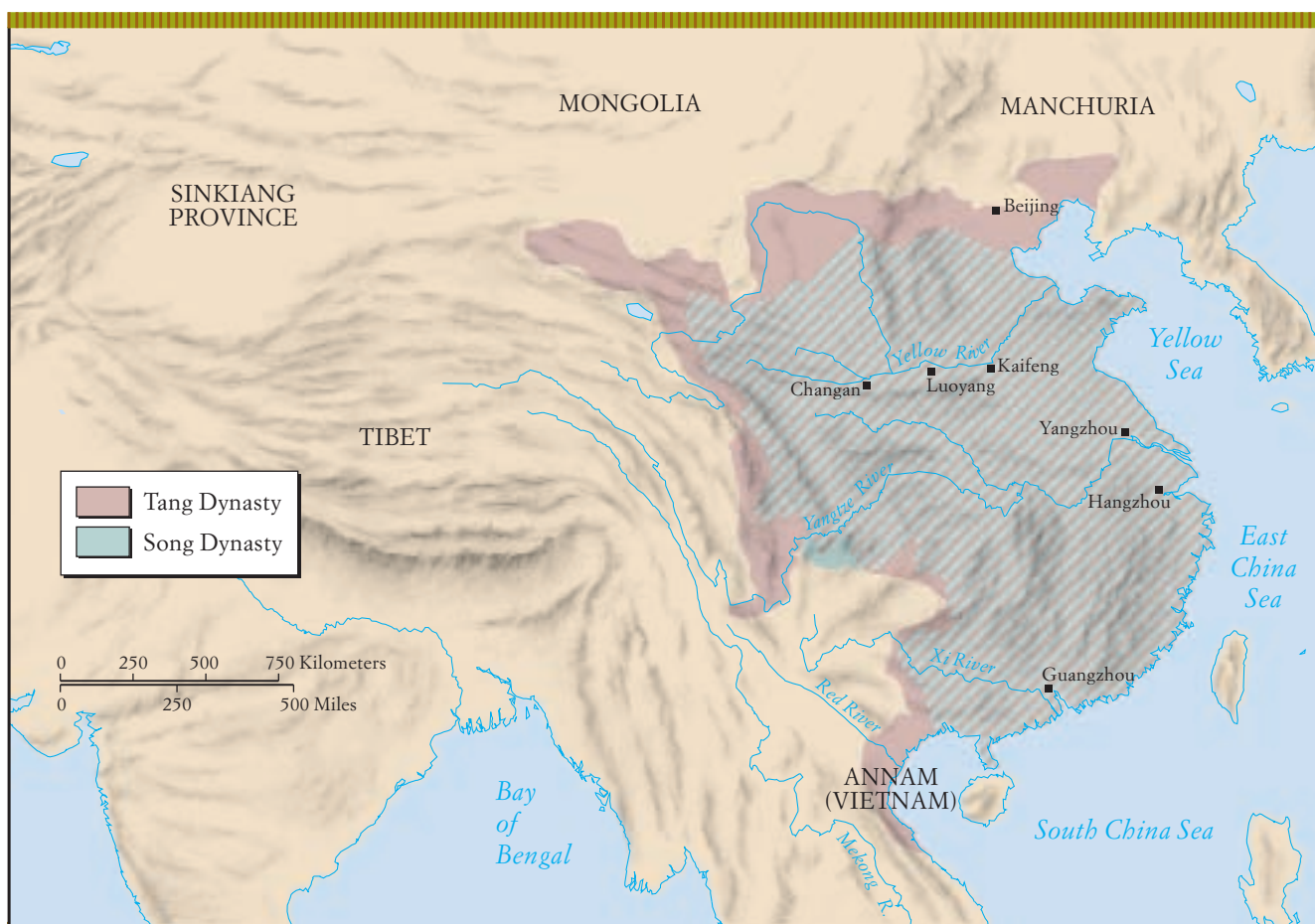
The End of the Dynasty

China during the Later Han saw a continuation of its stable economy and population growth. It was also an era of transition that saw the social and political elite gradually changing character from one that had relied on military strength over the previous two millennia to one that based its power on land ownership and its status of cultural sophistication.

In time, following the inexorable cycle of Chinese dynasties, the Later Han broke down into anarchy, with warlords and peasant rebels ignoring the weakened or corrupt bureaucracy. For a time, the Era of the Warring States was replicated. This time, though, only three contestants participated, and the anarchy lasted only

135 years instead of 250. Out of the conflict came two major political divisions: the North, which was dominated by the kingdom of Wei, and the South, where various princely dynasties took turns fighting one another for supreme power. The dividing line was the Yangtze River, which flows across almost the entire width of China (see Map 13.2).

During this partial breakdown, an immensely significant agrarian advance came about: The cultivation of rice in paddies (wet rice farming) gradually became entrenched in the South. This development was to be highly important for all later Chinese history, because the grain allowed the Chinese population to expand greatly without putting intolerable strains on the economy. Ethnic minorities were forced off the land and sought refuge



MAP 13.2 Tang Dynasty China

The Tang Dynasty reached almost to the modern boundaries of China. Shown here is the maximal extent of the Tang domains, reached in the ninth century CE.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What features of East Asia's geography might have contributed to the expansion of imperial China?



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

in the hills and mountains of the South. A Vietnamese import into South China, rice requires a great deal of hand labor but produces more caloric energy per acre than any other grain crop. Rice enabled the population to grow and provided the work to keep the new hands busy. The South now began to rival the North in civilized development.

THE TANG DYNASTY, 618–907 CE

The brief **Sui** (sway) **Dynasty** (580–618) was followed by the line of the **Tang Dynasty** of emperors (618–907), who presided over one of the most brilliant epochs of China's long history. Like the Qin earlier, the two Sui rulers had reunified China and gone on to introduce unpopular but needed authoritarian reforms. The most notable was the *well-field* reform—intended to give peasants more rights to land and to break the power of the landed elites. Failed military expeditions against the northern nomads brought the Sui down in the course of a widespread rebellion. But their Tang successors continued their reforms while avoiding their military misadventures, thus paving the way for an economic advance that supported a rich cultural epoch.

The early Tang rulers' primary concern was to improve the state of the peasant tenants, who had recently fallen into much misery because of the rapacity of their landlords. The landlords had taken full advantage of the collapse of the Han government by shifting the burden of taxation to their tenants while at the same time increasing the rents charged them. The early Tang rulers also adopted the *well-field* system from the Sui. Under the Tang, fertile farmland reverted to the state (that is, the imperial government) upon the death or old age of its peasant cultivator. It was then reassigned to another adult peasant in return for reasonable taxes and labor services. In this fashion, peasant needs and resources could be closely matched. For about a century, there was a real improvement in the economic lives of the people.

The Tang recreated a generally efficient bureaucracy, which was firmly based, like the Han's, on Confucian ethics and the merit system. Although the wealthy and the families of officials often found ways of bypassing the exams or bribing their way into government service, the Tang open-examination system had so much to recommend it that it was still being employed in principle in modern times. Only the coming of democratic institutions in the early twentieth century ended its reign.

An imperial university originally created under the Han was now expanded to allow about 30,000 students to train annually for the demanding examinations. Only the very best candidates made it through this rigorous course to sit for the examinations that allocated posts at

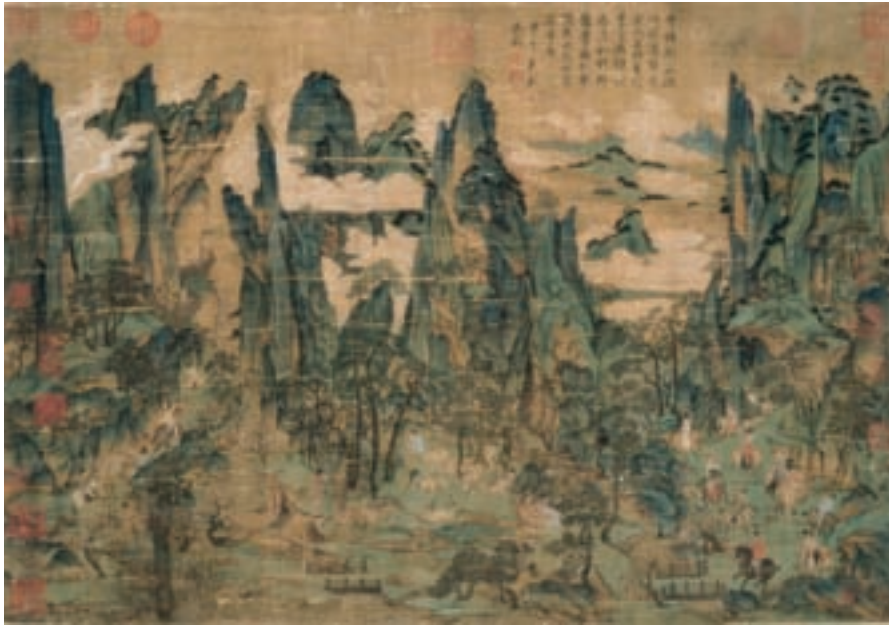
the central-government level. Villagers would pool their resources to send a talented boy to a tutor and support him through the long years of preparation. They knew that if he were successful, he would bring back to the village far more than the cost to train him.

For about 150 years, the Tang dynasts were generally successful. From their capital Changan, they were active and aggressive in several directions. To the north and northwest, they managed either to purchase peace by paying tribute to their Turkish and Mongolian neighbors or to play one tribe off against another. Conquests were extended farther to the west along the Silk Road. The economic and demographic growth of the Han era resumed as the Silk Road and the opening of overseas trade with Southeast Asia brought ever more goods from foreign lands. The completion of the Grand Canal not only contributed to centralization as the south was linked with the capital at Changan but also permitted growing numbers of small entrepreneurs to benefit from the rapidly growing commercial economy. A by-product of this was the rapid conversion of many to Buddhism (see Chapter 12 and below).

To the east, the initial era of Chinese–Japanese cultural contacts opened, and the Japanese proved to be enthusiastic admirers of Chinese culture at this time (see Chapter 19). Contact with the Korean kingdoms was pricklier, but this less-numerous people still fell under the powerful magnetism of the splendid civilization to their south. The same was true of the Tibetans in the far west, who were just being touched by Chinese expeditions for the first time. The Vietnamese in the far south, on the other hand, steadfastly resisted Chinese attempts to colonize them.

Emperor Xuanzong (shwan-tsung; reigned 712–765) presided over the Tang dynasty's greatest period of prosperity and cultural achievement. His reign coincided with the rapid expansion of the Islamic caliphate over western and central Asia; therefore, international trade brought unprecedented prosperity by way of both the Silk Road and the Indian Ocean. Changan itself became one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world, crowded with merchants and travelers from the lands of western Asia, the Indian Ocean world, and Southeast Asia. Emperor Xuanzong's reign also coincided with one of the greatest eras in Chinese literary history, having produced three of China's greatest poets: Li Po, Du Fu, and Wang Wei (see Arts and Culture box).

In the mid-700s, the dynasty's successes ceased. An emperor fell under the sway of a beautiful and ambitious concubine and wholly neglected his duties; government was in effect turned over to her family. Unable to bear the humiliating situation longer, a general with a huge army rebelled, and the entire country was caught up in a devastating war from which the dynasty never recovered, although it did put down the rebels. Troubles on the



FLIGHT OF THE EMPEROR. The Tang style that first appeared in the tenth century became the mainstream of Chinese graphic art. Central to this style was a reevaluation of the place of human activity in the universe, based on studies of patterns in nature. Finding “The Good” or “The Way” (Dao) centered more on finding harmony in nature than in day-to-day experiences. Human activity and structures were portrayed as being surrounded—and generally dwarfed—by natural phenomena, as can be seen in this painting of the flight of Emperor Ming Huan from rebels who threatened his court.

northern borders mounted once again. Despite the brief intervals of strong rule in the early 800s, the Tang could not successfully quell the internal discontent that finally overwhelmed the dynasty with bloody anarchy in the later ninth century.

For a half century, China was again divided. Then, one of the northern provincial warlords made his bid for imperial power. Proving to be more adept as a diplomat than as a warrior, he was able to induce most of his rivals to join him voluntarily. The Chinese educated class always favored the idea of a single government center. Unlike Indians, medieval Europeans, and Middle Eastern peoples of that era, educated Chinese regarded political fragmentation as an aberration, a throwback to the time before civilization. They saw it as something to be avoided at all costs, even if unity entailed submission to an illegitimate, usurping ruler. When needed, the doctrine of the Mandate of Heaven always provided a rationale for accepting new monarchs. Thus, they welcomed the coming of the Song Dynasty (Chapter 18).

BUDDHISM AND CHINESE CULTURE

The greatest single foreign cultural influence on China during the first millennium CE—and possibly ever—was the coming of Buddhism from its Indian birthplace. The Chinese proved responsive to the new faith, with all social and economic groups finding something in the doctrine that answered their needs. Buddhists believe in the essential equality of all. The enlightenment of the soul, which is the high point of a Buddhist life, is available to all who can find their way to it. Unlike Confucianism

and Daoism, which are essentially philosophies of proper thought and conduct in this life and possess only incidental religious ideas, Buddhism, by the time it came to China, was a supernatural religion promising an afterlife of eternal bliss for the righteous. To the ordinary man and woman, this idea had far more appeal than any earthly philosophy. Another aspect of Buddhism’s appeal was that the Mahayana version (see Chapter 4) adopted in China was very accommodating to existing beliefs; there was no conflict, for example, between traditional reverence toward the ancestors and the precepts of Buddhism in China.

The translation of Sanskrit texts into Chinese stimulated the literary qualities of the language, because the translators had to fashion ways of expressing difficult and complex ideas. Even more than prose, however, poetry benefited from the new religion and its ideals of serenity, self-mastery, and a peculiarly Chinese addition to classic Indian Buddhism: the appreciation of and joy in nature. Painting, sculpture, and architecture of the period all show Buddhist influences, mostly traceable to India but some original to China in their conceptions. From about the fourth century onward, China’s high-culture arts were strongly molded by Buddhist belief. They not only portrayed themes from the life of the Buddha but also showed in many ways the religion’s interpretation of what proper human life should be.

So widespread was Buddhism’s appeal that inevitably a reaction set in against it. In part, this reaction was a political power phenomenon. In the 800s, the Tang Dynasty exploited nativist sentiment against the “foreign” religion to curb the worrisome autonomy of the wealthy and tax-resistant Buddhist monasteries. Most of their property was expropriated. But the reaction was also philosophical

ARTS AND CULTURE



POETS OF CHINA'S GOLDEN AGE

Historians consider the long period covering the Tang and the Song dynasties, above all others, to have been China's golden age. It was an era, above all, that witnessed a flowering of thought and art in the ancient Daoist and Confucian traditions, while (Mahayana) Buddhism entered the Chinese cultural mainstream. Perhaps more than any other art form, poetry reflected these three traditions.

Some consider two poets of this era—Li Po (or Li Bo, 701–765) and Du Fu (712–770)—to represent the yin and the yang, the passive and the active, the female and the male, or the Daoist and the Confucian aspects of traditional Chinese thought. Of these, Li Po clearly represented the former. He grew up in western China and became a devotee of Daoism. He spent long periods wandering, but in his middle years he served as a court poet under the Tang emperor Xuanzong. Above all, his poetry reflects the traditional Daoist laissez-faire approach to life: He enjoyed and wrote about the pleasures of drinking, friendship, nature, solitude, and the passage of time.

A Mountain Revelry

To wash and rinse our souls of their age-old sorrows,
We drained a hundred jugs of wine.
A splendid night it was. . . .
In the clear moonlight we were loath to go to bed.
But at last drunkenness overcame us;
And we laid ourselves down on the empty mountain,
The earth for pillow, and the great heaven for coverlet.

Chuang Tzu and the Butterfly
Chuang Tzu in dream became a butterfly,
And the butterfly became Chuang Tzu at waking.
Which was the real—the butterfly or the man?
Who can tell the end of the endless changes of things?
The water that flows into the depth of the distant sea
Returns in time to the shallows of a transparent stream.
The man, raising melons outside the green gate of the city,
Was once the Prince of the East Hill.
So must rank and riches vanish.
You know it, still you toil and toil—what for?

Translations from Shigeyoshi Obata. *The Works of Li Po, the Chinese Poet* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1922).

Du Fu's work was very diverse, but more so than anything else, his poems are highly autobiographical and much more concerned with real events in his life and those of others. He was raised as a Confucian, but he failed to pass the examinations on which government offices were awarded. Du Fu was an outspoken critic of the bloodshed and suffering that war visited on the common people.

Facing Snow

After the battle, many new ghosts cry,
The solitary old man murmurs in his grief.
Ragged low cloud thins the light of dusk,
Thick snow dances back and forth in the wind.

The wine ladle's cast aside, the cup
not green,
The stove still looks as if a fiery red.
To many places, communications are broken,
I sit, but cannot read my books for grief.

B. Watson, *The Selected Poems of Du Fu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

Winding River (1)

Each piece of flying blossom leaves spring the less,
I grieve as myriad points float in the wind.
I watch the last ones move before my eyes,
And cannot have enough wine pass my lips.
Kingfishers nest by the little hall on the river,
Unicorns lie at the high tomb's enclosure.
Having studied the world, one must seek joy,
For what use is the trap of passing honour?

Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York/London: W. W. Norton, 1996).

Wang Wei combined many talents. Besides being one of China's greatest poets, he had considerable talent as a painter and a musician. His poems resemble those of Daoists inasmuch as they pay strong attention to nature and natural beauty, but they add a Buddhist's awareness of sensory illusion.

The Way to the Temple

Searching for Gathered Fragrance Temple:
miles of mountains rise into clouds,
ancient trees darken the narrow trail.
Where is that mountain temple bell?
Snowmelt crashes down on boulders,
the sun grows cold in the pines before
it drowns in the lake. Keep your karma
in good working order: many dragons lie in wait.

Trans. Sam Hamill, *Crossing the Yellow River: Three Hundred Poems from the Chinese* (New York: BOA Editions, Ltd., 2000).

Villa on Zhongnan Mountain
In my middle years I came to much love the Way [Dao]
and late made my home by South Mountain's edge.
When the mood comes upon me, I go off alone,
and have glorious moments all to myself.
I walk to the point where a stream ends,
and sitting, watch when the clouds rise.
By chance I meet old men in the woods;
we laugh and chat, no fixed time to turn home.

Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature : Beginnings to 1911* (New York/London: W. W. Norton, 1996).

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Try to pick out the Daoist, the Confucian, and the Buddhist themes in each of these poems.

and intellectual in the form of Neo-Confucianism and a general revival of the Confucian credo.

The Neo-Confucians were philosophers who sought to change the world through emphasis on aspects of the Master's thought most fully developed by his later disciple, Mencius (370–290 BCE). In Neo-Confucianism, love and the responsibility of all to all were the great virtues. Unlike the Daoists and Buddhists, the Neo-Confucians insisted that all must partake of social life. Withdrawal and prolonged solitary meditation were impermissible. They also thought that formal education in morals and the arts and sciences was an absolute necessity for a decent life—it could not be left to the “enlightenment” of the individual seeker to discover what his fellow's welfare required. The

Confucians' efforts to hold their own against their Buddhist competitors were a major reason that the Song period was so fertile in all philosophical and artistic fields.

Tang- and Song-era formal culture was supremely literary in nature. The accomplished official was also expected to be a good poet, a calligrapher, and a philosopher able to expound his views by quoting the “scriptures” of Confucian and other systems of thought. Skill in painting and music were also considered part of the normal equipment of an educated and powerful man. This was the ideal of the mandarin, the man who held public responsibilities and proved himself worthy of them by virtue of his rich and deep culture. This ideal was often a reality in Tang and later dynastic history.

SUMMARY

THE CHINESE IMPERIAL STYLE WAS molded once and for all by the ruthless Legalist known as the First Emperor in the third century BCE. The Qin Dynasty he founded quickly disappeared, but for four centuries his Han successors built on the foundations he left them to rule a greatly expanded China. Softening the brutal Qin policies to an acceptable level, the Han dynasts made Confucianism into a quasi-official philosophy. After the Han's dissolution and a period of anarchy, the 500 years of the Tang and Song dynasties comprised the golden age of Chinese culture.

Despite intermittent internal dissension, the imperial government promulgated and was supported by a vision of proper conduct that was Confucian in essence and widely subscribed to by the educated classes.

Internally, the Tang saw a tremendous development of the economy and its capacity to maintain a rapidly growing and urbanizing population. Thanks in large part to advances in agriculture and the expansion of international trade, few if any other civilizations could rival China's ability to supply all classes with the necessities of life. A series of technological inventions had immediate practical applications. It was also a period of extraordinary excellence in the fine arts and literature, which were supported by a large group of refined patrons and consumers in the persons of the landowning gentry and the mandarin officials. Buddhist influences were pervasive in both the popular and gentry cultures, rivaling but not overshadowing traditional Confucian thought.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

burning of the books
Era of the Warring States
First Emperor
Han Dynasty
Han synthesis

meritocracy
Qin Dynasty
Sui Dynasty
Tang Dynasty

For Further Reflection

1. Why do you think the Qin dynasty failed so soon after its founding?
2. Why do you think Shih Huang-di is considered to have been China's first emperor? Why not the rulers of the Shang or the Zhou eras?
3. What significant changes in China over the centuries covered in this chapter seem to have been occurring in other parts of the world during more or less this same period?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- The Qin First Emperor attained power by
 - orchestrating a palace coup.
 - playing on the superstitions of his people.
 - assassinating the previous emperor.
 - achieving triumph in battle.
 - forging a political alliance with his strongest rival.
- Which of the following was not a Chinese invention?
 - The magnetic compass
 - The waterwheel
 - Paper from wood
 - Decimals
 - Gunpowder
- Which of the following was not formally a requirement for joining the Chinese bureaucracy?
 - Single-minded dedication
 - Extensive formalized education
 - Connections with the higher social classes
 - Passing of written examinations
 - A high degree of intellectual ability
- The Tang Dynasty was extremely influential in Chinese history as the
 - developer of the mandarin system of scholar-officials.
 - creator of the village democracy.
 - reformer of the military.
 - originator of the canal system.
 - creator of an imperial university system.
- Neo-Confucianism emerged late in the Tang period as a reaction against the
 - wealth and power of Buddhist monasteries.
 - introduction of Shinto beliefs from Japan.
 - popularity of Buddhism among the Chinese masses.
 - spread of Daoist beliefs at the expense of Confucian teachings.
 - teachings of Confucian heretics.
- The period of Han rule in China corresponded roughly with the
 - conquests of Alexander the Great.
 - rise of the Roman Empire in Europe.
 - Mauryan Dynasty in India.
 - rule of Kanishka the Great in India.
 - Classical Age in Greece.
- Chinese Buddhism was different from the original conceptions of Siddhartha Gautama in
 - the rigidity and uniformity of its doctrine.
 - its insistence on the lifestyle of a hermit.
 - its supernatural religious element.
 - its appeal to only the upper classes.
 - its emphasis on the study of religious works.
- Buddhism found many sympathizers in China because it
 - offered immortality to all social classes.
 - was an import from Korea.
 - came from a civilization that the Chinese regarded as superior to their own.
 - demanding the rigorous intellectual effort that the Chinese so admired.
 - echoed their long-held reverence for nature.
- The burning of the books by the First Emperor was followed by the
 - Song Dynasty.
 - Sui Dynasty.
 - Mongol Empire.
 - Tang Dynasty.
 - Han Dynasty.
- The Grand Canal linked the Yellow River plains to
 - the South China Sea.
 - the Korean Peninsula.
 - the Yangtze Valley.
 - the Great Wall.
 - northern India.



Go to the History CourseMate website for primary source links, study tools, and review materials www.cengagebrain.com

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

1. Based on what you have learned in Part II, see if you can provide a detailed definition of what a *community of discourse* is.
2. How does the concept of a *community of discourse* differ from the concepts usually implied by the term culture that one more frequently encounters in scholarly discussions? In what situations might the concept of a community of discourse be useful?
3. Provide a list of the features of the Mediterranean community of discourse, as well as the changes that occurred in that community with the spread of Christianity.
4. Provide a list of the features of the Chinese community of discourse.
5. Was there an Indian or South Asian community of discourse, or were there several?
6. What were the features of the Buddhist community? How did it affect nonreligious aspects of life in southern, central, and eastern Asia in the classical period?

CROSS-CULTURAL CONNECTIONS

Migrations

Southern Europeans: Greeks colonize northern Mediterranean perimeter and islands and Black Sea region; under Alexander, they conquer and occupy parts of western Asia. In Hellenistic period, large numbers of Greeks emigrate to East as favored citizens.

Western Asia: Phoenicians colonize southern periphery of Mediterranean. Later, Arab Islamic conquests occupy most of eastern and southern Mediterranean perimeter.

Central Asians: Huns and Central Asian Turkish tribes migrate westward, driving Germanic and Slavic tribes before their advance.

Northern Europeans: Germanic peoples migrate from northern Europe eastwards, then driven westwards by Central Asians; eventually overrun western Europe and North Africa.

Trade and Exchange Networks

Northeast Africa-Red Sea Network: Greco-Roman trade with Egypt, Kush, Axum, southern Arabia, and India.

Greco-Roman Mediterranean Network: Thriving network between Europe, Near East, and North Africa; later, largely in hands of Muslim and Italian merchants.

European Network: Overland and river trade routes extended into Europe from Mediterranean during centuries of Roman Empire.

Spread of Ideas and Technologies

Western Asia: Mesopotamian and Egyptian skills in mathematics and the physical sciences passed to Greeks. Some deities borrowed from Egypt.

North and Northeast Africa: Spread of Greek and Roman humanism during early centuries; later, Christianity and Islam.

Europeans: Roman urbanization and spread of Greek and Roman political ideals. Conversion of Germans and Scandinavians to Roman Catholic Christianity.

WORLDVIEW Two



LAW AND GOVERNMENT

- > After eclipse of original Mycenaean civilization and ensuing Dark Age, evolution of written law and developed monarchy begins with reforms of Draco and Solon in the sixth century BCE.
- > There is a noticeable shift toward the latter in law giving.
- > Strong differences continue between slaves and freemen and between aliens and citizens. Mass political activity within framework of polis stimulated by democratic reforms of the fifth century in Athens.
- > Sparta emerges as opposite pole to Athens.
- > Ensuing Peloponnesian War leads to Macedonian takeover. Polis ideals die out under Hellenistic monarchies, then under conquering Romans.



SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

- > Small farms, home crafts, and maritime trade backbone of the Classical Age economy.
- > Overpopulation becomes major problem by the 600s but solved by emigration and establishment of colonies around Mediterranean.
- > Trade becomes critical to maintenance of home-country prosperity; city-states become market centers. Coinage introduced.
- > In Hellenistic period (after 300 BCE), large numbers of Greeks emigrate to East as favored citizens.
- > Massive urban development in Hellenistic monarchies creates stratified society.
- > Use of Greek coinage greatly facilitates commercial development.
- > Slavery becomes commonplace, as does large-scale manufacturing and estate agriculture.
- > Under Roman rule, Greek homeland diminishes in economic importance, becomes impoverished.

GREEKS

- > Evolution of Roman law and government particularly marked over this millennium.
- > Roman republic produces written codes by the fifth century BCE and eventual balance of patrician-plebian powers.
- > Punic Wars and resultant imperial outreach corrupt this balance and bring about social problems that cannot be solved peacefully.
- > Augustus's administrative reforms answer most pressing needs for civic peace and stability for next two centuries, while law continues evolution on basis of equity and precedent.
- > Central government's authority sharply weakened in West by transfer to Constantinople, then destroyed by Germanic invaders after 370s CE. Eastern provinces remain secure.

- Small peasants the bulk of original Roman citizenry but, after Punic Wars, are overshadowed by hordes of slaves and immigrants from Africa and eastern Mediterranean.
- > Italy becomes dependent on food imports. Plantations and estates replace farms, while urban proletariat multiplies.
- > Importation of luxury goods from Asia via the Silk Road during the period of the Empire. After 200 CE, western provinces lose ground to richer, more populous East, a process hastened by the Germanic invasions.
- > Reforms of Diocletian and Constantine (295–335 CE) do not stop declining productivity of western provinces and resultant vulnerability to invaders.

ROMANS

- > Roman institutions transformed by Germanic admixtures; government evolves slowly from imperial model through feudal decentralization to monarchies of the late Medieval Age.

- > Economic activity increasingly mixed between agrarian and nonagrarian fields, but peasant farmers and pastors still make up majority.

EUROPEANS

Classical Civilizations of the World, 500 BCE–800 CE



PATTERNS OF BELIEF

- > Greeks of the Classical Age founders of philosophy as rational exercise.
- > Religion conceived of as civic duty more than as a path to immortality.
- > Gods seen as humans writ large, with faults and virtues the same. Theology and ethics sharply separated; educated class turns to philosophy as guide to ethical action: "Man the measure."
- > After second century BCE, the religion–philosophy divergence stronger as masses turn to mystery religions from East.



ARTS AND CULTURE

- > Classical Age brings brilliant flowering of literary and plastic arts, giving models for later Western civilization. Mastery of sculpture, architecture, poetry, drama, and history achieved.
- > In Hellenistic period, Roman overlords adopt Greek models for their own literature and sculpture, spreading them throughout Europe.
- > Greeks patriarchal in public and private culture.
- > Large cities dominate culture of Hellenistic kingdoms and contribute to continuing differentiation between rich and poor.



SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

- > In Classical Age, physical science subordinated to philosophy in broad sense.
- > In Hellenistic period, physical sciences selectively advanced, especially mathematics, physics, and medicine.
- > Little or no interest in technology apparent.
- > Scientific knowledge pursued for its own sake rather than for applications.

- > Romans adopt notions of supernatural and immortality from Etruscans and Greeks, modifying them to fit their own civic religion.
- > Roman adaptations of Greek Stoicism and Epicureanism become most common beliefs of educated.
- > Government of Constantine adopts Christianity in fourth century to sustain faltering empire, and it becomes equal or senior partner of civil regime in the West.
- > Roman papacy assumes governmental powers for Italy when empire's attempt to recover under Justinian fails.

- > Art of high technical quality but lacks creative imagination.
- > Artists generally content to follow models from abroad in plastic and literary forms. Exceptions are some minor literary genres, mosaic work, and architecture.
- > Public life not so patriarchal as that of Greece but is more affected by class divisions.
- > Romans give respect to tradition while demonstrating considerable flexibility in governance and social organization.
- > Urban life increasingly the dominant matrix of Roman culture as empire matures, but gives way in western half as invasions begin.

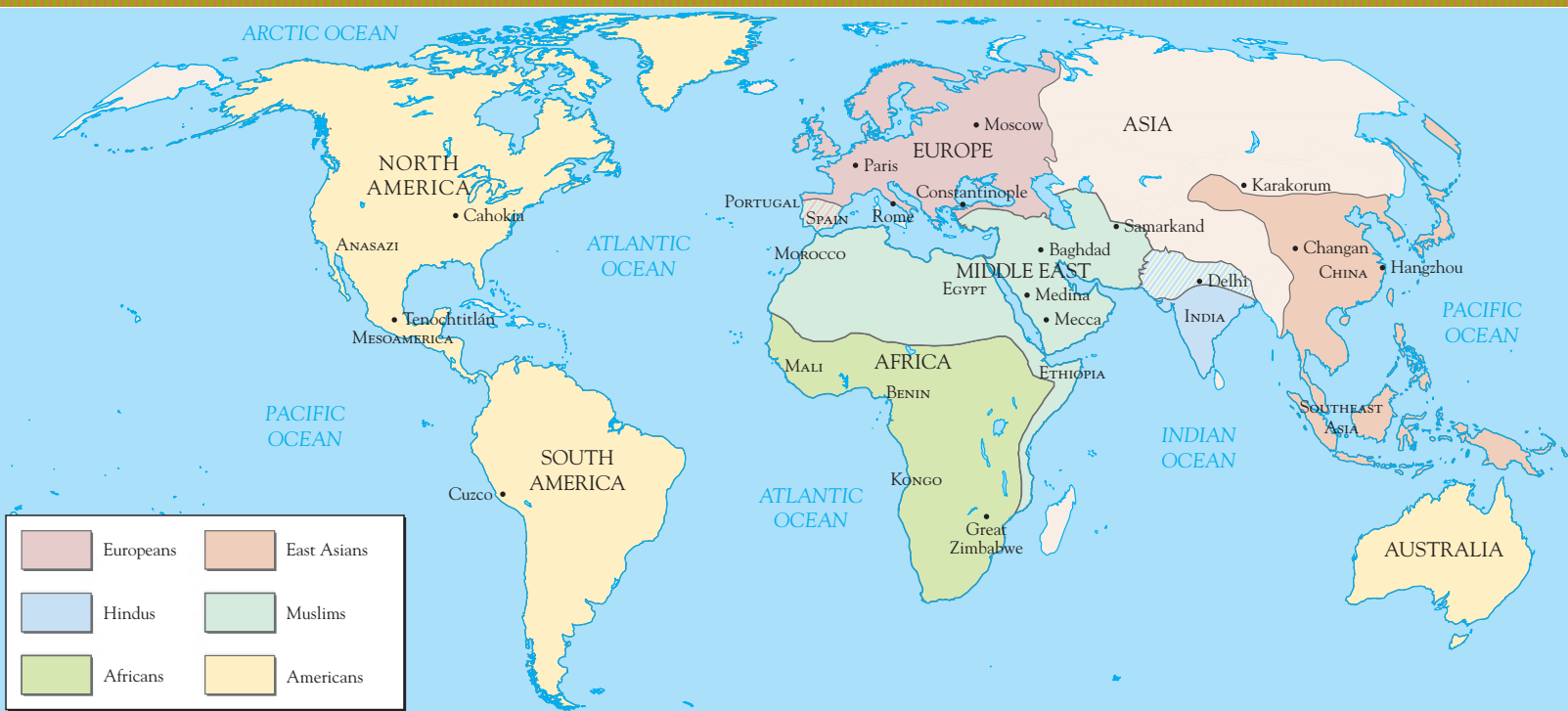
- > Roman science depends on Hellenistic predecessors, who entered Italy from the east.
- > As with Greeks, abundance of slaves and other cheap labor argues against search for labor-saving techniques.
- > Only interest shown in technology is in construction and engineering fields.
- > Novel use of brick and cement, construction of bridges, forts, aqueducts, hydrology systems, and road building extensive and sophisticated throughout Italy and provinces.

- > Roman Christianity gradually superimposed on western and central Europe through missionary activity in the 500s to 800s.
- > Western Europe becomes single religious community, though remaining divided into political realms.

- > Greco-Roman models lost to northern and central Europe after the Roman collapse.

- > Natural sciences stagnate or worsen until late medieval period.

Part III



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THE POST-CLASSICAL ERA, 800–1400 CE

WE HAVE SEEN HOW major centers of civilization consolidated territorial gains from the earlier Agricultural Revolution during the Classical Era and unified them politically into larger states. Before about 500 CE, nevertheless, contacts among these civilizations were limited and tenuous, and were usually made through intermediate, less developed societies. Rome, for example, had

only the most sparing contacts with Han China, and they were all indirect. Its contacts with Hindu India were more direct but still very limited. Very few Indians and Chinese had direct contact with each another despite their geographic proximity. Thanks to the mountain walls and the deserts that separated them, and except for traders and Buddhist monks, few dared to make that journey. After 500, however, entirely new civilizations emerged, quite detached from the original West Asian and Mediterranean locales.

In still-isolated America, throughout this period, a series of ever-more-populous, agriculturally based Indian societies arose throughout the hemisphere and along its western fringe. They were mysteriously (to us) dispersed or overcome by later comers, until the most advanced and organized of all fell prey to the Spanish conquistadors.

In sub-Saharan Africa, urban life and large territorial states were emerging by about 300 CE. At about the same epoch, the Mesoamerican Indians and the Muslims of Asia and northern Africa had achieved a high degree of city-based civilization, the former developing independently of all other models and the latter building on the ancient base in western Asia.

As one example, commercial relations between Mediterranean Christians and the Hindu/Buddhist regions became closer and more extensive. Both overland and by sea, the Muslims of the eastern fringe of the Mediterranean created the essential links between these distant centers and profited from the middleman role as they extended their influence over the Indian Ocean and Central Asian trade network. At the end of the period, a reinvigorated Islam extended its conquests in both southern Europe and Africa. Indeed, with the great advantages

enjoyed by the civilizations of Asia over the relatively backward West, an observer in the fifteenth century could hardly have guessed that Europe would be the one that would emerge as the dominant force in the world in the coming centuries.

In Asia, this millennium was an era of tremendous vitality and productivity—the South and East Asian Classical Age—which was only briefly interrupted by the Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century. But the Mongols were soon assimilated and, in the end, it was the Mongol Empire that revived the ties that the old Silk Routes had created and sustained between eastern and western Asia as well as with eastern Europe in earlier centuries. In western Europe, the entire thousand-year epoch from 500 to 1500 CE carries the title *Middle Age*. But this term has no relevance to the rest of the world, of course, and should be avoided when speaking of any culture other than the Christian Europeans. In Europe, the Middle Age began with the gradual collapse of the Roman West under the assaults of the Germanic tribes and ended with the triumph of the new secularism of the Renaissance. In large measure, the rebirth of western Europe during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance was triggered by the myriad new goods, new technologies, and new ideas that were channeled westward from Asia as a result of the Mongol unification.

Chapter 14 surveys the chief actors in the pageant of pre-Columbian America. Chapters 15 and 16 deal with the rise of Islam and its culture. Sub-Saharan Africa's immense variety is examined in Chapter 17, as parts of the continent emerge into historical light. Chapter 18 deals with the Mongol eruption and its impact on the major civilizations of Asia and eastern Europe. In the end, their

conquests enabled the unification of lands and peoples on an unprecedented scale and brought both peace and prosperity to a large part of the Old World. Then comes Japan (Chapter 19), as it evolved from an adjunct of China and Korea into cultural and political sovereignty, along with the islands and mainland of southeastern Asia and their early histories.

Returning to Europe, Chapter 20 describes the trials it faced following the collapse of Roman authority. However, these setbacks were only temporary. A new European civilization began appearing as early as the

seventh century CE that rejoined strands of Roman, Germanic, and Christian influences in new ways. By about 1000 CE, this new European civilization was in full bloom. With a return to the conditions that had produced the revival of the Middle Ages and benefiting from the flow of ideas and trade from the East that reached Europe from the Mongol unification, we see in Chapter 21 how Europe began its modern era with the period of its “rebirth” during the Renaissance that followed a century of serial disasters brought about by famine, war, and plague.

14

The Americas To The Fifteenth Century

MESOAMERICAN CIVILIZATIONS

The Maya
Teotihuacan
The Aztec Federation

THE INCA EMPIRE

NORTH AMERICANS

Civilizations of the American Southwest
The Middle and Late Woodlands Civilizations

And the man took an ear of corn and roasted it, and found it good.

—Frank Russell, *Myths of the Jicarilla Apaches*, 1898

THE AMERICAS PRODUCED TWO of the world's six independent cradles of agriculture: Mexico and Peru. As in Eurasia and Africa, agricultural villages in the Americas had grown into small cities in ancient times (Chapter 7), becoming larger urban societies during the classical period under consideration here. We resume the story of Pre-Columbian civilizations by describing the states that arose during the classical period, after the fall of the Olmec (Mexico) and the Chavín (Peru). The Maya in Mesoamerica will exemplify the classical period, because their written chronicles provide much more information than is available about the nonliterate peoples of South America. What we know is that toward the end of Pre-Columbian history, the Aztec and the Inca subjugated the previous regional states in their homelands.

Meanwhile, the civilizations of North America's woodlands had already learned to cultivate locally available food crops as early as 1000 BCE (Chapter 7). Just before the beginning of the Common Era, the Mesoamerican “three sisters”—first maize and squash, then beans a few centuries later—had made their way north. The effects were the same, and soon more settled and complex civilizations appeared, as we shall see.

The Maya

Around 300 CE, the Olmecs declined in importance, supplanted by their Maya neighbors. The **Maya** (MAH-yah) became the most advanced of all the pre-Columbian Amerindians by building on ancient cultural traditions. For example, the Mayan written language and complex calendar were derived from Olmec prototypes. The Mayan understanding of mathematics included the concept of zero and was far more advanced than European mathematics in the twelfth century. Their calendar was the most accurate of its time. The recent decipherment of over half of the Mayan written language has enabled scholars to more accurately reconstruct the events portrayed in the rich pictorial images

c. 400 BCE–800 CE	Classical Mayan civilization; Teotihuacan
c. 1–500 CE	Middle Woodlands civilizations
c. 400–700 CE	Agricultural settlements in Southwest USA
c. 500–1000	Late Woodlands civilizations
c. 700–1300 CE	Puebloan period in Four Corners region of USA
c. 1100–1532	Inca Empire
c. 1300S–1521	Aztec Federation



MAP 14.1 Mesoamerican Civilizations

The Aztec Empire was at its height when the Spanish arrived. The Mayan cities of Palenque and Tikal were abandoned in the tenth century for unknown reasons—possibly failure of the food supply. Reprinted with permission of The Free Press, a Division of Simon & Schuster Adult Publishing Group, from *In The Hands of the*

Great Spirit: The 20,000 Year History of American Indians, by Jake Page. © 2003 by Jake Page. All rights reserved.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Which geographical areas of Mesoamerica saw the rise of pre-Columbian urban centers?

of Mayan stonework, although much remains obscure. All in all, more is known about the life of the Mayan people than about any of the other Mesoamericans.

The historical outline is by now fairly clear. From about 400 BCE, there emerged a hierarchy of Mayan cities ruled by hereditary kings. The earliest great Maya ceremonial centers arose in the rain forest that straddles present-day Mexico and Guatemala. Recent discoveries in Guatemala reveal that the first flourishing of Mayan cities occurred in the second century BCE, much earlier than previously thought. After the decline and fall of these cities, the same rain forest saw a rebirth of Maya grandeur—known as the classical era (400–800 CE). Some cities contained several tens of thousands of people (see Map 14.1), but most of the population were peasant villagers who lived in satellite settlements on the cities' periphery. The whole population of the Mayan Empire or federation may have

reached 14 million—far and away the largest state under one government outside Asia at that time.

Public buildings of truly amazing dimensions made up the heart of the cities. Temples, palaces, and ball courts—many of them employing the blunt-tipped pyramid form—were arranged around a massive arena or assembly ground. To these sacred precincts at designated times would stream tens of thousands, to experience the priest-led worship ceremonies or the installation of a new monarch.

The cities seem to have been more religious and administrative centers than commercial and manufacturing centers. None of them approached the size of the Mesopotamian towns of a much earlier epoch. The Maya further developed and expanded the previous trade networks, sending traveling merchants to trade salt and cacao beans for jade, obsidian, and tropical bird feathers, among other goods. The political and social power rested, as with



Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY

MAYAN CALENDAR STONE AND BALL PLAYER. Agrarian Native Americans believed in natural time. Their calendars were circular, and they carefully represented and recorded key astronomical phenomena—usually solar and lunar cycles—on which they based their time cycles. To keep the sky in motion and thus to assure the regularity of the seasons, many Mesoamerican civilizations played a ritual ballgame whose purpose was to keep the ball—the sun—in constant motion. The connection between time and the game is represented here.

the Olmec, in the hands of a hereditary elite. To judge from their costumes in surviving artwork, they were very wealthy. The commonfolk appear to have been divided into freemen, serfs, and slaves, as in much of the ancient world. Stone carvings show that Maya noblewomen held important positions in religion and politics and enjoyed certain rights. Women of the lower classes tended the family garden and domestic animals, did the weaving, and probably led the home religious rites.

Religious belief was paramount in ordering the rounds of daily life. The ruling class included priests, who had magical powers given to them by the gods. The pyramids were sacred mountains with cavelike inner chambers where priests mediated with the supernatural sphere. In the Mayan cosmology, there existed thirteen heavens and nine hells. The Mayan underworld seems to have been as fearsome as that of Mesopotamia. No hint of ethical religion exists, however. The gods, like those of Sumeria, played multiple roles in human affairs, and in their persons they combined beastly and human traits. Human

sacrifices apparently were common and provided the rulers with companions on their journey to the next world.

Once again, prosperity inevitably brought decline, as overpopulation and ecological collapse forced the people to abandon the great centers. A final revival occurred in the Yucatán between about 1000 and 1300 CE, this time with artistic influence from the Valley of Mexico. By the time the Spanish under Cortés arrived in the Valley of Mexico two hundred years later, the Mayan achievements had been forgotten.

Their memory has been revived by the nineteenth- and twentieth-century discoveries of great stone pyramids and temples in the remote Mexican rain forest and in the Yucatán peninsula. These sites have now become major tourist attractions, especially **Chichén Itzá** (chee-CHEN ee-TSAH), where a vast complex of Mayan buildings has been excavated. The Mayan ruins are an American version of Egypt's Tel Amarna or Karnak; indeed, some anthropologists postulate that a human link existed between ancient Egypt and Mexico. However, most scientists think that ancient peoples around the globe independently devised the concept of pyramidal structures as a tribute to the gods and to the priestly elites.

The most notable accomplishment of the Maya in science was their astoundingly accurate astronomy, based on an equally refined mathematics. The Mayan calendar had two distinct numeration systems, allowing them to construct a chronology that could date events for a space of more than two thousand years. In literature, little survived the Spanish colonial censorship, but the Maya were the only pre-Columbian people who completed the transition to full literacy. The handful of codices (ancient documents) is supplemented by extensive sculpted glyphs decorating the exterior and interior of the monuments the Maya left behind. Unfortunately, these materials tell us little to nothing of the political or social life of the era because they are mostly concerned with the events in the reign of one or another monarch.

Teotihuacan

During the same era when the classical Mayan surge was reaching its peak, another high culture was appearing in the Valley of Mexico, some hundreds of miles west of the Yucatán. The metropolis of **Teotihuacan** (TAY-oh-tee-WAH-kahn) arose in the rich farmlands in the northern part of the Valley around 200 BCE. Later arrivals in the Valley named the city *Teotihuacan*, which means “Place of the Gods.” It was an unfortified city, a theocracy devoted more to agriculture, crafts, and commerce than to war. Like the cities of the Olmecs and the Maya, Teotihuacan's great pyramids and temples were centers of religious rituals and offerings to the gods of nature who were so crucial to settled agriculture. Two of the pyramids at Teotihuacan, the so-called Pyramids of the Sun and the Moon, are among the largest masonry structures ever built. The Pyramid of



Sean Sprague/Mexicolore/Bridgeman Art Library

AVENUE OF THE DEAD AT TEOTIHUACAN. The ceremonial heart of the city, the Avenue of the Dead, was lined with dozens of temples and pyramids, like the gigantic Pyramid of the Sun shown at the upper left. Here, feather-clad priests carried out elaborate daily rituals and sacrifices to gods like Quetzalcoatl, who regulated such matters as fertility, rainfall, childbirth, and even the arts.

the Sun is actually larger in total volume than the Great Pyramid of Egypt.

Teotihuacan, perhaps the first true city of the Western Hemisphere, was unusual in that its inhabitants included more than just the priests and nobles. Although the houses of the elites filled its center, it was laid out in *barrios*, or quarters, for the ordinary people who farmed the fields surrounding the city. It grew to become the largest and most impressive of all the ancient pre-Columbian centers, with a population as high as 200,000—far greater than that of any contemporary European city. Teotihuacan was a hub of commerce; its trade networks reached from northern Mexico to Central America. Recent discoveries show that Teotihuacan was allied with classical Maya kings who proudly traced their lineage back to an invading ruler of Teotihuacan.

In the final years of its dominance, Teotihuacan seems to have become more militaristic, perhaps to enforce tribute demands to support its burgeoning population. Invading warriors destroyed Teotihuacan in about 650 CE, ushering in two centuries of chaos and conflict among rival groups in the Valley. Over the next two centuries, the cultural heritage of Teotihuacan would endure, and subsequent regimes would revive and expand its trade

networks. The identity of Teotihuacan's builders was lost, but they would be revered by later arrivals in the Valley as creator gods whose ruined city became a sacred site.

The Aztec Federation

After the fall of Teotihuacan, several waves of warlike nomads from the north migrated into the Central Valley. Modern Mexico derives its name from the last of these groups, the Mexica (meh-SHEE-kah), known later as the **Aztecs** (AZ-teks). Beginning in the 1300s, in the space of two hundred years, the Mexica-Aztec people converted themselves from despised nomads into the elite of a huge militaristic state embracing many millions of Amerindians. By 1500, after alliances and aggressive territorial expansions, the Aztec Confederation dominated the center of present-day Mexico from coast to coast and reached down into Mayan lands in present-day Guatemala (see Map 14.2). Their capital, the splendid city of **Tenochtitlán** (teh-NOHSH-teet-LAHN), was the largest in the New World in the 1400s, and one of the largest anywhere. These achievements were based on the foundation provided by earlier Amerindian civilizations, but the Aztecs contributed some new characteristics.



The lives of the ruling elites revolved around conquest and continual warfare; they carried militarism and human sacrifice to unprecedented extremes. War shaped the state religion and imposed a social structure that was unique in America. The chief war god was also god of the sun at noon, provider of warmth for the growing crops. The Aztecs believed that this god survived on human blood—preferably the warm hearts of brave captive warriors—which were ripped out on altars in the middle of their great city. At the height of Aztec dominance, priests vastly increased the number of victims for each major ceremony, and ritual cannibalism also increased.

The most widely accepted practical explanation for this scale of mass slaughter is that the Aztec elite tried to prevent rebellions by terrorizing the population into submission. The Aztecs were thus a sort of super-Assyrians, ruling their unfortunate neighbors by fear and random raids. These vengeful subjects readily allied themselves

with the Spanish conquerors to topple the hated Aztecs in the early 1500s.

How was the Aztecs' militaristic society organized? We know a good deal about the Aztec state, thanks to its pictographic records, or codices. The Spanish preserved some of these records so they could learn more about their new subjects and control them more efficiently. The emperor, who acquired semidivine status, was elected by the male members of the ruling family. At the top of the social hierarchy were the emperor's officials, ex-warriors of distinction who governed like feudal lords in the provinces conquered by the Aztec armies. The Aztecs also had a large and powerful group of priests, the highest of whom served as advisers to the emperor in his palace.

Next came a class of warriors, who were continuously recruited from the ordinary freemen. After taking at least four prisoners for sacrifice, a warrior could share in the booty of the Aztecs' constant warfare. Interestingly, any woman

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY



AZTEC FAMILY ROLE MODELS

In the mid-sixteenth century, some thirty years after the Spanish Conquest, a learned and industrious monk named Bernardino de Sahagun undertook a remarkable mission: to create an ethnographic portrait of the Aztecs as they lived before the European invasion. Sahagun held many interviews with Indians of all social classes and ages, to hear their own versions of their culture and beliefs. Included below are several thumbnail summaries of what was expected of men and women, of family members, of the upper and lower strata of Aztec society, and even of some professions.

The Father: the father is the founder of lineage. He is diligent, compassionate, sympathetic, a careful administrator of his household. He is the educator, the model-giver, the teacher. He saves up for himself and for his dependents. He cares for his goods, and for the goods of others. . . . He is thrifty and cares for the future. He regulates and establishes good order. . . .

The bad father is not compassionate, he is neglectful and not reliable. He is a poor worker and lazy. . . .

The Mother: the mother has children and cares for them. She nurses them at her breast. She is sincere, agile, and a willing worker, diligent in her duties and watchful over others. She teaches, and is mindful of her dependents. She caresses and serves others, she is mindful of their needs. She is careful and thrifty, ever vigilant of others, and always at work.

The bad mother is dull, stupid and lazy. She is a spend-thrift and a thief, a deceiver and a cheat. She loses things through her neglect. She is frequently angry, and not heedful of others. She encourages disobedience in her children. . . .

The Nobleman: the man who has noble lineage is exemplary in his life. He follows the good example of others. . . . He speaks eloquently, he is mild in speech, and virtuous . . . noble of heart and worthy of gratitude. He is discreet, gentle, well reared in manner. He is moderate, energetic, inquiring. . . . He provides nourishment for others, comfort. He sustains others. . . . He magnifies others and diminishes himself from modesty. He is a mourner for the dead, a doer of penances. . . .

The bad nobleman is ungrateful, a debaser and disparager of others' property, he is contemptuous and arrogant. He creates disorder. . . .

The Physician: the physician is knowledgeable of herbs and medicines from roots and plants; she is fully experienced in these things. She is a conductor of examinations, a woman of much experience, a counselor for the ill. The good physician is a restorer, a provider of health, one who makes the ill feel well. She cures people, she provides them with health again. She bleeds the sick . . . with an obsidian lancet she bleeds them and restores them.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Do these descriptions of good and bad persons differ in substantial ways from modern ones? From these examples, how do the expectations of men and of women differ in Aztec society?

Source: Bernardino de Sahagún, *The General History of the Things of New Spain* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research, 1950)

who died in the childbirth “battle” received the honors afforded all fallen warriors. A specialized class of merchants (seen previously among the Maya) traveled throughout the realm, growing rich through trade and serving as spies for the emperor and as vanguards for future conquests. Eventually, in recognition of their importance, the top merchants were elevated to the rank of the warriors. The great majority of the Aztecs fell into the next category: ordinary free people who did the usual work of any society. Organized in age-old kinship groups called *calpulli* (kahl-POO-lee), they tilled the fields, carried burdens, built the buildings and roads, and so on. They might also be called for military duty in a pinch and thus shared in the essential purpose of the state.

At the bottom were the serfs—whose rights and duties were similar to those of medieval European serfs—and the slaves, either captured from other Indians or victims of debt. If the priests did not destine them for human sacrifice, Aztec slaves were usually able to gain their freedom.

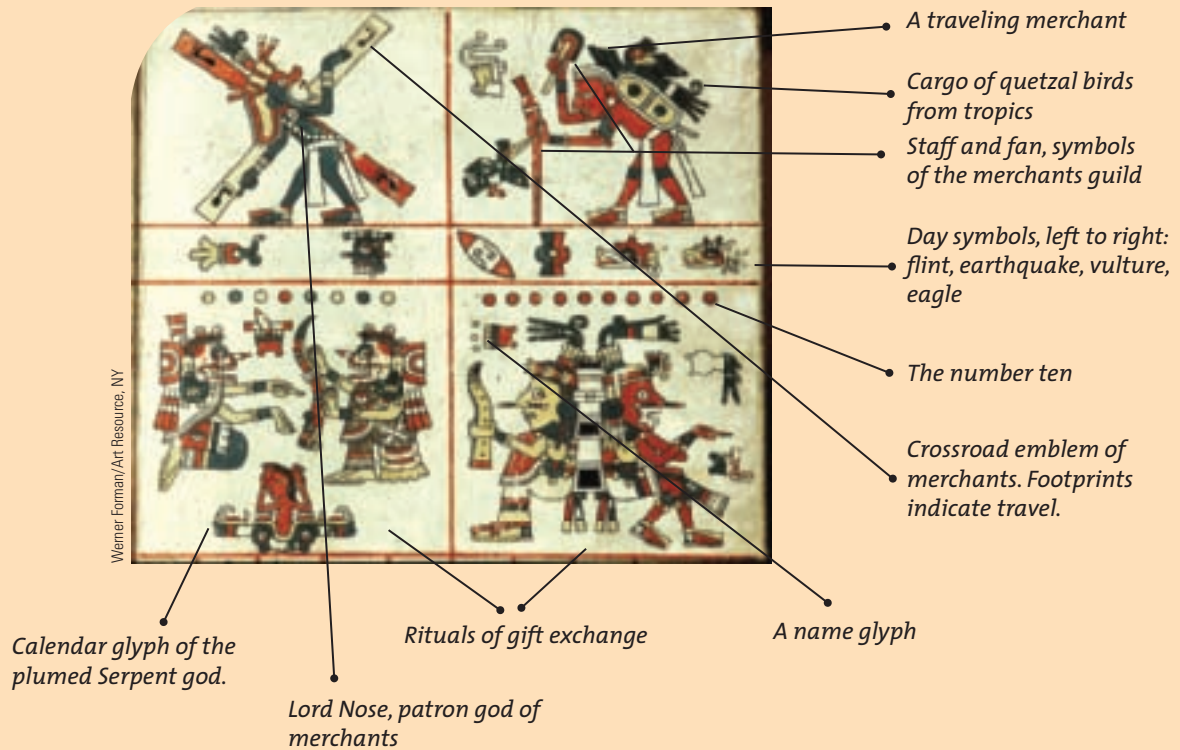
Upper-class Aztec women seem to have had some private rights and freedoms that many sixteenth-century European women might have envied. Common women could be market vendors and midwives, and perhaps could own property. However, the destruction of the Aztec written sources and the absence of others make it impossible to know for sure. Certainly, the Spanish witnesses in Mexico and Peru gave no indication of female governors or high officials.

IMAGES OF HISTORY

LORD NOSE, AZTEC MERCHANT GOD

Lord Nose, the patron god of merchants (upper left), and one of his devotees, a traveling merchant (upper right), appear with their symbolic items. This divinatory manuscript from the Aztec

era may chronicle specifically the lore and beliefs of the merchant class. Known as the Fejervary-Mayer Codex, the deerskin manuscript is in the Liverpool Public Museum in England.



THE INCA EMPIRE

Another major Amerindian civilization existed far to the south of Mexico, almost certainly remaining in ignorance of the Aztec realm and its accomplishments. In the Andes Mountains of modern Peru, an extraordinarily talented people—the Inca (INK-ah)—had recently constructed a militaristic empire, as the Aztecs had done in Mexico. The Inca Empire was the culmination of many centuries of developments in agriculture, commerce, religion, architecture, and government. After the fall of Chavín de Wántar (see Chapter 7), several wealthy regional states had emerged in the Andes. For example, in the north, the Moche state controlled many river valleys for eight centuries, until a series of natural disasters destroyed their irrigation systems and cities. Moche artisans were expert metallurgists, and they made unusually realistic pottery (see photo). They built elaborate ceremonial centers. Meanwhile, at the southern center of Andean civilization, another great state arose near Lake Titicaca, endured for

centuries, and also collapsed. Only the Inca achieved unification of the entire Andean area, from north to south and from the Pacific coast to the Amazon basin.

The Inca began as one of many competing groups in the southern Andes near Lake Titicaca. Like the Aztecs, the **Inca** rose from humble beginnings to conquer the entire Andean region. (The title “Inca” really refers to the ruler of this empire, but it is also commonly used to refer to the tribal group that ruled the surrounding peoples and to the empire they created.) Centered on the town of **Cuzco** (COOS-koh) in one of the high valleys that penetrate the massive wall of the Andes, the Inca started bringing their immediate neighbors under their rule in the 1200s. By the mid-1400s, they had created a state that rested on the obligatory labor of the conquered peoples, thought to have numbered as many as eight million. (If this number is accurate, the Inca, like the Aztecs, ruled over more people than any European state at the time.) The Inca practice of labor allotment, perhaps adopted from one of the conquered groups, provided room and board for the workers in exchange for their mandatory labor tribute.



MOCHÉ PORTRAIT HEAD VESSEL (400–600 CE). The Moche noble portrayed here wears the distinctive cap and ear ornaments of his rank. With exquisite realism, Moche artisans in clay chronicled individuals, animals, foodstuffs, and human activities.

The critical breakthrough to empire, rather than merely regional dominance, came with the rule of Pachacuti Inca in the 1450s. He adopted the practice of split inheritance, meaning that each deceased Supreme Inca (in mummified form) kept all his lands. Henceforth, each new emperor had to conquer new territories in order to validate his own authority. Pachacuti Inca created an elaborate new cult to an ancient sun deity, elevating him above other nature gods. The Inca rulers claimed direct descent from the Sun, a convincing way to maintain control. Eighty years before the Spaniards came, the original petty kingdom had expanded to boundaries that reached into present-day Argentina in the south and what is today central Ecuador to the north.

Like the Aztecs, their success in conquests kept the Inca under constant pressure to keep a large group of subjects under strict control. The Incas excelled at organization and administration. Taxes were collected by an efficient administrative system. After conquering a new area, the

Inca often deported the inhabitants, moving them from their native region to an alien place, where they would be entirely dependent on Cuzco's protection from resentful neighbors—a practice that is reminiscent of Assyrian and early Roman techniques of rule.

Another strategy was to break up the old *ayllu* (eye-YU: clans) and replace them with new ones based on place of residence, rather than common kinship. The head of the new *ayllu* was appointed by the emperor because of good service or demonstrated loyalty. He served the central government in about the same fashion as a feudal baron served the king of France. The ordinary people, organized in these new artificial clans, were his to do with as he liked, so long as they discharged their labor duty and paid any tax demanded of them by the Cuzco government. The Inca also established colonies among their subjects. The colonists helped encourage the conquered people to transfer their loyalty to their new masters and ensured that a military force would be available if needed to suppress a rebellion.

Regimentation and enforced conformity were prominent features of Incan government, but it also displayed a concern for social welfare that was unusual for early governments. In times of poor harvest, grain was distributed to the people from the government's enforced-collection granaries, as in China. Natural disasters, such as flooding mountain rivers, were common, and a system of central "relief funds" provided assistance for the areas affected. The central authorities also enforced a sort of pension system that provided for the destitute and the old. These features of the Incan regime have attracted much attention from modern historians, who see in them a tentative approach to the welfare state of the twentieth century.

The Incas' cultural impact on their subjects is evident from the linguistic changes that occurred. Along the west coast, the Incas' Quechua (KECH-wah), now the official language of modern Peru (along with Spanish), supplanted the variety of unwritten languages that had previously existed among the South American Indians. Unlike the Mesoamericans, however, the Inca did not develop a written language. They continued to rely on different types of *kipus* for keeping numerical records and as a means of controlling their empire. The Inca probably also used certain *kipus* as memory devices for reciting oral traditions.

The Inca built on previous feats of engineering to become superb road builders and architects. The greatest road network in the hemisphere unified the empire from north to south, both along the coast and in the mountains. As their predecessors had done, the Inca constructed irrigation systems, dams, and canals, and built terraces on the steep hillsides so crops could be planted on every square inch of soil. The stone buildings of royal Cuzco, cut and fitted perfectly without mortar, are among the finest erected in the Americas. One of the most magnificent achievements of Incan rule was **Machu Picchu** (MAH-choo PEE-choo), a city in the clouds of the high Andes whose ruins were discovered as recently as 1911. The Inca accomplished the awe-inspiring feat of moving thousands

of massive stone blocks to build the walls of this fortress-city on a mountaintop, in the absence of almost all technology (probably even without the wheel). No one knows why the city was built or why it was abandoned.

Like most other ancient and premodern societies, Incan society exhibited sharp class divisions. A small elite of nobles was at the top, under their divine king, the Inca, from whom all authority issued. A large army maintained obedience. Most rebellions against the Inca were, in fact, fraternal wars in which the rebel leader was a member of the imperial house. The Spaniards under Francisco Pizarro used one of these civil wars to great advantage when they arrived in 1533 to steal the gold of Cuzco.

NORTH AMERICANS

Agriculture came to Native Americans more slowly than it did to the peoples of Central and South America. Corn and squash made their way into the mountainous parts of southern New Mexico sometime around 1500 BCE and then quickly moved into other parts north of the Rio Grande River.

Civilizations of the American Southwest

In the first centuries of the Common Era, peoples who inhabited the arid **Four Corners region** (Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona—see Map 14.3) gradually abandoned their archaic ways of life and settled in small villages. The transition from hunting and gathering progressed as they discovered ways of growing new, hardier varieties of squash, beans, and corn that were capable of flourishing in

desert settings. Of equal significance was their adoption of new water-management practices and strategies for offsetting long periods of drought. By the fourth century, their successes led to the emergence of new civilizations.

About the time that Mayan civilization appeared, the **Hohokam** civilization took shape in the Sonoran desert of southern Arizona. For centuries, their ancestors had survived off an impressive array of desert animal and plant life, such as javelinas (wild pigs), rabbits, reptiles, mesquite, hackberries, cactuses, and yuccas. By 300 CE, they had become farmers and had built pithouse settlements along the banks of the Salt, Gila, and Verde rivers, whose waters they diverted to irrigate their fields of maize, beans, and squash. As time passed, the canal system grew more complex. Eventually, farmers that drained off the Salt River in what is now Phoenix diverted water up to sixteen miles, making it possible for the Hohokam to move farther from the river. Besides irrigation, they also provided water to support everyday village life. Archaeologists estimate that eventually the Hohokam built over 600 miles of canals, ranging from about six feet to sixty-four feet across. All were dug with digging sticks and baskets.

Before 1100, community religious ritual involved a ball game that Hohokam priests played in courts that they dug into the ground as elliptical depressions surrounded by earthen embankments. The game seems to have been a version of the Mesoamerican ball game. Beginning in the twelfth century, the focus of the village rituals shifted from the ball courts to rites constructed on flat-topped platform mounds. Eventually, these mounds also served as residential platforms for a ruling class.

Beginning in the 1300s, for reasons that remain unclear, the Hohokam suffered a period of widespread depopulation and abandonment of their communities. The most commonly cited reasons include floods, drought, internal



MAP 14.3 Classical Native American Cultures of North America

Some time before 500 CE, the nomads of the southwestern quarter of the present-day United States began to farm the riverine wetlands, raising maize, beans, and squash, which had been developed earlier in Mexico. Their success allowed the maintenance of cliffside pueblos of more than 200 people. Later, the Cahokia Indians of the midwestern Mississippi Valley erected large burial mounds near their extensive agricultural villages.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Which modern U.S. states correspond to the Woodlands and Southwestern culture areas?



Peter Bianchi/National Geographic/Getty Images [81516948]

SINAGUA RITUAL BALLGAME. Valuable exchange items and ideas traveled over the trade routes that joined the civilizations of Mesoamerica and North America. One was the Mayan and Toltec ritual ballgame. Archaeologists have excavated oval-shaped ball courts at many Hohokam and Sinagua sites.

warfare, disease, and invasion. Their modern descendants, the Tohono O’odham (Toh-HOH-noh Oh-OH-dham) of southern Arizona, preserve oral traditions that suggest that the decline was brought about by a combination of floods and a popular revolt against overweening rulers. The result was that, by about 1450 CE, the Hohokam culture ended.

By the early centuries of the Common Era, **Ancestral Puebloans** (PWEH-bloh-ans), sometimes called the *Anasazi* (ah-nah-SAH-zee) were also taking to more settled ways in the Four Corners area. Most continued their hunting and gathering, but their migratory routes had become noticeably more confined, and they appear to have spent longer periods in specific locations. They had begun growing corn and squash; and by 400 CE, bows and arrows had replaced the atlatl, making hunting more efficient. Beans had also been added to their diet, making them less dependent on meat for protein. People had begun living in pithouse villages, often for an entire growing season. The fact that they made baskets for both storage and cooking (using heated cooking stones in waterproof baskets) has led archaeologists to call the phase to about 700 CE the *Basketmaker period*.

Beginning around 700, they started erecting rectangular adobe houses above ground, beginning the so-called Pueblo I period. The Pueblo II (c. 800–1150) saw a dramatic increase in population as a result of noticeably higher rainfall and groundwater levels. Pueblo villages were both larger and more numerous across the American Southwest. However, the most remarkable development of this period was what is sometimes called the **Chaco phenomenon** (CHAH-coh).

This refers to the construction of fourteen “Great Houses” in **Chaco Canyon**, located in northwestern New Mexico.

The **Great Houses** were multistory stone-and-timber pueblos. The largest of these, Pueblo Bonito, numbered more than 600 rooms, contained more than 40 ritual enclosures, and possibly stood as high as five stories. Excavations have convincingly shown that it served a largely ceremonial function. Although few burials have been found in Pueblo Bonito and other Great Houses, archaeologists have unearthed large caches of rich ceremonial artifacts, such as turquoise-encrusted ceremonial beakers, feathers and skeletal remains of macaws from Mexico, and seashells. Furthermore, scholars have discovered that Pueblo Bonito and other Chacoan Great Houses were aligned with such exactitude that they comprised a gigantic, highly precise structural assemblage for predicting the annual solar and eighteen-year lunar cycles, which rivaled in sophistication those of the Mesoamerican civilizations.

Chaco Canyon appears to have been the center of an extensive network of roads and “outlier” Great Houses. Questions have arisen, quite naturally, over the reason for the system of roads, constructed in almost perfectly straight lines for many miles in all directions. Clearly, both ritual and trade were factors, because all of these roads converged on Chaco Canyon, giving it the appearance of a regional center. Here, people came to pay tribute and participate in religious rituals performed in underground ceremonial chambers called **kivas** (KEE-vahs), which were found in the Great Houses. The discovery of items that Chacoans imported

from as far away as Mexico (macaws, copper bells), the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of California (seashells), the Upper Rio Grande region (turquoise), and the Chuska Mountains to the west (timber) supports the theory that Chaco functioned as a center of trade and ceremony that exercised vast authority throughout the Four Corners region.

The Pueblo II period, one of exceptionally clement weather for the Chacoans, came to a rudely abrupt end around 1150, when a thirty-year drought forced the abandonment of the Great Houses and the thousands of smaller pueblos that were part of the Chacoan system. Many fled north to the Four Corners area. There they settled in what scholars call the “Great Pueblos,” some of which were built in the alcoves of cliffs. Today, Mesa Verde National Park is where the most famous of these cliff dwellings can be found. Yet another devastating drought, from 1280 to 1300, caused the Ancestral Puebloans to finally abandon the Four Corners area completely.

From about 1300 to 1500, the Puebloan clans migrated westward, southward, and eastward. Their descendants today live in the Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, Laguna, and Upper Rio Grande Pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico. About the time they abandoned the Four Corners area, the ancestors of the Navajo and Apache peoples moved from their homelands in what is now western Canada into the lands abandoned by the Puebloans.

The Middle and Late Woodlands Civilizations

When knowledge of maize-based agriculture gradually altered people’s lifeways in the American Southwest, it was having similarly revolutionary effects on the mound-building Woodlands civilizations east of the Mississippi

River (Chapter 7). The Middle Woodland period (1–500 CE) witnessed dramatic population growth and expansion inland of the Woodland cultural complex. With that came an expansion of local and interregional trade in exotic goods, some of which were manufactured, which eventually came to include most of what is now the eastern United States.

The best known of these new cultural complexes were those associated with the so-called **Hopewell tradition**. This was not a single society, but a widely dispersed set of related peoples joined by trade routes, common mortuary (burial) practices, and symbols of authority. Hopewell exchange centers imported raw materials from all over North America, among which were copper, mica, silver, obsidian, pipestone, pearls, seashells, and sharks’ teeth. Craftspeople living at these centers converted these into beautifully crafted works of art, most of which seem to have been produced for decorative wear.

By the middle centuries CE, another Late Woodlands civilization had evolved out of the earlier ones. This one was based on farming and was far more sophisticated. With locations throughout much of the United States east of the Mississippi River, scholars have called this the *Mississippian civilization*.

The largest and most important mound-builder settlement of this period was at **Cahokia** (cah-HOH-kee-ah), located near today’s East St. Louis, Illinois. Although its exact relationship to other Mississippian locations is not yet archaeologically well-defined, it appears that the people who built Cahokia were Mississippians who had moved there from somewhere east of it around 600 CE. With a peasant base capable of producing large surpluses of squash, beans, and maize, the Cahokian civilization had a social hierarchy from its inception. Ordinary Cahokians



Richard A. Cooke/Corbis

PUEBLO BONITO. Built in stages between 850 and 1150, Pueblo Bonito was the largest of the Chacoan Great Houses. It had more than 600 rooms, stood up to five stories tall, and contained more than forty ceremonial kivas. Despite their size, it is believed that the primary purpose of Great Houses like Pueblo Bonito was not habitation but ceremonial and, like Mesoamerican structures, astronomical.

built their dwellings from simple materials like wood slats and mud, but nobles had theirs constructed on the terraces of a large pyramid-like mound that today is called **Monks Mound**. Covering about eighteen acres and reaching nearly 100 feet at its highest point, Monks Mound was made entirely out of earth. It is the largest pyramid ever built in North America and the fourth largest in the entire world.

The entire Cahokia site included about eighty mounds of differing sizes and, apparently, purposes. Some, where excavators have found ceremonial objects, were simply

meant as places for religious rituals. Others were evidently tombs, as they contained human remains. We know that human sacrifice was practiced because, in one instance, an especially important individual was buried amid copper sheets, baskets of mica, and 180 sacrificial victims from all ranks of Cahokian society. Cahokia ended somewhat mysteriously around 1300. Archaeologists have suggested several explanations, such as environmental degradation, overpopulation, or climatic change, but nobody knows for sure why the site was abandoned.

SUMMARY

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE AMERINDIAN civilizations are imposing in some respects but insignificant in others. Also, the physical isolation of the American continent from other world centers of civilization assured that the Amerindians did not benefit from outside stimuli. What they produced came from their own intellectual and physical resources, as far as we can now tell. Yet the physical evidence that survives is certainly impressive. That the Inca could govern a huge empire without benefit of writing or the wheel seems to us almost a miracle. And yet it was done. That the Mayan pyramids in southern Mexico could soar upward of 300 feet without benefit of metal tools or any of the technological innovations of the Mesopotamians, Egyptians, and Hindus seems equally

incredible. In addition, although the Great Houses and water-management systems of the Ancestral Puebloan and Hohokam civilizations seem paltry when we compare them to the massive edifices of other great civilizations, the fact that relatively small populations constructed them in the direst circumstances qualifies them as achievements that, in their own right, are equally remarkable.

The Amerindian civilizations are perhaps the most forceful argument against the diffusion theory of human progress. Most likely, the Amerindians created their own world through their own unaided intellectual and cultural reserves. What would have been an admirable achievement under any circumstances becomes astounding if the Amerindians did these things alone.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Ancestral Puebloans
ayllu

Aztecs
Cahokia

calpulli
Chaco Canyon
Chaco phenomenon
Chichén Itzá
Cuzco
Four Corners region
Great Houses
Hohokam

Hopewell tradition
Inca
kivas
Machu Picchu
Maya
Monks Mound
Tenochtitlán
Teotihuacan

For Further Reflection

1. What cultural features did the Aztecs and Incas inherit from their predecessors?
2. What were the original contributions of the Aztec and Incas to Native American civilization?
3. What reasons can you think of as to why Woodlands people learned to grow food crops at an early date (c. 1000 BCE), while Native Americans of the American Southwest had to await the arrival Mesoamerican crops before they started growing their own food?
4. Review some of the cultural and material features that Mesoamericans and North Americans shared. Aside from trade, by what other ways might ideas (e.g., the ball court ritual) have passed between Mesoamerican and North American civilizations?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The most advanced system of writing among the Amerindian civilizations was that of the
 - a. Maya.
 - b. Inca.
 - c. Toltecs.
 - d. Aztecs.
 - e. Olmecs.
2. The overridingly important principle of Aztec society and government was
 - a. cannibalism.
 - b. war and its requirements.
 - c. trade and the creation of wealth.
 - d. art and excellence in its production.
 - e. the establishment of great cities.
3. Generally speaking, Native American cultures shared which of the following?
 - a. Divine kings
 - b. Worship of nature gods
 - c. The importance of trade networks
 - d. Use of pack animals
 - e. a, b, and c above
4. Teotihuacan, called the “place of the gods,”
 - a. was a planned city.
 - b. has one of the world's largest pyramids.
 - c. was fortified.
 - d. had residences for artisans and peasants.
 - e. a, b, and d above.
5. South America was home to which of these Amerindian civilizations?
 - a. Aztec
 - b. Inca
 - c. Maya
 - d. Toltec
 - e. Olmec
6. All of the following helped the Inca build and maintain their empire except
 - a. the Quechua language.
 - b. the reformed ayllu, or clan organization.
 - c. their excellent road system.
 - d. wheeled transport.
 - e. agricultural advances.
7. Native American women of various ancient cultures might be
 - a. midwives.
 - b. weavers.
 - c. market vendors.
 - d. a, b, and c
 - e. none of the above
8. Agriculture was established last in
 - a. North America.
 - b. Mesoamerica.
 - c. Egypt.
 - d. Central America.
 - e. Mesopotamia.
9. The Ancestral Puebloans (Anasazi) were
 - a. rivals of the Incan rulers in Peru.
 - b. inhabitants of Mexico City before the Aztecs.
 - c. the builders of “Great Houses.”
 - d. part of the Cahokia culture.
 - e. some of the earliest mound builders.
10. The Cahokia civilization was
 - a. related to the Mississippian civilization.
 - b. derived from the Ancestral Puebloan civilization.
 - c. founded by the Toltecs.
 - d. based primarily on hunting and gathering.
 - e. centered in the Four Corners region.



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15

Islam

THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET

PATTERNS OF BELIEF IN ISLAMIC DOCTRINE

ARABIA IN MUHAMMAD'S DAY

THE JIHAD

THE CALIPHATE

The Era of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, 632–661

The Umayyad Dynasty, 661–750

The Abbasid Dynasty, 750–1258

CONVERSION TO ISLAM

EVERYDAY AFFAIRS

IN THE ARABIAN TOWN of Mecca, late in the sixth century, an individual was born who founded a religion that is now embraced by about one-fifth of the world's population. Muhammad created a faith that spread with incredible speed from his native land throughout the Near and Middle East. Carried on the strong swords of his followers, and later through conversions, Islam became a major rival to Christianity in the Mediterranean basin and to Hinduism and Buddhism in East and Southeast Asia. Like these faiths, Islam was far more than a supernatural religion; it also created a culture and a civilization.

THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET

The founder of Islam was born into a people about whom little documentary information exists prior to when he made them the spiritual and political center of a new civilization.

Arabia is a large and sparsely settled peninsula extending from the Fertile Crescent in the north to well down the coast of Africa (see Map 15.1). Mecca, Muhammad's birthplace, was an important interchange where southern Asian and African goods coming across the Indian Ocean and the narrow Red Sea were transferred to caravans for shipment farther east. Considerable traffic also moved up and down the Red Sea to the ancient cities of the Near East and the Nile Delta. For these reasons, the Mecca of Muhammad's time was

There is no god save God,
and Muhammad is His
Messenger.

—*Muslim profession of faith*

c. 570–632	Life of Muhammad
640s	Conquest of Persian Empire and Egypt completed
661–750	Umayyad Dynasty at Damascus
711–733	Conquest of Spain
732	Charles Martel and the Franks defeat Muslims at Tours
750–1258	Abbasid Dynasty at Baghdad



MAP 15.1 The Spread of Islam

The lightning-like spread of the new faith throughout a belt on both sides of the equator. About one-third of the world's populations known to be Christian converted to Islam in the space of a long lifetime, 630–720 CE.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Considering the directions of Islam's expansion (arrows), what seem to be the factors that prevented its further expansion? (Example: The expansion from Syria and Spain?)



[View an interactive version of this or a related map online.](#)

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a cosmopolitan place, with Egyptians, Jews, Greeks, and Africans living there alongside the local Arab population. Long accustomed to trading and living with foreigners, the Arabs of towns like Mecca were using a written language and had well-developed systems of tribal and municipal governments. In such ways, the Arabs of the cities near the coast were far more advanced than the Bedouins (nomads) of the vast desert interior.

Several tribes or clans inhabited Mecca. The most important was the Quraysh (KOO-res), the clan into which Muhammad was born about 570. According to traditional Muslim accounts, the first forty years of his life were uneventful. He was orphaned by the time he was six years old; his paternal uncle reared him and gave him the traditional protection of his clan. He married Khadija (Khah-DEE-jah), a rich widow, and set himself up as a caravan trader of moderate means. The marriage produced six children, only one of whom survived—a daughter named Fatima.

Around 610 CE, Muhammad began having mystical experiences that took the form of visits from a supernatural messenger. For days at a time, he withdrew into the low mountains near Mecca, where long trances ensued in which the Archangel Gabriel began telling him of the One True God (**Allah**) and warning him of a coming Day of Judgment. For about three years, he dared speak of these visions only to his immediate kin (see Evidence of the Past).

Finally, Muhammad began to preach about his visions in the street. Meccan authorities, however, supported a form of worship centered on nature deities and various cult objects. These included the Black Stone, protected in a religious shrine called the **Ka'ba** (KAH-bah), which Muslims now believe God once gave to the Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham). Consequently, during his Meccan years, Muhammad's successful conversions were primarily (although not exclusively) among members of his own family, the Meccan poor, and some slaves. The deaths of his wife Khadija (Kah-DEE-jah) in 619 and of his uncle and

protector in 620 produced a major crisis for Muhammad. Growing concerns for his and his followers' safety forced him to flee Mecca in 622, which came to be known as the year of the **Hijra** (HIJ-rah; "flight"). It became the first year of the Muslim calendar.

Muhammad fled to the rival city of Medina, where, despite the opposition of its three Jewish tribes to his claims of being God's prophet, he gradually gained the support he had vainly sought in Mecca. From 622 to 624, he gradually won over enough followers to begin a kind of trade war against the Meccan caravans and to force the city fathers there to negotiate with him on spiritual matters. He also won the support of nearby Bedouin tribes, and by 630 he was able to return to Mecca on pilgrimage (**hajj**) to the Ka'ba at the head of a victorious community of converts. By the time of his death two years later, most of western Arabia was under Islamic control. A **jihad**

(jee-HAHD)—a war of holy conquest in the name of Allah—was under way.

PATTERNS OF BELIEF IN ISLAMIC DOCTRINE

What message did Muhammad preach that found such ready acceptance? The doctrines of Islam (the word means "submission," in this case to God, or Allah) are the simplest and most readily understood of any of the world's major religions. They are laid out in written form in the **Qur'an** (koor-AHN), the most sacred scriptures of the Muslim world, which the third caliph, Uthman (Ooth-MAHN; see the "Umayyad Dynasty" section), ordered to be collected from oral traditions twenty-three years after the Prophet's death.

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

MUHAMMAD RECEIVES HIS FIRST REVELATION

Muhammad Ibn Ishaq was the first person to write a biography of Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam. He lived a little more than a century after Muhammad (died c. 768) and based his information on oral accounts he collected from the descendants of Muhammad's close associates. This is his account of the day—when Muhammad was about forty years old—of the Prophet's first visit by the Archangel Gabriel.

"Relate to us, 'Ubayd, what the beginning of the Messenger of God's prophetic mission was like when Gabriel came to him." I was present as 'Ubayd related the following account to 'Abdallah b. al-Zubayr and those with him. He said, "The Messenger of God used to spend one month in every year in religious retreat on [Mount] Hira." . . . feeding the poor who came to him. When he had completed this month of retreat the first thing which he would do on leaving, even before going home, was to circumambulate the Ka'bah seven times, or however many times God willed; then he would go home.

When the month came in which God willed to ennoble him, in the year in which God made him his Messenger, this being the month of Ramadan, the Messenger of God went out as usual to Hira accompanied by his family. When the night came on which God ennoble him by making him his Messenger . . . Gabriel brought him the command of God. The Messenger of God said, Gabriel came to me as I was sleeping with a brocade cloth in which he was writing. He said, "Recite!" and I said, "I cannot recite." He pressed me tight and almost stifled me, until I thought that I should die.

Then he let me go and said, "Recite!" I said, "What shall I recite?" only saying that in order to free myself from him, fearing that he might repeat what he had done to me. He said: Recite in the name of your Lord who creates! He creates man from a clot of blood. Recite: And your Lord is the most Bountiful, he who teaches by the pen, teaches man what he knew not.

I recited it, and then he desisted and departed. I woke up, and it was as though these words had been written on my heart.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

How accurate might this account be? What historical (not religious) reasons can you think of for believing or not believing this passage? How does this compare with the believability of similar passages about the prophets in the Old Testament and the accounts of Jesus in the New Testament of the Bible?

Source: From *The History of al-Tabari*, Volume VI. *Muhammad at Mecca*. Trans. W. Montgomery Watt and M. V. McDonald (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1988), 70–71.



You can read a selection from Ibn Ishaq's *Life of Muhammad* online.



The basic ideas are expressed in the **Five Pillars of Islam**, which are described in the Patterns of Belief box. Without doubt, the simplicity of these teachings and their ritual requirements were important factors in winning many converts to Islam as the Islamic Empire expanded—in the first instance, through the sword.

Muhammad and his followers were able to achieve what they did for various reasons. First, Muhammad preached a straightforward doctrine of salvation, ensured by a God who never failed and whose will was clearly delineated in comprehensible principles and commands. Second, those who believed and tried to follow Muhammad's words (as gathered a few years after his death in the Qur'an) were

assured of reward in the life to come. On the other hand, God's Messenger warned unbelievers of a fiery end that awaited them in Hell.

Finally, Muhammad's preaching contained large measures of an elevated yet attainable moral and ethical code. It appealed deeply to a population that wanted more than the purely ritualistic animist doctrine could give them but were repelled by the internal conflicts of Christendom or unsympathetic to the complexities of Judaism. His insistence that he was not an innovator, but the finalizer of the message of the Jewish and Christian prophets and gospel writers was also of great significance in the success of his religion among the Eastern peoples.

PATTERNS OF BELIEF

THE FIVE PILLARS OF ISLAM

From the outset, Islam has rested on the Five Pillars taught by Muhammad. In more or less flexible forms, these beliefs are recognized and observed by all good Muslims, wherever and in whatever circumstances they may find themselves.

1. There is one God (whom Muslims call Allah), and Muhammad is His prophet. Islam is a thoroughly monotheistic faith. There are neither saints nor Trinity.
2. God demands prayer from His faithful five times daily: at daybreak, noon, in the midafternoon, at twilight, and before retiring. Prayer is always done in the direction of Mecca. It is the outward sign of complete submission to the Lord.
3. Fasting and observance of dietary prohibitions are demanded of all who can. The month of Ramadan and some holy days are particularly important in this respect. Alcohol and all other mind-warping substances are forbidden, as insults to the handiwork of the perfect Creator.
4. Almsgiving toward the poor faithful is a command, enforced through the practice of tithing. Gifts and bequests to the deserving fellow Muslim are mandatory for those who would attain worldly distinction and the respect of their neighbor.
5. If possible, every Muslim must make the *hajj* ("pilgrimage") to the holy cities of Arabia at least once. In modern days, this command has filled Mecca with upward of 2 million visitors at the height of the holy season.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Considering this list of religious requirements, if you were a Muslim, and if your knowledge of your religion extended only to the performance of these duties, would Islam seem a spiritually satisfying religion to you? Why or why not?

(Hint: Consult the next chapter's discussion of Sufism as a follow-up to this question.)



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

THE ENTRY INTO MECCA BY THE FAITHFUL. In this thirteenth-century miniature from Baghdad, the *hajj*, or pilgrimage, is depicted in its glory. Supposedly devoted to pious purposes, the *hajj* was also an opportunity to display one's wealth.



ARABIA IN MUHAMMAD'S DAY

The Jews and Christians with whom Muhammad had contact in Mecca undoubtedly influenced the strict monotheism of Islam. Many other aspects of the Muslim faith also derive in some degree from other religions, such as the regulations against eating pork and using stimulants that alter the God-given nature of man. But the Muslim creed is not just a collection of other previous beliefs by any means. It includes many elements that reflect the peculiar circumstances of Arabs and Arabia in the seventh century CE.

At that time, much of the interior of the Arabian Peninsula was barely inhabited except for scattered oases. The Bedouin tribes that passed from one oasis to the next with their herds were continually at war with one another for water and pasture. The virtues most respected in this society were those of the warrior: strict social and material equality, bravery, hardiness, loyalty, honor, and hospitality to strangers.

The Arabs' religion before Muhammad involved a series of animistic beliefs, such as the important one centering on the Ka'ba, a cubical stone shrine that contained the Black Stone. (Recall that *animism* means a conviction that objects such as rivers, trees, or stones possess spirits and spiritual qualities that have direct and potent impact on human lives.) In the coastal towns, these beliefs coexisted side by side with the monotheistic beliefs of Judaism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism. There is evidence that belief in a principal creator deity also existed in Arabia before Muhammad, although such evidence is vague and indirect. Traditions that underscored social and economic equality were being cast aside in favor of materialist values and social hierarchy. The cultural gap between town Arab and Bedouin had widened to such an extent that it threatened to become irrevocable. Worship at the Ka'ba shrine had become linked to trade for the merchants of Mecca, who profited greatly from the many thousands of Arabs from the interior who made annual processions there during the month of **Ramadan** (RAH-mah-dahn) to worship tribal and clan idols that were housed in the shrine.

From this standpoint, some scholars have interpreted Muhammad's religious message as the work of a reformer, a man who perceived many of the problems facing his people and responded to them. The verses of the Qur'an excerpted in the Patterns of Belief box contain many references to these problems and propose solutions. For example, the condition of women in pre-Muslim Arabia was apparently poor. A man could have as many wives as he wished, regardless of whether he could support them all.

Women were practically powerless in legal matters, had no control over their dowries in marriage, and could not have custody over minor children after their

husband's death, among other things. In his preaching, Muhammad took pains to change this situation and the attitude that lay behind it. In this way, he was an innovator, reacting against a tradition that he believed to be ill founded. He imposed an absolute limit of four wives per man, although he made no restrictions on the number of a man's concubines. If additional wives could not be supported equally, they were not permitted. Although Muhammad denied that women were equal to men, he made it clear that women were not mere servants of men; that they had some inherent rights as persons, wives, and mothers; and that their honor and physical welfare needed protection by the men around them. The status of women in early Muslim teaching was relatively elevated. It might actually have been higher and more firmly recognized than the status accorded to women in the medieval West as well as in rural southern and eastern Asia.

THE JIHAD

One of the unique aspects of Islam is the jihad, the effort or war for the establishment of God's law on Earth. Allah enjoined Muslims to fight against unbelief, both internal and external. The word *jihad* derives from the Arabic term *jahada*, which means "to strive," to exert oneself to eradicate disbelief. Disbelief can arise within oneself in the form of doubt, as well as in others. God commands the believer always to strive against doubt or the outright rejection of Him, so taking part in a jihad is a way of fighting Satan. To take up the Sword of God (*Sayf Allah*) is the highest honor for a good Muslim. Dying in such an effort, whether through eradicating internal doubts or through external holy war, is a way of fulfilling one of God's commandments, so it assures one of a heavenly reward.

Aside from the salvation of one's soul, what was the earthly appeal of the jihad? It seems to have been based on several aspects of Arabic culture. The desert Bedouins were already a warlike people, accustomed to continual violence in the struggle for water and pasture. Much evidence also indicates that they faced an economic crisis at the time of Muhammad—namely, a severe overpopulation problem that overwhelmed the available sparse resources. Under such conditions, many people were willing to risk their lives for the possibility of a better future. It is likely that many of those who participated in the early conquests saw Muhammad as a successful war leader as much or as well as a religious prophet.

Once the jihad was under way, another factor favored its success: exhaustion and division among Islamic opponents. Both of the major opponents, the Byzantine Greeks in Constantinople and the Persians, had been fighting each other fiercely for the previous generation and were mutually exhausted. As a result, by 641, only nine years after

PATTERNS OF BELIEF



THE QUR'AN

The Qur'an is not only the bible of the Muslims but also an elaborate and poetic code of daily conduct. It is a compilation, like the Christian and Jewish Bibles—formed from the memory of Muhammad's associates—of his words and instructions after the Prophet's death. As the literal word of God, the holy book is held by all devout Muslims to be the unfailing source of wisdom, which, if adapted to the changing realities of daily life, can be as usable in the twenty-first century as it was in the seventh when it was written. Many of its verses have formed the basis of law in the Muslim countries. Now translated into every major language, the Qur'an was long available only in Arabic, one of the world's most poetic and subtle languages. This circumstance both helped and hindered the religion's eventual spread. Some excerpts follow:

The Jihad

Fight in the cause of God against those who fight against you, but do not begin hostilities. Surely, God loves not the aggressors. Once they start the fighting, kill them wherever you meet them, and drive them out from where they have driven you out; for aggression is more heinous than killing. But fight them until all aggression ceases and religion is professed for the pleasure of God alone. If they desist, then be mindful that no retaliation is permissible except against the aggressors.

Do not account those who are slain in the cause of God as dead. Indeed, they are living in the presence of their Lord and are provided for. They are jubilant... and rejoice for those who have not yet joined them. ... They rejoice at the favor of God and His bounty, and at the realisation that God suffers not the reward of the faithful to be lost.

Piety and Charity

There is no piety in turning your faces toward the east or the west, but he is pious who believeth in God, and the last day, and the angels, and the scriptures, and the prophets; who for the love of God disburses his wealth to his kindred, and to the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer, and those who ask, and for ransoming. ...

They who expend their wealth for the cause of God, and never follow what they have laid out with reproaches or harm, shall have their reward with the Lord; no fear shall come upon them, neither shall they be put to grief.

A kind speech and forgiveness is better than alms followed by injury. Give to the orphans their property;

substitute not worthless things of your own for their valuable ones, and devour not their property after adding it to your own, for this is a great crime.

Society and Economy

Ye may divorce your wives twice. Keep them honorably, or put them away, with kindness. But it is not allowed you to appropriate to yourselves any of what you have once given them. ... No blame shall attach to either of you for what the wife shall herself give for her redemption [from the marriage bond].

Men are superior to women on account of the qualities with which God hath gifted the one above the other, and on account of the outlay they make from their substance for them. Virtuous women are obedient, careful, during the husband's absence, because God hath of them been careful. But chide those for whose obstinacy you have cause to dread; remove them into beds apart, and whip them. But if they are obedient to you, then seek not occasion to abuse them.

Christians and Jews

Verily, they who believe and who follow the Jewish religion, and the Christians ... whoever of these believeth in God and the Last Day, and does that which is right shall have their reward with the Lord. Fear shall not come upon them, neither shall they be grieved.

We believe in God and what has been sent down to us, and what was sent down to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and their descendants, and what was given Moses, Jesus and the prophets by their Lord. We do not differentiate between them, and are committed to live at peace with Him.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Does some of this excerpt remind you of the Laws of Manu? What similarities are most prominent? Note the fine line walked by the Qur'an between self-defense and aggressive war. What in the background of the Bedouin might have made this close distinction necessary and natural?

Source: From T. B. Irving, trans., *The Quran: Selections* (n.p.: Islamic Foundation, 1980).



You can read more of the Qur'an online.



THE KA'BA IN MECCA. In this huge mosque courtyard assemble hundreds of thousands of worshipers during the Muslim holy days each year. The Ka'ba is the cubicle of stone in the center. It contains a piece of black meteorite worshiped by the Arabs before their conversion to Islam. During Muhammad's lifetime, it became the symbol of God's relationship to humanity and a symbol of Islamic unity.

the death of the Prophet, all of the huge Persian Empire had fallen to Arab armies, and much of the Byzantine territory in Asia (present-day Syria, Lebanon, and Turkey) had been taken as well (see Map 15.1). In place after place, the defenders of the Byzantine provinces put up only half-hearted resistance or none at all, as in Damascus. The religious differences within Christianity had become so acute in these lands that several sects of Christians preferred surrender to the Muslims to continuing to live under what they regarded as a high-handed, wrong-thinking emperor and his bishops. This was true not only in Syrian Damascus but also in several Christian centers in North Africa and Egypt, which were in religious revolt against the church leaders in Constantinople and Rome.

THE CALIPHATE

The nature of Muslim leadership changed markedly from epoch to epoch in the 600 years between the founding of Islam in Arabia and 1258 CE, when it passed from Arabic to Turco-Mongolian hands. While he remained alive, Muhammad had been seen as a direct link to God for his little community. The **Umma** (OO-mah), the Muslim community he had founded, was unique in Arabia inasmuch as it was held together by belief and acted under the command of God, rather than being united by blood ties, as the clans and tribes had been. God took an interest in everything a Muslim did. There was no division between religious and secular affairs. Therefore, as God's mouthpiece and as the last of God's prophets, Muhammad was both a religious and a temporal ruler. His sudden death in 632 after a short illness, therefore, caused a crisis of leadership that has never been resolved to the satisfaction of all his followers to this day.

The Era of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, 632–661

Muhammad's unexpected death necessitated choosing another leader if the Muslim community was going to avoid falling apart. His closest followers at Medina argued over this choice. Some believed that leadership should fall to a close family member—in particular his cousin and son-in-law, Ali—others thinking that it should be the “best qualified,” the person who was closest to the Prophet and who best represented his teachings. They decided on Abu Bakr (AH-boo BAH-ker), Muhammad's closest friend, his father-in-law, and one of his first converts. Unsure what Abu Bakr's exact status was, most simply addressed him as *Khalifat ar-Rasul Allah*, meaning “Deputy of God's Messenger.” Although the title was humble in origin and meaning, the term stuck as **caliph** (kah-LEEF).

Abu Bakr was elected by a committee of his closest associates, as were the next three caliphs. Soon after fighting a brief war to reunite the Muslims, Abu Bakr (632–634) died and was succeeded by a general, Umar (634–644), who ruled over Islam for ten years. Umar was the real founder of the early Muslim Empire. His Arab armies pushed deep into North Africa, conquering Egypt by 642. At the same time, he invaded Persia and the Byzantine territory in the eastern Mediterranean. By the time of Umar's death in 644, mounted Arab raiders were penetrating as far as western India.

With such rapid expansion, administration of this vast and growing empire had to be done on an ad hoc basis. The system Umar devised was brilliant at first but proved troublesome in the longer term. As the Arab tribesmen poured into one conquered land after another, the caliph created a system of rule called an “Arab Islamic theocracy.” It was an Islamic theocracy because, in theory at least, God's commands, as preserved through the Qur'an, provided the

Mecca, Saudi Arabia/Bildarchiv Steffens/The Bridgeman Art Library



Bridgeman Art Library

THE DOME OF THE ROCK. This unusual mosque, erected by Muslims in Jerusalem in the late seventh century, has been used by three religions as a sacred place of worship. Islamic tradition tells us that Muhammad ascended into heaven from the very spot on the Temple Mount where the mosque is located.

principles by which the caliph and his lieutenants ruled. Ethnically, it was Arab because the caliph kept the conquering Arabs segregated from the vanquished in fortified encampments. To maintain this system, the caliph pensioned the Arab tribes out of booty taken in battle and from a special poll tax (*jizya*) that was collected from non-Muslim subject peoples.

This stunningly rapid expansion came to a halt because of a civil war in 656 for mastery within the Muslim world, which brought Ali, husband of Fatima and Muhammad's son-in-law, to the fore. Ali was the last "orthodox" caliph for a long time. His assassination by a dissident in 661 marked the end of the first phase of Muslim expansion.

The Umayyad Dynasty, 661–750

The first four caliphs had been elected, but three of the four died by murder. At this point, because the elective system had clearly failed, the system of succession became dynastic, although the elective outer form was preserved. From 661, two dynasties of caliphs came to rule the Islamic world: the Umayyads from 661 to 750, and then the Abbassids from 750 to 1258.

Following the murder of Ali, the governor of Syria (Muawiya: moo-AH-wee-ah) initiated the **Umayyad** (oo-MAY-yad) **Dynasty**. This change from electing the caliph to dynastic succession proved fateful. Ali's supporters continued to believe that he possessed a special spiritual knowledge (*ilm*) that he had inherited from

Muhammad's bloodline, and therefore that he had been the rightful caliph. These supporters of Ali came to be known as **Shi'ites** (SHEE-ites), and they formed a significant minority within Islam that continues to the present. They believed that only the lineal descendants of the Prophet through Ali and Muhammad's daughter, Fatima, were qualified to become caliphs, and they looked on the Umayyad Dynasty as illegitimate usurpers. Another minority, called **Kharijites** (KAH-rih-jites), rejected the caliphs for another reason. They disallowed any form of dynastic succession, believing that only a Muslim free of all sin was fit to lead. Pointing to the increasingly secular lifestyles of the caliphs, as well as to their greater concerns for the secular aspects of ruling than for religious principles, this group frequently fought against the rule of the majority and of the caliphs.

The supporters of Muawiya and his successors were known as **Sunni** (SOO-nee), and they constituted the large majority (currently, almost 90 percent) of Muslims at all times. They largely acquiesced to the legitimacy of the caliphal dynasties. Primarily out of concern for maintaining the unity of Allah's community of believers, they rejected the politically divisive claims of the radical Kharijites and of the Shi'ites that the family of Muhammad possessed some special enlightenment in spiritual matters. In any case, exactly the opposite situation came about: Continual rivalries and battles between Shi'ite, Kharijite, and Sunni were to have decisive effects on the political unity of the Muslim world. Most members of these minorities came to be concentrated in Persia and the Near East, but they had support in many other areas and were always a counterweight to the policies of the Sunni central government. From their ranks came many of the later sects of Islam.

Muawiya proved to be a skillful organizer and statesman. He moved the capital from Medina (where Muhammad had established it) to his native **Damascus**, where he could be more fully in charge. He made the office of caliph more powerful than it had been before and also laid the foundation for the splendid imperial style that would characterize later caliphs, in great contrast to the austerity and simplicity of the first days. Muawiya made clear the dynastic quality of his rule by forcing the reluctant tribal leaders to accept his son as his successor. From that time on, the caliphs were normally the son or brother of the previous ruler.

The Umayyads continued the advances to east and west, although not quite so brilliantly and rapidly as before. To the east, Arab armies penetrated as far as western China before being checked, and they pushed deep into central Asia (to Tashkent in Uzbekistan). Afghanistan became a Muslim outpost. In the west, the outstanding achievement was the conquest of North Africa between 665 and 742, and of Christian Spain between 711 and 721. At least part of Spain would remain in Muslim hands until the time of Christopher Columbus. The Arab horsemen actually penetrated far beyond the Pyrenees, but they were defeated in 732 at Tours in central France by Charlemagne's

predecessor, the Frankish leader Charles Martel, in one of the key battles of European history. This expedition proved to be the high-water mark of Arab Muslim penetration into Europe, and soon afterward they retreated behind the Pyrenees to set up a Spanish caliphate based in the city of Córdoba.

Expansion and time, however, brought unanticipated changes that spelled trouble for the regime. Partly out of religious conviction and, no doubt, partly too as a way of avoiding the *jizya* poll tax, many non-Muslims started converting to Islam. The administration handled this situation by joining converts to existing Arab tribes as “clients” (*mawali*: ma-WAH-lee). However, they consigned these non-Arab converts to the status of second-class Muslims by requiring that they continue paying the burdensome *jizya*. This was necessary to maintain the pension system, but it caused widespread resentment of the caliphs and the privileged Arabs.

Dispersal of the Muslims during the conquests over a wide empire also fostered religious problems. Trouble began with the third caliph, Uthman. Fearing that diverse versions of the Qur’an were beginning to appear, in 655 the caliph ordered that an official edition be issued. Many accused him of setting the power of the state over religion. Later Umayyad caliphs also led notoriously secular lifestyles, so many accused them of being indifferent Muslims and failing to provide religious leadership.

In the 740s, rebel armies, consisting largely of *mawali* demanding social and religious equality with Arab Muslims, overthrew the Umayyad Dynasty. After a brief period of uncertainty, the Abbasid clan was able to take over as a new dynasty of caliphs. One of their first moves was to transfer the seat of government from unfriendly Damascus to the entirely new city of **Baghdad** in Iraq, which was built for that purpose. Their 500-year reign from the fabled capital of Baghdad was the golden age of Islamic civilization.

The Abbasid Dynasty, 750–1258

The **Abbasid Dynasty** (ah-BAH-sid) of caliphs claimed descent from Abbas, the uncle of Muhammad, and for that reason they initially were more acceptable to the Shi’ite faction than the Umayyads had been. The Abbasids also differed from the Umayyads in another important way. Whereas the Umayyads had favored the Arabs in matters of taxation, social status, and religion, the Abbasids opened up the faith to all comers on an essentially equal basis. Such changes enabled Islam to develop into a true world religion during their long reign. Arab officials attempted to retain their monopoly on important posts in the central and provincial administration. But gradually, Persians, Greeks, Syrians, Berbers from North Africa and the Sahara, Spanish ex-Christians, and many others found their way into the inner circles of Muslim authority and prestige. In every area, experienced officials from

the conquered peoples were retained in office, although supervised by Arabs.

Through these non-Arab officials, the Abbasid administration incorporated several foreign models of government. As time passed and more conquered peoples chose to convert to Islam, other ethnic groups steadily diluted the Arab ruling group. These non-Arab converts to Islam transformed it into a highly cosmopolitan, multiethnic religion and civilization. Like the doctrines of Islam, the community of believers was soon marked by its eclecticism and heterogeneity.

Even with the cement of a common faith, the empire was simply too large and its peoples too diverse to hold together politically and administratively. Within little more than a century of the founding of the Abbasid caliphate, the powers of the central government underwent a gradual but cumulatively severe decline. Many segments of the Islamic world broke away from the political control of Baghdad. Spain became fully independent as the Caliphate of Córdoba. North Africa, Egypt, the eastern regions of Persia, and Afghanistan also freed themselves. But the Muslim faith was strong enough to bind this world together permanently in a religious and cultural sense. With the sole exception of Spain, where the Muslims were always a minority, those areas captured at one time or another by the Islamic forces after 629 remain mostly Muslim today. Those areas reach halfway around the globe, from Morocco to Indonesia.

CONVERSION TO ISLAM

Contrary to widespread Christian notions, Islam normally did not force conversion. In fact, after the first few years of conquest, the Arab leaders came to realize the disadvantages of mass conversion of the conquered and discouraged it. By the time of the Umayyads, conversion was looked on as a special allowance to deserving non-Muslims, especially those who had something to offer the conquerors in the way of talents, wealth, or domestic and international prestige.

No effort was made to convert the peasants or the urban masses. Life in the villages went on as before, with the peasants paying their rents and taxes or giving their labor to the new lords just as they had to their old rulers. When and if they converted, it was because of the genuine appeal of Islam as a faith, as well as specific local circumstances, rather than from pressure from above. Centuries passed before the peasants of Persia and Turkey accepted Islam. In Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt, whole villages remained loyal to their Christian beliefs during ten centuries of Muslim rule.

Intermarriage between a Muslim and a practicing non-Muslim was strictly prohibited. This restriction was a result of Qur’anic injunctions that Muslims marry Muslims. Moreover, Muslims had restricted social contact

with non-Muslims, although the two groups did mix together in business transactions, administrative work, and even, at times, intellectual and cultural interchange (especially in Spain).

The Muslims did not view all non-Muslims the same way. Instead, they were categorized according to what the Qur'an and Arab tradition taught about their possession of spiritual truth. The Jews and the Christians were considered meritorious because both shared the same basic beliefs in the one God and His prophets (such as Abraham and Jesus of Nazareth) that Islam did. The Zoroastrians were viewed in much the same way. All three were classed as **dhimmis** (THIH-meas), or "Peoples of the Book," and were thought to have risen above what Muslims regarded as the superstitions of their many other subject peoples.

The dhimmis were not taxed as severely as pagans were, and they had legal and business rights that were denied to others. Restrictions on the dhimmis were generally not severe, and in many places, evidence shows that they prospered. They could worship as they pleased—provided they observed limitations placed on public displays of belief and avoided proselytizing—and they elected their own community leaders. Their position was normally better than that of Jews or Muslims under contemporary Christian rule, although there were instances of persecution in later centuries.

EVERYDAY AFFAIRS

In the opening centuries of Muslim rule, the Muslims were a minority almost everywhere outside Arabia, so they had to accustom themselves to some degree to the habits and manners of their subjects. Because the Bedouin pastoralists who formed the backbone of the early Islamic armies had little experience with administrative organization, manufacturing, or commerce and finance, they were willing to allow their more sophisticated subjects considerable leeway in such matters. Thus, Christian, Jewish, or pagan merchants and artisans were generally able to live and work as they were accustomed to doing, without severe disturbance. They managed routine government and economic affairs not only for themselves but also for the ruling Arabs. This gradually changed as the Bedouins settled into urban

life and as converts to Islam became numerous, but in the meantime, the habit of using the conquered "infidels" to perform many of the ordinary tasks of life had become ingrained and was continued.

Similar patterns could be found in finance and administration: The conquered subjects were kept on in the middle and lower levels. Only Muslims could hold important political and military positions, however. The Muslim "aristocracy" maintained an advantage over the neo-Muslim converts as late as the ninth century, but Greek, Syrian, Persian, and other converts found their way into high posts in the central government in Baghdad under the Abbasids. And in the provinces, it was common to encounter neo-Muslims at the highest levels. With the native peoples playing such a large role in public affairs, it is not surprising that economic and administrative institutions came to be an amalgam of Arab and Greek, Persian, or Spanish customs.

Society in the Muslim world formed a definite social pyramid. During the Umayyad period, descendants of the old Bedouin clans were on top, followed by mawali converts from other religions. Once the Abbasids took power, this distinction ceased to exist. Below the Muslims came the dhimmis, then other non-Muslim free-men, and the slaves were at the bottom. All five classes of society had their own rights and duties, and even the slaves had considerable legal protections. Normally, little friction existed between Muslims and non-Muslims, but the non-Muslims were always clearly second-class citizens, below every Muslim in dignity. Different courts of law had jurisdiction over legal disputes, depending on whether Muslims or non-Muslims were involved. Non-Muslims were taxed heavily, although, as we have seen, the burden on the dhimmis was less than on other non-Muslims.

As this discussion suggests, religion was truly the decisive factor in Muslim society. Like Christians and Jews, but even more so, good Muslims believed that a person's most essential characteristic was whether he or she adhered to true faith—Islam. The fact that all three faiths—Christianity, Judaism, and Islam—believed in essentially the same patriarchal God was not enough to minimize the differences among them. Rather, in time those differences became magnified.

SUMMARY

THE SWORDS OF THE JIHAD armies propelled the surge of Islam outward from its native Arabia in the seventh century. But the attraction of the last of the Western world's major religions rested finally on its openness to all creeds and colors, its ease of understanding, and its assurance of

heaven to those who followed its simple doctrines. The Prophet Muhammad saw himself as completing the works of Abraham and Jesus, as the final messenger of the one omnipotent God. Divisions among the Christians of the Near East assisted his work, as did economic rewards to

the Muslim conquerors and the momentary exhaustion of both Byzantium and Persia. Already by the mid-600s, the new faith had reached Egypt and the borders of Hindustan. By the early 700s, the fall of Spain had given Islam a foothold in Europe. Not only was this the fastest spread of a creed in world history, but Islam would also go on spreading for many years to come.

The caliphs held the political leadership of the faith, at first through the Umayyad dynasty at Damascus, then through the Abbasids at their new capital at Baghdad.

The unity of Islam was split as early as the first Umayyad caliph by the struggle between the Sunni majority and

the Kharijite and Shi'ite minorities—the former of which insisted that a strict observance of religious principles mattered most in a caliph and the latter that a blood relationship with Muhammad was essential for the caliphate office.

The upshot of the Muslim explosion out of Arabia was the creation of a new civilization, which would span Iberia and a large part of the Afro-Asian world by the twelfth century and be carried deep into Christian eastern Europe in the fourteenth century. In the next chapter, we will look at the cultural aspects of this civilization in some detail.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Abbasid Dynasty
Allah

Baghdad
Caliph

Damascus
dhimmis
Five Pillars of Islam
hajj
Hijra
jihad
Ka'ba

Kharijites
Qur'an
Ramadan
Shi'ite
Sunni
Umayyad Dynasty
Umma

For Further Reflection

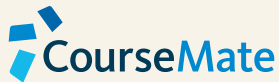
1. Why do you think Islam was born in the Arabian Desert and not elsewhere?
2. In what ways does Islam resemble Judaism and Christianity? Why do you suppose these similarities exist? What does it suggest about the transmission of ideas between civilizations in the sixth and seventh centuries?
3. How does Islam differ from Judaism and Christianity?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. Muhammad's religious awakening came
 - a. as a result of a childhood experience.
 - b. in his middle years, after a series of visions.
 - c. in response to the Christian conquest of Mecca.
 - d. after an encounter with a wandering holy man.
 - e. after his rejection of the Jewish faith.
2. Muhammad began his mission to reform Arab beliefs because
 - a. he was desperate for social prominence.
 - b. he could not tolerate the evil behavior of his associates.
 - c. the Archangel Gabriel convinced him he was chosen to do so.
 - d. he was inspired by the example of the early Christians.
 - e. he became angry over the interference of Meccan traders in religious matters.
3. Which of the following is not one of the Five Pillars of Islam?
 - a. Frequent and regular prayer to Allah
 - b. Fasting at prescribed times
 - c. Almsgiving
 - d. A pilgrimage to Mecca, if one is able
 - e. Taking up arms against the infidel
4. Which of the following statements about Islamic belief is false?
 - a. A Last Judgment awaits all.
 - b. The faithful will be guided by the Qur'an to salvation.
 - c. Mortals must submit to the will of the one all-powerful Lord.
 - d. The divinity of Jesus is beyond doubt.
 - e. The Qur'an is the inspired word of Allah.

5. The farthest reach of Muslim expansion into western Europe was at
 - a. Palermo.
 - b. Tours.
 - c. Córdoba.
 - d. Gibraltar.
 - e. the Pyrenees Mountains.
6. The conflicts between Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims centered on the
 - a. divinity of Muhammad.
 - b. authenticity of Muhammad's visions.
 - c. location of the capital of the Islamic state.
 - d. importance of blood kinship to Muhammad in choosing his successor.
 - e. origin of the Qur'an.
7. The basis of all Muslim political theory is
 - a. a person's religion.
 - b. the wealth possessed by a given group of citizens.
 - c. the social standing of an individual.
 - d. the historical evolution of a given social group.
 - e. the patriarchal family unit.
8. Which of the following areas had not fallen to Islam by the beginning of the Abbasid Dynasty?
 - a. Afghanistan
 - b. Spain
 - c. Iraq
 - d. Syria
 - e. Italy
9. Until 750, the social prestige and position of the Arab Bedouins
 - a. varied according to their wealth.
 - b. was sometimes below even that of slaves.
 - c. was at the top of the pyramid.
 - d. was above that of dhimmis but below that of converts.
 - e. was lower than that of the dhimmis.
10. The dhimmis in early Muslim societies were
 - a. Christians and Jews who had not converted to Islam.
 - b. the merchants.
 - c. the original Arabic believers in Islam.
 - d. non-Arab converts to Islam.
 - e. regarded by the Muslims as still mired in superstition.



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16

Mature Islamic Civilization and the First Global Civilization

THE CALIPHATE

THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

LITERATURE AND THE NATURAL SCIENCES

THE ARTS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

MARRIAGE AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN

THE DECLINE OF THE ABBASIDS AND THE COMING OF THE TURKS AND MONGOLS

THE FIRST “WORLD” CIVILIZATION, 632–1500

THE CONSOLIDATION OF ISLAMIC civilization took place during the period from the founding of the Abbasid Dynasty in 750 through the degeneration of that dynasty in the tenth century. In these 200 years, Islam created for its varied adherents a matrix of cultural characteristics that enabled it to survive both political and religious fragmentation, while still expanding eastward into Asia and southward into Africa. In the arts and sciences, the Muslim world now occupied the place once held by the classical Greeks and Romans, whose own accomplishments were largely preserved for a later age through Muslim solicitude.

Challenges to the caliphs' supremacy, not least from the Christian Crusades to the Holy Land, temporarily checked the faith's expansion after about 900. A nearly complete breakdown of the Baghdad caliphate ensued in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, after which first the all-conquering Mongols from the Central Asian steppes and then the Ottoman Turks took over the leadership of Islam and infused it with new vigor (see Chapters 18 and 24).

Even after all forms of central governance of the vast empire had been destroyed, a clear unity was still visible in Islamic culture and lifestyle, whether in the Middle East, India, or Spain. Conflicts with other civilizations and cultures (African, Chinese, Hindu, Christian) only sharpened the Muslims' sense of what was proper and necessary for a life that was pleasing to God and rewarding to humans. How well such a sense was converted into actuality varied, of course, from country to country and time to time. But at its height, Islamic civilization was the envy of its Christian neighbors, with achievements in the sciences and arts that could rival even those of the Chinese.

We believe in God and what has been sent down to us, and was sent down to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, and their descendants, and what was given Moses, Jesus, and the prophets by their Lord.

—*The Qur'an*

750	Abbasid caliphate founded in Baghdad
786–809	Harun al-Rashid
1055	Seljuk Turks take power
1258	Mongols plunder Baghdad

THE CALIPHATE

We have seen how the Abbasid clan seized power from the Umayyads and transferred the capital to the new city of Baghdad in the 760s (see Chapter 15). This city quickly became one of the major centers of culture, manufacturing, and trade in the world, as the Abbasids adorned it with every form of art and encouraged its educational establishments with money and personal participation. They also further developed the Umayyad institutions of government. The Abbasid caliphs had come to power on the promise of establishing equality among all Muslims, regardless of their ethnicity. More important still, they had promised to provide more religious leadership. The Islamic community, as it had expanded into a vast empire and as Muslims had become widely scattered, started to show signs of sectarian division. Much of this centered on questions regarding the applicability of religion in people's everyday lives. With the sponsorship of the caliphs, religious scholars called the **ulama** (oo-lah-MAH) operated to gradually bring into existence the **Sharia** (shah-REE-yah), or sacred law, based on the words of the Qur'an and the example, or **Sunna** (SOO-nah), set by the Prophet Muhammad for Muslim living. The Sharia involved far more than religious or doctrinal matters, strictly speaking. In the Muslim view, religion entered into virtually all spheres of what we consider civil and private life, so that the decisions of the ulama and the applications of the Sharia affected almost all aspects of public and private affairs.

Unlike the Western world, the Muslims' sacred book and the Sunna of the Prophet remained the twin bases of all holy law and hence of all administration and government to a very late date. The Qur'an was still the fount of all legal knowledge into modern times, and for some Islamic fundamentalists, it still is (for notable examples, in Afghanistan under the Taliban; in Iran since the revolution of 1979–1980; and in Libya and Saudi Arabia).

In Baghdad, an elaborate, mainly Persian bureaucracy exercised governing powers. The major institutions of the central government were the *diwan*, or state council, and the **qadis** (KAH-dees), or judges who had jurisdiction in all disputes involving a Muslim. A **vizier** (vih-ZEER), a kind of prime minister for the caliphs who had enormous powers, headed this council. Many of the other officials were eunuchs (castrated male slaves), who were thought more likely to be devoted to the government because they could have no family interests of their own. In the provinces, the *amir*, or governor, was the key man. His tax-collecting responsibility was crucial to the well-being of the Baghdad government. Rebellions normally started in the provinces and were led by independent-minded *amirs*.

The Muslim army in the Abbasid era was international in composition. Many of the soldiers were slaves, taken from all the conquered peoples, but especially from

the Africans and Egyptians. They were well trained and equipped, and their commanders came to have increasing political power as the caliph became weaker. The Abbasid forces were undoubtedly the most impressive of the era and far overshadowed the Europeans' feudal levies and the Byzantines' professional soldiery. Abbasid raids into Afghanistan and western India established footholds that were gradually expanded by later Muslim regimes.

THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

By the tenth century, the ulama had succeeded in systematizing the application of the Sharia to all spheres of Muslims' lives. This triumph was so complete that by then, the ulama had succeeded in eclipsing even the caliphs as the primary source of authority on religious matters. While the caliphs remained the symbolic heads of the Islamic community, people turned to the ulama for religious guidance and education. Even more critical was the fact that the system and the sources of written law they had developed for seeking God's will in all things was considered to be complete, and therefore closed to further development. Known as the "Closing of the Gates," this closure discouraged all future independent thought and intellectual innovation after that time. From the tenth century on, the practice of religious law became thoroughly conservative, and the ulama exercised almost total control over defining acceptable, orthodox practices in God's eyes.

Equally noteworthy was the burgeoning success of the movements known collectively as Sufism. **Sufis** (SOO-fees) were (and are), generally speaking, the equivalent of Christian and Buddhist mystics; they believed in a direct, personal path to the experience of God's presence. They relied as much on emotional connections to divine truth as on the workings of reason and the revealed word. Although they certainly revered the Qur'an, they did not necessarily see it as the sole path to God. They wished to bring the individual into the state of grace through his or her (Sufis were of both sexes) own commitment to the Divine. Sometimes this search for grace took the form of ecstatic dancing, which continued until the participants fell into a trance. One example was the Turkish Whirling Dervishes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mentioned in accounts by Western travelers to the Muslim East. Many varieties of Sufism existed, among both Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims, and they were particularly active in mercantile circles. This practice assisted in the spread of the movement to all corners of Islam because of the Sufis' greater tolerance of local customs than most ulama were willing to allow.

Whether ecstatic dervish or reserved intellectual in his study, the relationship between the Sufi and the



Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK/Sapleton Collection/Bridgeman Art Library

WHIRLING DERVISHES. This Persian miniature shows a group of Sufis, or dervishes, members of popular Muslim religious associations called *tariqas*, which began forming in the century after the death of the great Sufi teacher al-Ghazzali. In this particular *tariqa*, prolonged dancing was aimed at inducing a trance in which the faithful witnessed God's presence.

ulama authorities was often strained to the point of mutual condemnation and even bloodshed. An Iranian Sufi, the great philosopher-theologian Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali (al-gah-ZAH-lee; 1058–1111), managed to bring together the mystic enthusiasts and the conservative clerics into a fragile but lasting truce, with his profound synthesis of both points of view in the early twelfth century. Known as the “Renewer of Islam” because of his services, al-Ghazzali is one of the most important theologians of Islam. From Ghazzali’s time, Sufism became very popular. Soon, other Sufi masters came forward and gathered circles of students and devotees around them. Some of these circles organized into religious associations, or **tariqas** (tah-REE-kahs), most of which were named after the Sufi master on whose teachings they were based. Such *tariqas* helped spread Islam into parts of Asia and Africa where it previously had only a weak hold at best. (See Evidence of the Past for an example of Sufi poetry.)

LITERATURE AND THE NATURAL SCIENCES

The Arabic language became an important source of unification in the Muslim world, spreading into its every part. Because the sacred book of the Qur’an could be written only in Arabic, every educated Muslim had to learn this language to some degree. The Arabs also came to possess a cheap and easily made writing medium—paper (picked up from the Chinese, as so much medieval technology would be). A paper factory was operating in Baghdad as early as 793, providing a great stimulus to making books and circulating ideas.

The university was also a Muslim creation. The world’s oldest still-functioning higher educational institution is the Azhar Mosque University in Cairo, which was founded in the ninth century by Shi’ite ulama as a place of study in the religious sciences. Long before the names of Aristotle and Plato were known in the Christian West, the Muslims of the Middle East had recognized the value of classical Greek learning and acted to preserve and expand it. Harun al-Rashid—one of the greatest of the Baghdad caliphs in the early ninth century—and his successors created a special bureau called the “House of Wisdom,” whose highest purpose was translating the great works of medicine, science, mathematics, astrology, alchemy, logic, and metaphysics from Greek and Sanskrit into



Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Bodl. 380, fol. 28v

SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS. Islamic medicine was so far ahead of medieval European practice that, despite the enmity between Christianity and Islam, Arab doctors were frequently invited to spend time teaching in Europe. The Muslim practitioners were particularly adept at eye surgery and amputations.

Arabic. There, too, students of philosophy and the various sciences congregated and debated the writings of the Greek and Indian masters. The Muslims especially revered Aristotle, whom they regarded as the greatest teacher of all time. They passed on this esteem for Aristotle to their Christian subjects in Spain, who in turn transmitted it to the rest of Christian Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In the sciences, the Muslim contribution was selective but important. Unlike the Classical and Hellenistic civilizations, the contributions brought forth by Muslim scientists were often of substantial practical application. In the medical sciences, the four centuries between 800 and 1200 saw the world of Islam considerably ahead of any Western civilization. Pharmacology, physiology, anatomy, and, above all, ophthalmology and optical science were special strong points. In geography, Arabic and Persian writers and travelers were responsible for much new information about the known and the hitherto unknown world. In astronomy and astrology, the Muslims built on and expanded the traditions of careful observation they had inherited in the

Near East. In mathematics, they developed and rationalized the ancient Hindu system of numbers to make the Arabic numbers that are still in universal use today. They also introduced the concepts of algebra and the decimal system to the West. One of the most important figures in Muslim science was Ibn Sina (Avicenna), a physician and scientist of great importance to medieval Europe and author of the famous handbook on clinical practice *The Canon of Medicine*. Other important individuals include the philosophers al-Kindi and Ibn Rushd (Averroës), and al-Zahrawi, a surgeon and medical innovator.

THE ARTS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

The Abbasid era was witness to an extraordinary flourishing of many of the arts—plastic, literary, and poetic. Some of them employed novel forms; others carried forward established tradition. Because the Qur'an prohibited

ARTS AND CULTURE

THE SUFI VERSES OF AL-RUMI

Following al-Ghazzali's death, Sufism spread rapidly throughout the Islamic world. Many Sufis organized into associations, called *tariqas*, which functioned much like clubs or secret societies. Each of these had its own unique "way" (*tariqa*) of achieving spiritual ecstasy, as well as its own body of religious literature and lore, some of which took the form of music and spoken poetry. Here is an example of such Sufi poetry by the great thirteenth-century Persian mystic, Jalal al-Din al-Rumi:

No joy have I found in the two worlds apart from thee,
Beloved
Many wonders have I seen: I have not seen a wonder
like thee.
They say that blazing fire is the infidel's portion:
I have seen none, . . . excluded from thy fire.
Often I have laid the spiritual ear at the window of the
heart:
Of a sudden didst thou lavish grace upon thy servant:
I saw no cause for it save thy infinite kindness.
O chosen Cup-bearer, O apple of mine eyes, the like of
thee
Ne'er appeared in Persia, nor in Arabia have I found it.
Pour out wine till I become a wanderer from myself;
For in selfhood and existence I have felt only fatigue.

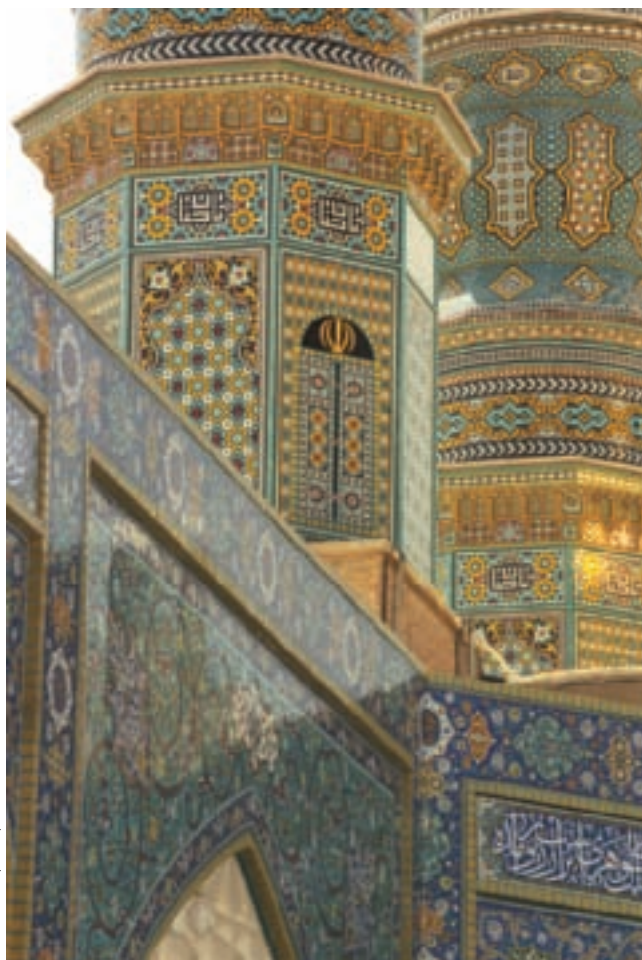
O thou who art milk and sugar,
O thou who art sun and moon,
O thou who art mother and father, I have
known no kin but thee.
O indestructible Love, O divine Minstrel,
Thou art both stay and refuge: a name equal to thee I
have not found.
We are pieces of steel, and thy love is the magnet:
Thou art the source of all aspiration, in myself I have
seen none.
Silence, O brother! Put learning and culture away:
Till Thou namedst culture, I knew no culture but Thee.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Rumi uses the language of a suitor or lover: Whom is he actually addressing? Why does he choose this kind of language? Is it appropriate? Throughout the poem, he disavows all sense of earthly pleasure and even of himself. Why do you suppose he does this? What does it suggest about the method used by the religious mystic to achieve an ecstatic experience of God?

Source: Taken from *Selected Poems from the Diwani Shamsi Tabriz* (by Rumi), trans. by R. A. Nicholson (London: Cambridge University Press, 1898). Quoted in William H. McNeill and Marilyn R. Waldman, *The Islamic World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), pp. 243–244.





DECORATIVE TILES. These magnificent tiled spires are part of the shrine to Fatima, the daughter of Muhammad, in Qom, Iran.

the lifelike representation of the human figure as blasphemous to the creator, Allah, the Muslims had to turn to other motifs and developed an intricate, geometrically based format for the visual arts. The motifs of their painting, ceramics, mosaics, and inlay work—in all of which the Muslim world excelled—were based on garlands, plants, or geometric figures such as triangles, diamonds, and parallelograms. Because of the religious prohibition, the Muslims produced no sculpture beyond miniatures and, for a long time, no portrait painting.

In architecture, the Muslims—especially the Persians—developed a great deal of lastingly beautiful forms and executed them with great skill. The “most beautiful building in the world,” the Taj Mahal in India, is a thoroughly Muslim creation (see the photo in Chapter 24). The use of reflecting pools and landscapes of great precision and intricate design was common in parks and public buildings. Great wealth and a love of luxury were earmarks of rulers throughout the world of Islam, and it was considered

a mark of gentility and good manners for a ruler to spend lavishly on public and private adornments.

Calligraphy was a special strength of the Muslims, whose Arabic script is the product of aesthetic demands and the desire to communicate. As in ancient China, a beautiful script was considered to be as much a part of good breeding as beautiful clothing. Arabic lettering was incorporated into almost every form of art, generally as quotations from the Qur’an.

In literature, the Persian language replaced Arabic as the preferred instrument of expression. The epic *Shah-Nama*, a prodigious collection of tales and anecdotes from the great poet Firdawsi, attempts to sum up Persia’s history from its origins. Written in the early eleventh century, it is far better known and revered in the Muslim East than the *Rubaiyat* of Umar Khayyam (see the Patterns of Belief box in Chapter 24). Arabs developed storytelling to a high art and are generally credited with the invention of fiction—that is, stories told solely to entertain. The most famous book of stories in the history of the world is *The 1001 Nights* (also called *The Arabian Nights*), which was supposedly created by a courtier at the court of Harun al-Rashid. Poetry was also a strongly cultivated and popular literary art form—especially among the Persian Muslims.

MARRIAGE AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN

How did women fit into the social scheme of the Muslim world? The Qur’an openly states that men are superior to women and grants men the right to rule over them. On the other hand, the Qur’an also accorded women many protections from male abuse—far more than in pre-Islamic Arab society. How many of these beliefs were actually put into practice is difficult to know. As a generalization, the relatively elevated status of women in the early Islamic period appears to have undergone some decline in later centuries, as a result of expansion and the process of absorption of other cultures into Islam. Veiling and the seclusion of women, for example, were practices of Indian origin. Slave women were allowed more freedom than were the freeborn, but only because of and as a sign of their inferior position. Many were concubines.

The Qur’an allows but does not encourage a man to marry up to four wives if he can maintain them properly. If additional wives cannot be supported properly, they are neither expected nor permitted. The marriages may be either serial or simultaneous. There is no limit on the number of concubines he can have. In practice, though, few Muslims had as many as four wives, and fewer still could afford concubines. The children of a concubine, if acknowledged by the father, were provided for in law and custom equally with those of a legal wife.



ARABIC CALLIGRAPHY. Only the Oriental scripts rival the beauty of written Arabic. Several different styles evolved in different places and times, quite as distinct as the various alphabets of the Western world. Here is an eleventh-century Persian script.

Many households kept at least one slave (sometimes the concubine). Slavery was common but usually not harsh. Most slaves worked in the household or shop—not in the fields or mines. It was common for slaves to be freed at any time for good behavior or because the owner wished to ensure Allah's blessing. Most people fell into slavery for the usual reasons: debts, wars, and bad luck. Muslims were not supposed to enslave other members of their faith, but this rule seems to have been frequently ignored or rationalized.

In theory at least, the household was ruled by the man, whose foremost duty toward it and himself was to maintain honor. Muslim society was dominated by honor and shame, and such notions were often tied up in social perceptions of how the women of a particular household behaved. Consequently, in most upper-class households, women's status was restricted the most. Here, women of reproductive age and children were confined to the harem, the private areas of the house where they were kept in hiding (called **purdah**) from the prying eyes of visitors and strangers. Visiting other women outside the home was permitted, although it was usually limited to the evening and nighttime hours.

In practice, however, women's status was not always as limited as Islamic law and custom demanded. Although such rules of honor and behavior were common in well-to-do households in the Islamic heartlands, among the

lower echelons of society, women often enjoyed considerably greater personal freedom. The same held true for Muslim women who lived in many parts of Asia and Africa. Sheer economic necessity, for example, usually made observing the rules of **purdah** impossible. Women were often occupied outside their households, fully participating in many breadwinning activities, as were male members of their homes and communities. Moreover, local traditions frequently overrode written law. Islamic "orthodoxy" made more allowance for local social traditions than called for by the written legal codes. Ample recent scholarship has shown that women in many Islamic societies exercised powers within the private sphere that sometimes exceeded those of male members. Houses, for example, sometimes actually belonged to the female members of a Muslim society, rather than to the males. Where divorces occurred, these women were left in possession of the house and the marriage goods, often controlling them as powerful matriarchs. Many such examples exist and deserve further exploration by interested students of history.

THE DECLINE OF THE ABBASIDS AND THE COMING OF THE TURKS AND MONGOLS

Despite all of their efforts, the Abbasids were unable to restore the political unity of the empire they had taken over in 750. Even great caliphs such as Harun al-Rashid, who was well known in the West, could not force the Spaniards and the North African amirates to submit to their rule. Gradually, during the 800s, almost all of the African and Arabian possessions broke away and became at least semi-independent, leaving the Abbasids in control of only the Middle East. More and more, they came to depend on tough Turkish tribesmen, most of whom had converted to Islam, for their protection against rebellion. It was inevitable that, as time passed and the caliphs became ever more dissolute, these tribesmen would turn on their weak masters and use them as pawns.

In the mid-1000s, a new group of Turks, known as **Seljuks**, surged out of Afghanistan into Iran and Iraq. In 1055, they entered Baghdad as victors. Keeping the Abbasid ruler as a figurehead, the Seljuks took over the government for about a century, until they too fell prey to internal rivalries. The central government ceased to exist, and the Middle East became a series of large and small Muslim principalities, fighting one another for commercial and territorial advantage.

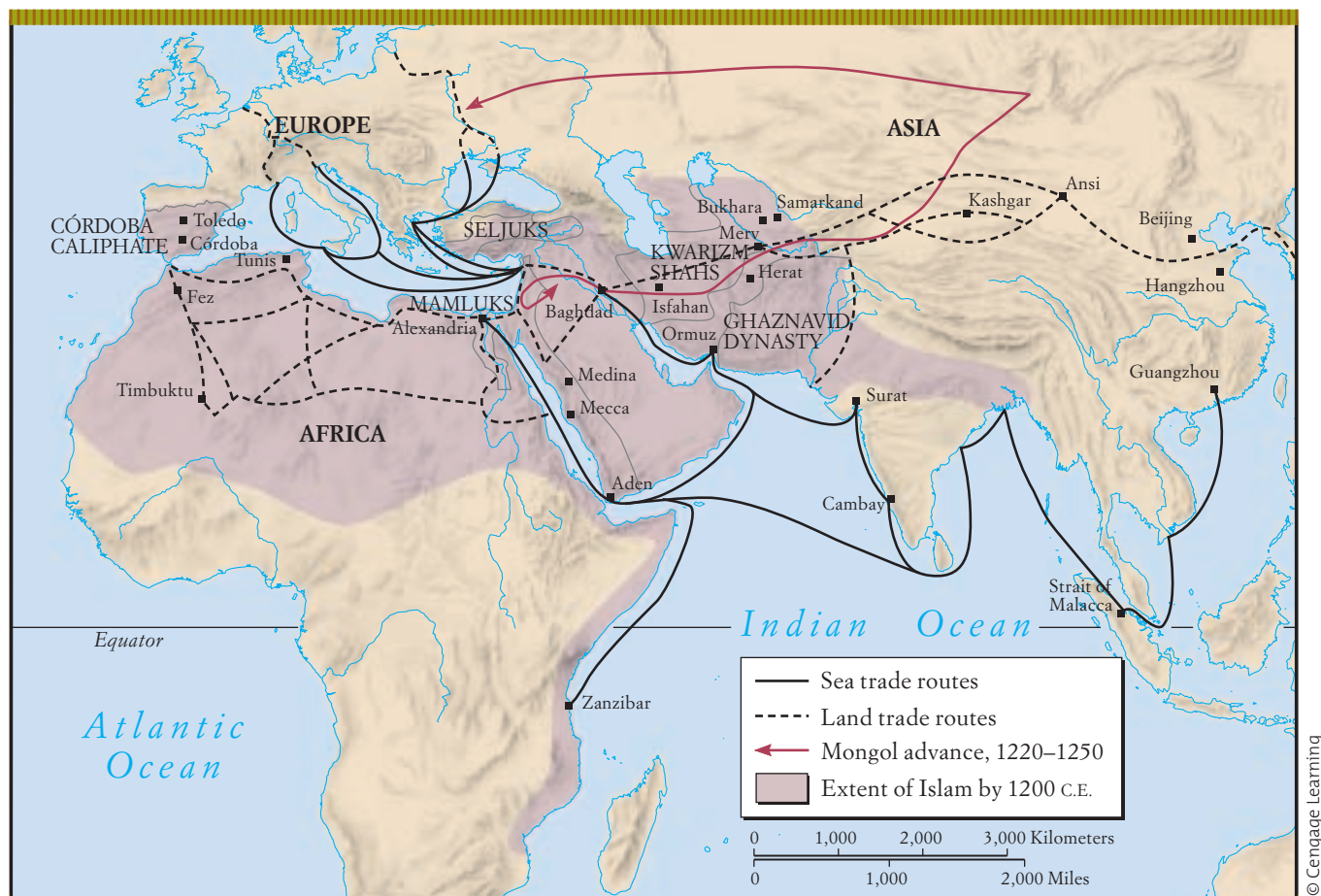
Into this disintegrated empire exploded a totally new force out of the East: Chinghis Khan and the **Mongols**. Chinghis started out as a minor tribal leader of the primitive Mongols, who inhabited the semidesert steppes of northern central Asia as nomadic horse and sheep

breeders. In the late twelfth century, he was able to put together a series of victories over his rivals and set himself up as lord of his people. Leading an army of fearsome horsemen in a great campaign, he managed to conquer most of central Asia and the Middle East before his death in the early 1200s.

Chinghis's immediate successor as Great Khan (the title means "lord") was victorious over the Russians and ravaged about half of Europe before retiring in the 1230s. But a few years later, the Mongols felt ready to settle accounts with the Seljuks and other claimants to the Baghdad throne. They took Baghdad in a violent assault, followed by considerable slaughter and rape—most estimates say that some 80,000 people were killed. In this debacle, the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad finally came to an end in 1258 and was replaced by the Mongol Khanate of central Asia. The Mongols' story continues in Chapter 18.

THE FIRST "WORLD" CIVILIZATION, 632–1500

Islamic civilization flourished most brilliantly between about 900 and about 1200. At its height, Islam was the most lavish and innovative civilization of the world, rivaled only by China and perhaps India, with both of which it had extensive commercial and intellectual contacts. Innovations in thought and culture turned Islam into a world religion, but trade provided the opportunities for conversion and the expansion of the Muslim world in this era. The Qur'anic exhortation to "honor the honest merchant" meant that commerce and manufacturing held places of honor in the world of Islam that was rivaled only among (Mahayana) Buddhists and some Hindus castes.



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MAP 16.1 The Islamic Community and Trade, c. 1200 C.E.

In this period, the Islamic community extended from the Atlantic to Southeast Asia. By about 1200, the Baghdad caliph's hold on territories beyond Arabia and Iraq was minimal, if it existed at all. Persia and Egypt, as well as Spain and Afghanistan, were

autonomous under their own shahs and caliphs. African Muslims never had direct contact with Baghdad.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What features of geography favored the spread of Islam over such a vast region?

The Islamic world at this time extended from Spain to China, and Muslim traders were found on every known continent and sea (see Map 16.1). Between them, Muslims and Hindus nearly reduced the trade on the Indian Ocean to a monopoly, and Muslims exercised almost equal control over the Asian land routes. Imperial China and the Islamic West were the greatest producers and consumers of wealth in the World, and the Indian Ocean and Silk Road routes were the links that tied these two great zones of prosperity together. Manufactured goods—principally silks, porcelains, carpets, textiles, gold coins, and metal wares—were transported in ships or by camels and mules. Southeast Asia and India added beads, textiles, and high-value goods like pepper and spices. Africa occupied an important—although somewhat subordinate rank—in this network,

provisioning the great markets of Asia with slaves, gold, leather goods, and raw materials like animal by-products, cowry shells, timber, and foodstuffs. Of greater significance was the movement of people, technologies, and ideas throughout this vast commercial domain.

Islam provided a precise place for every person in its social scheme without severely limiting freedom of movement. Believers could move throughout this network without hindrance—all around a huge belt of settlements that spanned most of the Eastern Hemisphere, from Spain to the Philippines to Timbuktu and Kilwa in Africa. Travelers could journey to distant lands, secure in the knowledge that they would be welcomed by their coreligionists and would find the same laws and religious values, the same literary language, and the same conceptions of justice and

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

TRAVEL WITHIN A COMMUNITY OF DISCOURSE: THE *RIHLA* OF IBN BATTUTA

Abu Abdallah ibn Battuta (c. 1304–1369) was a Muslim scholar and traveler from Morocco who undertook the hajj when he was about twenty-one years old. Over the following thirty years, he completed the mandatory visit to Mecca several times and extended his travels over the next twenty-four years to take in most of the entire Islamic world and beyond. By the time he returned to Morocco as a middle-aged man, his voyages (*rihla*) had taken him to other parts of North Africa, Syria, Palestine, Byzantium, Arabia, Iraq, Persia, East Africa (see Chapter 17 and 25), Southern Europe, India, the Maldive Islands, and perhaps Southeast Asia and China.

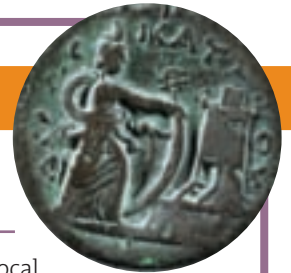
Ibn Battuta was born into a family of scholars; therefore, prior to his travels, he had had a thorough education in many of the Islamic sciences. This paid off handsomely, because the privileges enjoyed by the educated Muslim elite, or *ulama* (singular, *alim*), were available to Battuta wherever he traveled throughout the Islamic world. Often, the voyages he undertook were dangerous, but as an *alim*, he often enjoyed safe passages in caravans and in the company of other Muslims. He married (and later divorced) many women along the way too, because other travelers were anxious to benefit from an alliance with a distinguished family by marrying their daughters to a scion of a learned clan. Most critically, Battuta's reputation opened doors for him along the way in the homes of other *ulama*, merchants, and fellow travelers. He was received favorably at the courts of powerful *amirs* and sultans, where he was given royal protection and even retained by some of them as a judge, or *qadi*.

Regardless of the differences in local language or culture, all Muslims shared fundamental religious ideas and values and could frequently communicate in Arabic. Among Ibn Battuta's royal patrons were Abu Sa'id, the last Mongol ruler of the Ilkhanid state, and Muhammad ibn Tughluq, the Sultan of Delhi (India). At the time of Battuta's visit, Sultan Muhammad had just completed the conquest of Delhi. To give Islam a firmer base there and to consolidate his own rule in what was a predominantly Hindu land, the Sultan had decided to import as many Muslim scholars and other functionaries as possible. Because of his training and the years he had spent studying while in Mecca, Ibn Battuta was employed as a *qadi* (judge) by the sultan.

After finally returning home only to learn that both of his parents had died of the Black Death, Ibn Battuta set out once again for a trip to Muslim Spain. After an absence of more than two years, he returned to Morocco and continued his travels for another three years to West Africa and the fabled “land of gold,” the kingdoms of Mali and Gao. He returned home for the last time in 1354 and spent the remaining years of his life writing an account of his travels.

>>ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What do we mean when we speak of a “community of discourse?” What evidence is there that the Islamic world had formed a community of discourse by the time of Ibn Battuta's travels? How far did it extend? What lands did it include (Map 16.1)? How did it aid Battuta in his travels?



IMAGES OF HISTORY

NAVIGATING THE INDIAN OCEAN ON A DHOW

For many centuries, travelers like Ibn Battuta journeyed between the ports of the Indian Ocean highway in a wooden sailing craft known as a *dhow*, illustrated below. The first image depicts a thirteenth-century rendition, and the second one illustrates a twentieth-century design that has probably changed little since Ibn Battuta's day.



*Indian Ocean
Dhow c.
1000–1500 CE
Ibn Battuta's ship?*

*Arab Dhow from the
Present*

Ame Hodaic/Corbis



@Marion Kaplany/Alamy

truth that they knew at home. The Arabic language provided a common medium that facilitated the flow of trade, ideas, and customs. Wherever they were, all Muslims knew they were members of a great community of discourse, the Muslim *Umma*. There was no better example of this than the story of the greater traveler, Ibn Battuta (see the Society and Economy box).

The cities of this world were splendid and varied. Córdoba and Granada were cities of perhaps a half million people in the tenth century; their ruling class was Muslim, from the North African Berber people, but their inhabitants

included many Jews and Christians as well. Anything produced in the East or West could be purchased in the markets of Córdoba. The same was true of Baghdad, which had an even larger population and featured the most lavish imperial court of all under caliph Harun al-Rashid and his ninth-century successors. The annual pilgrimage to Mecca drew Muslims from every part of this Old World community and, again, provided a locale where, despite differences in local culture, Muslims could rediscover the common heritage that bound them together over the vast distances that separated their homelands.

SUMMARY

MUSLIM CIVILIZATION WAS PARTLY AN amalgam of the many Near Eastern civilizations that had preceded it and of its own legal and cultural innovations. It was eclectic, taking from any forebear anything that seemed valuable or useful, and then adapting it to satisfy the spiritual needs of Muslims. In the opening centuries, the Arabs who had founded it by military conquest dominated the civilization, but it gradually opened up to all who professed the true faith of the Prophet and worshiped the one god, Allah. Much of the territory the Arabs had conquered already had seen previous great civilizations, with well-developed religions. During the first century and a half of conquest, the

invading Arabs contented themselves with establishing a minority of rulers and traders and gradually intermarrying with the peoples they conquered. It would be a mistake to overemphasize force and conquest as the principal causes for the spread of Islam; the record suggests that religious minorities were tolerated and that by the eleventh century, most non-Arabs had converted to Islam of their own free will. Based on the easy-to-understand principles of an all-embracing religious faith, Muslim civilization was a world into which many streams flowed, to comprise a vast new sea in which many traditions were tolerated, helping it to become the first “world” civilization.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

<i>Arabian Nights</i> (<i>The 1001 Nights</i>)	Sharia
Mongols	Sufis
purdah	Sunna
qadis	tariqas
Seljuks	ulama
	vizier

For Further Reflection

1. What is meant when we apply the term “world civilization”? In previous centuries, did Buddhism become a world civilization? Why or why not?
2. The chapter suggests various ways in which Islam, as a civilization, was transformed over the centuries. See if you can list some of the most significant of these.
3. Trade and conquest were the obvious ways in which Islam expanded. Can you think of some other factors that might have contributed to making Islam the first “world” civilization?
4. From what you have learned so far, what intellectual debts does Western civilization owe to Islam and other Asian civilizations?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- Which of the following cities was not a center of Muslim culture in this era?
 - Cairo
 - Constantinople
 - Córdoba
 - Baghdad
 - Granada
- Sufism is the Islamic version of the intellectual phenomenon known in the West as
 - communism.
 - mysticism.
 - individualism.
 - feminism.
 - agnosticism.
- The common Muslim attitude toward trade and mercantile activity was
 - that they were best left to the “infidel.”
 - reluctant acceptance of their necessity.
 - that nothing was morally or ethically wrong with them.
 - condemnation as temptations for evil-doing.
 - that only the upper class was to be involved.
- Many Muslim scholars especially revered the work of
 - Gautama Buddha.
 - Aristotle.
 - Confucius.
 - Socrates.
 - Harun al-Rashid.
- Muslim knowledge significantly influenced the West in all of these areas except
 - philosophy.
 - law.
 - medicine.
 - mathematics.
 - a written language.
- The major area from which Muslim culture entered Christian Europe was
 - Greece.
 - Spain.
 - Italy.
 - Russia.
 - Turkey.
- The *Canon of Medicine* was the work of
 - Aristotle.
 - Harun al-Rashid.
 - Avicenna.
 - Averroës.
 - al-Zahrawi.
- The application and interpretation of Islamic law was largely in the hands of
 - the caliphs.
 - the Sharia.
 - the ulama.
 - Sufis.
 - the viziers.
- Before the time of al-Ghazzali, Sufism was
 - organized into associations.
 - highly unpopular.
 - encouraged by the caliphs.
 - discouraged by the ulama.
 - popular only among slaves.
- The concept of veiling and secluding women appears to have come from
 - the Qur'an.
 - Muhammad.
 - Afghanistan.
 - Avicenna.
 - India.



Go to the History CourseMate website for primary source links, study tools, and review materials www.cengagebrain.com

17

Africa From Axum, to 1400

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND EARLY STATE FORMATION

Axum

TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE AND EARLY KINGDOMS OF THE SUDAN

Ghana

Mali

EARLY KINGDOMS OF THE FORESTS AND WOODLANDS

Ifè

Oyo

Benin

THE SWAHILI CITY-STATES

GREAT ZIMBABWE

AFRICAN ARTS

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF AFRICANS has made impressive advances in the past fifty years. The greater part of the continent's people had no written language until relatively recent days. Historical research in the usual literary sense was therefore difficult, but a combination of new methods of obtaining information about the past and new techniques for using that information has changed the situation radically. Now, archaeology, historical linguistics, art forms, and oral traditions have brought considerable illumination to Africa's past, and these sources are gradually revealing an extraordinary panorama of peoples and achievements.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND EARLY STATE FORMATION

In sub-Saharan Africa, the basic unit of society was not the nuclear family but the clan, or **lineage** (LIN-ee-age), a much larger unit supposedly descended from a common ancestor. Children took their names from and had specified status and rights through their lineage. Some societies seem to have followed **patrilineal descent** (descent and rights determined by the father's lineage), but others followed **matrilineal descent** (names and rights received from the mother's side). Clans lived together in compounds that grew in time to become villages

Not even God is wise enough.

—Yoruba Proverb

100s–700s CE	Kingdom of Axum
300–1100 CE	Kingdom of Ghana
800s–1200s CE	Many Swahili city-states founded
c. 500s CE	Origins of Sudanese kingdoms; trans-Saharan trade increases
700s–800s	Muslim conquest of North Africa
c. 900s–c. 1400s CE	Great Zimbabwe flourishes
c. 800s	Conversion of West Sudanians and Swahili to Islam begins
1250–1450 CE	Kingdom of Mali flourishes

or towns. People occasionally formed guild-like organizations to specialize in a certain craft, such as iron or copper smelting, pot making, basketry, salt making, or even regional or long-distance trade. But most clans depended on either farming or herding activity to sustain them.

Several clans made up an ethnic group (sometimes called a “tribe”), and the local village was usually the keystone of all social organization and responsible for enforcing the rules of daily life—what many would call “government.” Because age was highly venerated, it was customary for the clan elders to make most of the important decisions for the village, although everyone usually had a right to participate in deliberations, and matters were usually discussed until a consensus opinion was reached. Religion and the maintenance of social order were closely linked, but we know little about the exact practices that were followed in the remote past. Religious sacrifices were demanded before any important action was taken. Excepting the Christian northeast, animism in a multiplicity of forms was universal before the influence of Islam began to be felt in the ninth century.

Arab travelers’ accounts tell of the “shocking” freedom (to Muslims, at least) of women in African society in the tenth through thirteenth centuries. There was no attempt to seclude women, except among some upper-class Muslims, or to restrict them from business dealings. As a rule, women were subordinate to men in public life, although they exercised their right to be heard on public issues. Also, there were instances when women occupied positions of power within African states—for example, as queen mothers or even occasionally as rulers. Women played a much stronger hand in the family and in the economies of their communities. They enjoyed rights equal to men’s in the life of their clans, particularly when it came to rights of access and inheritance of clan resources like land and livestock. Because women performed most of the work on the family farms, they organized local markets for the sale of their produce. In this capacity, they played a crucial part in regional trade.

Male polygamy was the universal rule, and the number of wives a man had was taken as a sign of his wealth and social status. Taking additional wives as a man matured was considered a natural and desirable way of extending his kinship network. The offspring of these unions were considered the responsibility of the females, thus reinforcing the prevalent African custom of seeing the clan rather than the nuclear family as the primary unit of social life. When African people fell under the sway of Islam, women’s personal and public lives were controlled more closely. Moreover, where matrilineal descent existed, it was usually replaced by patrilineal descent, and women’s rights of inheritance were reduced to the general rule of Islamic law that restricted a woman’s inheritance to only half that of a man.

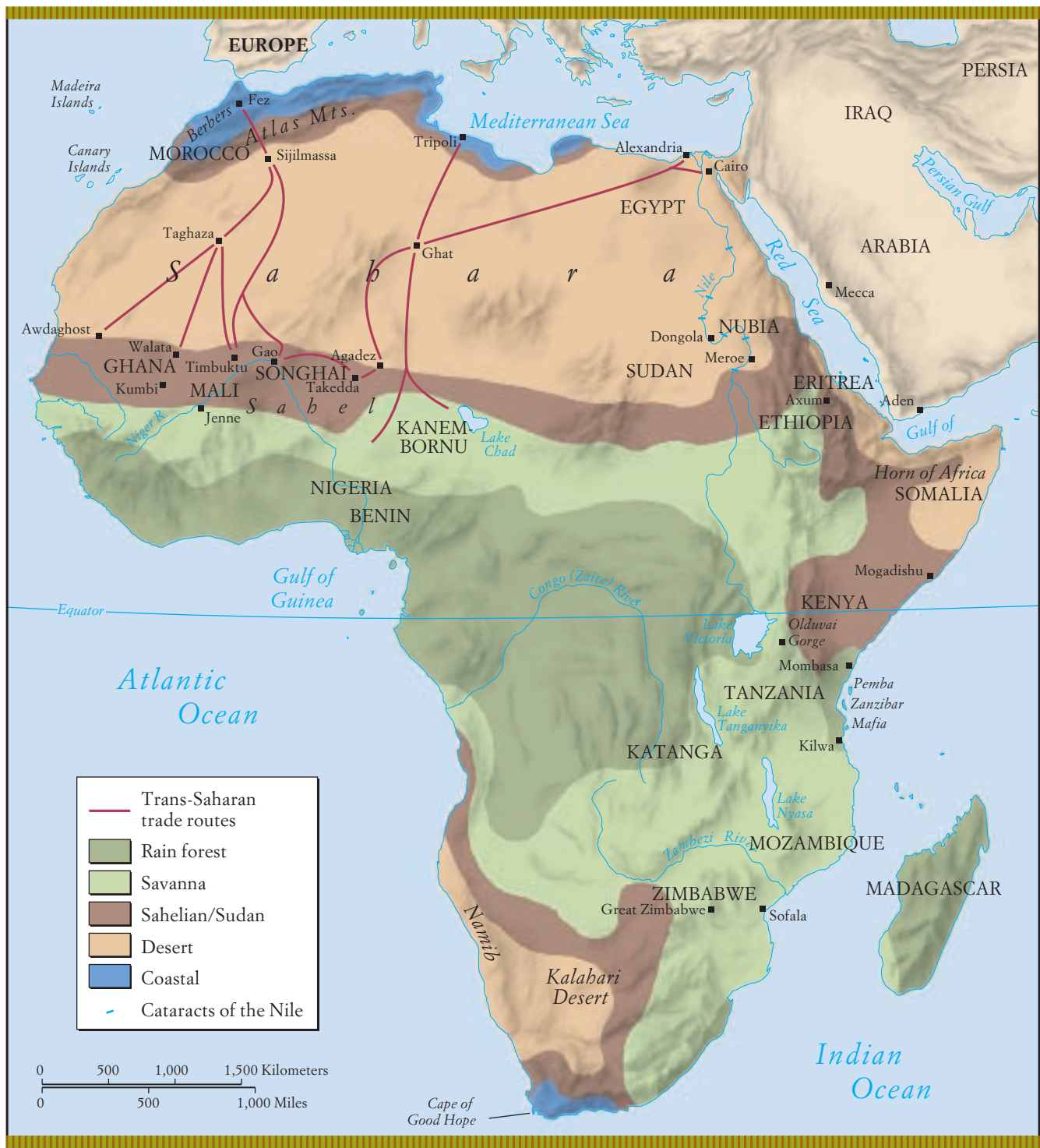
Early European explorers/traders remarked on the existence of large numbers of people throughout sub-Saharan

Africa who lived without any form of what they recognized as government. Perhaps as many as one-fourth of the African population, it has been estimated, lived in such apparently stateless societies at the advent of the Europeans. In making their judgment, the newcomers looked for the earmarks of government with which they were familiar in their European homelands: monarchs surrounded by subordinate officials, tax-collecting systems, defined frontiers, permanent military establishments, and, most important, written laws. They also assumed that the larger the state, the more advanced must be its civilization. These assumptions led most Europeans to conclude erroneously that Africans must be severely retarded in their political development, as some or most of these elements of the state were lacking in the sub-Saharan civilizations—especially where they did not have written language.

What can we say today about the early Europeans’ assessment? In fact, the social controls necessary for the peace and security of any large group were always present but went unrecognized by the Westerners who came to Africa during the colonial era. In the absence of written laws, controls typically would have included conflict and dispute resolution by medicine men or women having spiritual access to clan and village ancestors; social rules and norms that regulated rights and duties between kin groups or lineages when their members were involved in a dispute; and certain duties and privileges accorded to an age group. In all or several of these fashions, the village elders usually performed the functions that early Europeans normally expected a state and its officials to discharge.

Where states did emerge, they were typically organized around the principles of what some scholars call **Sudanic kingship**. These had no bureaucracies; however, they did include large numbers of court functionaries who individually did not have the king’s power but whose collective will could negate that of the king if they believed his actions had exceeded the bounds of custom or propriety. Typically, these included such figures as the queen mother, a prime minister, the royal historian and praise singer, royal drummers, commanders of the army, diviners, keepers of court protocol, and medicine men and women. The king was a member of a royal lineage that enjoyed great prestige or, more commonly, was thought to be sacred. He acted as intermediary between the living and the dead, performed sacerdotal duties, and disclosed the wishes of the royal ancestors through divination or spirit possession. Maintaining the ritual purity and strength of the king was thought to be essential to the welfare of the land and the people, and a weak, sick, or aged king threatened the state. Therefore, he could be deposed. Usually, too, the divine king was surrounded by symbols of office, or regalia.

These typically (but not always) would have included ivory horns that were blown on ceremonial occasions, royal drums, ceremonial swords, umbrellas or fans, and a palanquin on which he was transported.



MAP 17.1 Some Early States of Africa

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Where on the map are the major trade routes that linked Africa's interior with the Islamic world and Europe?

Axum

By the first century CE, a rival power was rising on Kush's eastern flank (Chapter 4). **Axum** (AX-uhm) in the Ethiopian highlands was the main city of a kingdom that had been established when local people and immigrants from

southwestern Arabia arrived and intermarried during the last centuries BCE. After establishing its own Red Sea port at Adulis, Axum was the earliest part of sub-Saharan Africa to be drawn into the international trade complex centered on India (Chapter 12). As a result of the wealth

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

AXUMITE AND EARLY EAST AFRICAN TRADE

Probably written by a Greek seaman sometime in the first century CE, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* is the earliest and most detailed written account of the trade of Axum and East Africa. The document provides us with valuable evidence that by the first century, Africa was already being drawn into the international commercial web described in Chapter 12.

4. *Below Ptolemais of the Hunts, at a distance of about three thousand stadia, there is Adulis, a port established by law, lying at the inner end of a bay that runs in toward the south. . . . From that place to the city of the people called [Axumites] there is a five days' journey more; to that place all the ivory is brought from the country beyond the Nile through the district called Cyneum, and thence to Adulis [Axum's seaport]. Practically the whole number of elephants and rhinoceros that are killed live in the places inland . . .*

6. *There are imported into these places, undressed cloth made in Egypt for the Berbers; robes from Arsinoe [a region in Egypt]; cloaks of poor quality dyed in colors; double-fringed linen mantles; many articles of flint glass, and others of murrhine [Roman glass], made in Diospolis; and brass, which is used for ornament and in cut pieces instead of coin; sheets of soft copper, used for cooking-utensils and cut up for bracelets and anklets for the women; iron, which is made into spears used against the elephants and other wild beasts, and in their wars. Besides these, small axes are imported, and adzes and swords; copper drinking-cups, round and large; a little coin for those coming to the market; wine of Laodicea and Italy, not much; olive oil, not much; for the king, gold and silver plate made after the fashion of the country, and for clothing, military cloaks, and thin coats of skin, of no great value. Likewise from the district of Ariaca across this sea [Gujarat, India], there are imported Indian iron, and steel, and Indian cotton cloth; the broad cloth called monache and that called sagmatogene, and girdles, and coats of skin and mallow-colored cloth, and a few muslins, and colored lac [cochineal].*

16. *Two days' sail beyond, there lies the very last market-town of the continent of Azania, which is called Rhapta; which has its name from the sewed boats (rhapton ploiarion) already mentioned; in which there is ivory in great quantity, and tortoise-shell. Along this coast live men of piratical habits, very great in stature, and under separate chiefs for each place. The Mapharitic [in southern Arabia] chief governs it under some ancient right that subjects it to the sovereignty of the state that is become first in Arabia. And the people of Muza [Yemen] now hold it under his authority, and send thither many large ships; using Arab captains and agents, who are familiar with the natives and intermarry with them, and who know the whole coast and understand the language.*

17. *There are imported into these markets the lances made at Muza especially for this trade, and hatchets and daggers and awls, and various kinds of glass; and at some places a little wine, and wheat, not for trade, but to serve for getting the good-will of the savages. There are exported from these places a great quantity of ivory, but inferior to that of Adulis, and rhinoceros-horn and tortoise-shell (which is in best demand after that from India), and a little palm-oil.*

Source: W.H. Schoff (tr. and ed.), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century* (London, Bombay & Calcutta, 1912).

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What seems to have been the commercial importance of Axum and Azania? What evidence does the document provide that suggests that Axum and the East African coast were part of the expanding international trade that included the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean basin?

Most historians agree that Azania was the coast of present-day Kenya and Tanzania. According to the author, who ruled Azania? What item was an important import? What does this suggest about the Azanians' mastery of iron making at this early time?



it reaped, by the 300s it had grown strong enough to challenge Kush for control of the Red Sea trade and the Upper Nile corridor. About 350 CE, Axum conquered Kush. The kingdom flourished until the eighth century, after which it gradually descended into oblivion and was abandoned. The city's sparse ruins were not rediscovered until the late eighteenth century by the earliest European explorers.

The rise of Axum coincided with its conversion to Christianity by Byzantine missionaries. Only a generation after Constantine accepted the faith, King Ezana of Axum made the same choice. Thus began the extraordinary history of Christianity in Ethiopia—the modern name for Axum and its surrounding lands. It is the oldest and most distinctive version of that religion in all of Africa. In later centuries, the rugged mountains and physical isolation of much of the country enabled the Ethiopians to hold off repeated Muslim attempts to conquer it, both from the Nile Valley and the Red Sea coast. It also allowed the growth of a unique legend of royal descent—the Solomonic dynasty of Ethiopian Christian kings—that commenced in biblical times and lasted until an army rebellion in 1970. Like its predecessor, Axum depended for its prosperity on its function as exchange depot for the Indian Ocean–Red Sea trade, as well as the Nile Valley route.

In the sixth century—about the time the Muslim prophet Muhammad was born (Chapter 15)—Axum had become strong enough to cross the Red Sea and conquer southwestern Arabia. However, the seventh-century Arab conquest of Egypt and South Arabia changed this situation dramatically, and within a century, Christian Axum was driven from its Red Sea coast and under siege. From the eighth century, Arab Muslims dominated the seaborne trade. Nubian society—which had gradually matured into the three small states of Noba, Makuria, and Alowa—took Axum's place along the Nile. Little is known about them except that they had converted to Christianity through Egyptian influence in the seventh and eighth centuries and managed to hold out against Muslim pressure until as late as the 1200s in some areas. Throughout this lengthy period from Axum's fall to the coming of Muslim hegemony in the Upper Nile, a diminished commercial traffic along the great river bound Egypt with its southern borderlands in Nubia and the Sudan. But the level of urban sedentary life reached by the Kushite and Axumite kingdoms was not again approached in northeastern Africa.

TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE AND EARLY KINGDOMS OF THE SUDAN

Trade runs like a golden thread throughout the history of Africa. Agriculture and livestock breeding were the cornerstones of daily existence for most Africans, but wherever regional states and kingdoms overlaid

village life, trade was one of the primary bases on which kingly or queenly authority relied. Africa exported few manufactures internationally, but local production and export of high-value commodities like gold, ivory, animal hides (processed and unprocessed), dyes, gums, and aromatics—as well as the traffic in human beings—created a lot of wealth. As in the case of Africa's earliest state, Egypt, when ambitious individuals were able to control and tax such wealth, they could wield enough power to extend their sway over large populations. Goods that Africans imported, likewise, often became symbols of prestige and power that kings could regulate and control to their political advantage if these were especially prized and not locally obtainable. Besides women and livestock, political power in Africa rested on control over imports like salt, dates, weapons, Chinese porcelain, textiles, and beads.

All this means that large portions of Africa maintained links to the larger world through international trade and commercial networks. As we shall see, the earliest trade was with the Nile Valley and the Mediterranean world; then, with the rise of the trading states of the western Sudan, the coastal Swahili, and Great Zimbabwe, these contacts extended to a wider Islamic commercial nexus that covered the eastern Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean community, and Asia.

The Sudanese kingdoms were a series of states that were formed starting about 400 CE in the bulge of West Africa below the great Sahara Desert. Here, iron tools, good soils, and the transport afforded by the Niger River enabled agriculture to advance and provide for a rapidly growing population and some of the first cities south of the Sahara—at Takrur, Kumbi Saleh, and Jenne. In the early centuries CE, gold was discovered in the Senegal River region, and early **trans-Saharan trade** routes developed that connected the western Sudan with North Africa. In the late seventh century, Islam established itself in North Africa and the western Sudan, and Muslim Berber and Arab merchants brought western Sudan into an international commercial system that eventually spanned southern Europe, Africa, and Asia. As in the Nile Valley, trade supported state formation. Three of these kingdoms are especially well known to modern historians: Ghana, Mali, Kanem-Bornu, and Songhay.

Ghana

Ghana (GAH-nah), the first of these kingdoms, endured for at least 500 years before it fell apart in the eleventh century as a result of a combination of events, including the onslaught of a Muslim *jihād*. Its exact origins are conjectural, but the Soninke (So-NING-kay) people probably founded it sometime in the first centuries CE, perhaps as early as 400. Its kings established a monopoly of trade in gold obtained from a mining region to the southwest of Ghana on the Senegal River at a location called *Buré*

(BOO-ray), so the kingdom grew and became a regional power after it began dealings with the Muslims to the north in the eighth century. *Ghana* was the title given to its divine king, who ruled through a network of regional officials in an area that at one point reached the size of Texas. *Kumbi Saleh* (KOOM-bee SAH-lay), the capital town, was sufficiently impressive that sophisticated Muslim geographer al-Bakri spent some time describing it in a well-known travel and sightseeing guide of the eleventh century.

The Muslims, both Arabic and Berber, were influential in Ghana and, for that matter, in most of the Sudanese West African kingdoms that followed. The largely agrarian peoples of the Sudan believed in nature and ancestor spirits, but many experienced little difficulty converting to the monotheistic doctrines of Islam that Berber merchants and missionaries introduced. Like the earlier Christians of Rome, the missionaries concentrated their efforts on the upper class, usually in the towns where trade flourished. By adopting the new doctrine, their African merchant partners quickly gained advantages: literacy, access to new commerce and financial connections, a written law code (the *Sharia*) that helped facilitate commerce, and access to the Muslim trade network that extended across Africa and Asia. The Muslims introduced their concepts of law and administration, as well as religious beliefs. Kings who chose to continue following their traditional religions often relied on Muslim advisers for political and administrative advice.

Mali

The Buré goldfields dried up soon after 1000 CE, which fatally weakened Ghana when also confronted by a Berber-led holy war in the eleventh century. Its regional segments warred with one another until one emerged under a semi-mythical king, Sundiata, who was powerful enough to subdue most of the western Sudan around 1250. This was the kingdom of **Mali** (MAH-lee), which survived to about 1450. Mali was larger and better organized than Ghana, and the gold trade on which its kings depended—like those of the ghanas before them—seems to have come from a new region closer to the headwaters of the Niger River, which lay to the south the new kingdom in a region called *Bitu* (BEE-too). The original ruling clan, the Keitas (KEYE-tahs), were nominally Muslim, but they ruled primarily as divine kings who governed with the help of their court officials and regional representatives. The adoption of stricter forms of Islam early in the fourteenth century by a new ruling clan, the Mansas, encouraged good relations with the Berbers, whose trading activities were essential to the prosperity of the kingdom.

Like the earlier Kush and Axum, the Sudanese kingdoms were first and foremost the products of a strategic position in international trade. In this case, controlling movement along a lengthy stretch of the southern fringe



Images&Stories/Alamy

A SAHARAN SALT CARAVAN IN MALI. The foundation of the Sudanic empires was the Saharan trade. As in China, salt was an important commodity in the diet of most West Africans, so it was highly valued. It was mined from Saharan oases, then transported south to the Niger River “port” cities like Timbuktu. There it was traded for gold, ivory, and slaves.

of the Sahara allowed them to monitor the movements of trade goods from sub-Saharan to North Africa (and on to both Europe and the East). Both Ghana and Mali relied heavily on the taxes imposed on the Saharan traders in three vital commodities: gold, salt, and slaves. Although the king had other means of support, these taxes made it possible to support a hierarchy of governing officials and chiefs and a large army that included both infantry and cavalry units.

African gold was essential to Roman and medieval European commerce, as well as to the Muslim world. Gold ore was rare in Europe, but it was found in large quantities in parts of sub-Saharan Africa that were controlled by western Sudanese merchants and those of Swahili city-states like Kilwa in East Africa.

Salt was almost as prized as gold in the ancient world. Although it was a necessity, supplies were limited in most areas except near the sea, and it was difficult to transport without large losses. This made salt highly valuable, and saltpans in oases like Taghaza (tah-GAH-zah) and Tassili (tahs-SIH-lee) on the southern side of the Sahara were major sources.

Slaves were common in African markets long before the Europeans began the Atlantic slave trade. European, African, and Muslim cultures had no scruples about slave trading or possession in this epoch. As in every other part of the ancient world, slavery was an accepted consequence of war, debt, and crime. Being captured in raids by hostile neighbors was reason enough for enslavement. Large numbers of slaves passed northward through Ghana

and Mali, bound for collection points on the Mediterranean coast. From there, they were traded all over the known world.

The kingdom of Mali expanded by military conquests in the thirteenth century, until it came to dominate much of West Africa. Early Africa's most noted ruler, the far-traveled *Mansa Musa* (MAHN-sah MOO-sah), ruled from 1307 to 1332. He extended the kingdom as far north as the Berber towns in Morocco and eastward to include the great mid-Saharan trading post of Timbuktu. Perhaps 8 million people lived under his rule—at a time when the population of England was about 4 million.

Like his immediate predecessors, Mansa Musa was a Muslim, and in 1324, he made the pilgrimage to the holy places in Arabia. His huge entourage, laden with gold staffs and plates, entered Cairo like a victory procession and made an impression that became folklore. Thanks to Mansa Musa's support, Islam gained much ground in West Africa during his lifetime.

Thereafter, the religion gradually passed through the upper classes to the common people. Since then, the Muslim presence in sub-Saharan Africa has been growing slowly for many generations. It has had almost the same impact there as Christianity did in the Germanic kingdoms. Much African law, social organization, and literature, as well as many political institutions, stem from it. Mansa Musa and his successor, Mansa Sulayman, especially encouraged scholarship, and Musa founded a *madrasa* (university) at the famous Sankore (san-KOH-ray) mosque in Timbuktu. The city gradually gained fame as a center of Islamic book production as well as trade.

EARLY KINGDOMS OF THE FORESTS AND WOODLANDS

When the Buré goldfields began to play out soon after 1000 CE, new ones opened up to the east at Bitu and Bambuk. Along the Niger, Jenne and Gao, then later Timbuktu, replaced Takrur and Kumbi Saleh as the pre-eminent “ports” that joined the Western Sudan to international markets. The tentacles of new routes stretched southwards into the Volta River basin and the confluence of the Niger and Benue Rivers (in modern Nigeria), drawing new peoples of the forests and savanna woodlands into the international complex.

Ifè

For the *Yoruba* (yoh-roo-BAH) people, who live southwest of the Niger-Benue conjunction, living in compact villages and towns was a tradition that began by at least 3000 years BCE, when their Niger-Congo-speaking ancestors began clearing the ancient forests of west and central Africa (Chapter 3). The city of *Ifè* (EE-feh) was settled sometime in the ninth or tenth centuries, but several



Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY

BRONZE CASTING OF AN ONI OF IFÈ. Yoruba terra-cotta and cast bronze reflected their high artistic traditions and metal-working technology. As in Benin (and China), the Yoruba used the lost wax technique to make castings of their kings—like this one—dated to the thirteenth century.

circumstances contributed its rapid growth. There, geographic conditions favored a market where Ifè's women dominated a lively commerce in essential produce like yams, vegetables, and grains, as well as salted fish, iron, and copper wares. Ifè was located strategically on the marches of West Africa's savanna and forest zones and on the shortest trade route that linked the forest with the great Niger River ports. In aid of this traffic, oral traditions suggest that it was also the location of an important local, and perhaps regional, shrine dedicated to *Olorun* (oh-loh-ROON, the sky god and creator of the first man, *Oduduwa* (o-DOO-doo-wah).

In a region that abounded in hundreds of lagoons, small streams, and rivers, Ifè's enterprising marketers easily adapted to the long-distance trade by brokering the conveyance of heavy cargoes northwards by water or the services of professional porters to places like Jenne (JEHN-neh) and Gao (Gauw). Besides the usual foodstuffs, its markets supplied the international trade with metals, ivory, and slaves. As in the case of the great Sudanic empires,

growing importance in international trade supported a Sudanic king, called the *Oni* (OH-nee). Ifè declined in importance around the fifteenth century, so little is known about the city-state's governance; however, the royal court supported the production of beautiful brass images of the Onis, some of which have survived.

Oyo

Between about 1300 and 1700, **Oyo** (AW-yaw) preempted Ifè as the largest and most powerful Yoruba city-state. The *Alafins* (Ah-LAH-fins) of Oyo claimed descent from one of the seven sons of the first man, Oduduwa, and they too

were a dynasty of “Sudanic” kings. By 1400, these Alafins had extended their sway over countless small villages and seven other city-states, against which they had competed for suzerainty, thus forming the first Yoruba Empire. They supported their legitimacy by claiming putative magico-religious powers inherited from Olorun and Oduduwa. However, they did not exercise absolute power: While chiefs and clan elders derived their right to rule in dependent towns and cities from the Alafin, to some extent their authority came from their clans and were hereditary. A further check on the power of the Alafin came from an advisory council of seven senior chiefs, all of whom belonged to a powerful religious society called the *Ogboni*

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

CARING FOR LICE HAS ITS REWARDS

Until Muslims introduced Arabic literacy into the continent, most Africans had no way of writing down their history. However, oral tradition provided an alternate method by which people could record their history and customs for future generations. One example is this amusing story about the origins of kingship in the Kingdom of Benin.

[The] people . . . sent an ambassador to the Oni Odudua, the great and wisest ruler of **Ifè** (EE-feh), asking him to send one of his sons to be their ruler. For things were getting from bad to worse and the people saw that there was need for a capable ruler.

In order to test the ability of the Bini [BEE-nee; also called the Edò – EH-doh] to look after his son, Odudua first of all sent seven lice to the Benin chiefs to be cared for and returned after three years. This condition was fulfilled and Odudua (oh-DOO-doo-wah) was greatly surprised to see the lice in increased sizes when they were sent back to him by the chiefs. He exclaimed that “the people who can take care of such minute pests as lice can undoubtedly take care of my son.”

Before he could send his son to Benin, Odudua died, but he left strong orders to his son and successor . . . that Oranmiyan should be sent there. So Prince Oranmiyan, one of the sons of Odudua of Ifè, the father and progenitor of the Yoruba **Obas** [AW-bahs: that is, kings] was sent, accompanied by courtiers, including Ogiefia, a native doctor, and he succeeded in reaching the city after much trouble at Ovia River with the ferryman.

[The Benin governor] was much opposed to his coming . . . But as the need for a proper *ôba* was felt to be so great by the inhabitants, no heed was paid to his advice.

Prince Oranmiyan took up his abode in the palace built for him . . . by the elders. Soon after his arrival he married a beautiful lady . . . by whom he had a son. After some years of residence here he called a meeting of the people and renounced his office remarking that the country was a kind of vexation . . . and that only a child born, trained, and educated in the arts and mysteries of the land could reign over the people. He caused his son . . . to be made *ôba* of the place, and returned to his native land, Ifè, leaving Ogiefia . . . and others at Benin in charge of his son.

Source: Jacob Egharevba, *A Short History of Benin*, 3rd ed. (Ibadan University Press, 1960) From Basil Davidson, *African Civilization Revisited* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1991), 123.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Do you think we should interpret this oral tradition literally? Why do you think it is unlikely to be the literal truth? In what ways might it be true? How would you interpret these symbols? The Ovia and the difficulty in crossing it? The needed presence of Ogiefia, “the native doctor”? Oranmiyan’s marriage? Oranmiyan’s stated excuse for giving the kingdom to his son?



(ohg-BOH-nee) cult. The cult had veto rights over all decisions made by the king that involved war, treaty making, alliances, and the payment of tribute.

Benin

Called the *Bini* (BEE-nee), the people of **Benin** (BEH-nihn) were a subgroup of a larger ethnic group called the *Edò* (EH-do). They were neighbors of the Yoruba and, like the Alafins, their divine kings—the **òbas** (AW-bahs)—claimed descent from another son of Oduduwa. Although the Edò were a completely different people and culture from the Yoruba, Ifè remained a holy city for them, and their traditions of origin are strikingly similar to those of Ifè (see Evidence of the Past box).

Bini oral historians believe their city was founded around 1300, and amazingly, recent excavations at Benin bear out that general date. Archaeologists have uncovered a network of earthen walls and ditches that were added in later centuries as the town expanded rapidly. The first Europeans to see Benin 200 years after its founding reported that it was about seven miles across at its broadest points. Apparently, as the city grew, outliers were annexed as wards, and existing defensive works were extended to enclose them.

As was the case with the Yoruba city-states, Benin's size and prosperity partly rested on trade; however, that commercial link was with their Yoruba and Hausa neighbors to the northeast and with Fan and other Edò and Yoruba communities to their west, rather than directly with the Niger region. However, Benin was also a classic conquest state. In the early 1400s, one **òba** in particular, **Ewuare** (ehw-WAHR-ray), led the Bini in wars of expansion, seizing large chunks of productive farmland from the Yoruba and enslaving captives, including many town elders. The result was that by 1500, Benin's size had become enormous. Archaeologists have estimated that its population numbered in the hundreds of thousands, easily making it one of the largest cities in the world at that time. Ewuare also reformed his advisory council, personally appointing common people to powerful chiefdoms. This created a new system of chiefs whose loyalty was exclusively to the **òbas** and not to their clans.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans in the 1580s, there were no written sources available that present-day historians could use to reconstruct Africa's precolonial history. Scholars have had to rely on archaeology, linguistics, and oral traditions for evidence about those early centuries. In Benin's case, however, there is a type of art from its remote past that presents scholars with a beautiful and intriguing kind of evidence—namely the so-called Benin bronzes. Around the time of Ewuare, the 1400s, **òbas** ordered the casting of bronze and brass busts of themselves and court officials, plus assorted plaques and castings of court life and objects that had magico-mystical significance. The plaques were nailed to the columns that buttressed the

ceilings and roofs of the royal residences. The other castings were used to create shrines to each **òba** at his passing, as part of the cult of the royal ancestors (see Images of History box).

THE SWAHILI CITY-STATES

The East African city-states also had a large hand in the gradual commercial development of the continent. Well before the Common Era, Greek, Roman, and Egyptian ships that traveled down the Red Sea were trading with coastal ports of the Horn of Africa and “Azania,” the name given to East Africa at that time. One account from the first century CE—*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*—described Arab and Greco-Roman trade for ivory and tortoise shell with an East African town called Rhapta, for example.

An enormous expansion of this trade came after the seventh century, when the entire Indian Ocean became virtually an Islamic lake. Thereafter, Persian, Arab, and Indian traders arrived with the annual trade winds to trade with the local Bantu-speaking people, whom the Arabs called “the Zanj.” Imports that were especially popular with the Zanj—known to us as the **Swahili** (swah-HEE-lee)—were dates, glassware, Persian ceramics, Chinese porcelains and silks, Indian cotton fabrics, and glass beads. In return, they traded locally manufactured iron, timber, ivory, and sundry animal by-products such as hides, ambergris, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shell. By the time the Portuguese arrived in the region in the late fifteenth century, Swahili ships also seem to have been making the reverse journey, building and sailing fully seaworthy ships of their own to ports of southern Arabia and India. Thus, the vast ocean separating Africa and India was well known to both African and Muslim travelers long before the arrival of the first Portuguese explorers.

Foreign Muslims and local Bantu-speaking coastal people steadily intermarried, and the children of these unions were raised as Muslims. Many coastal Africans opted to convert to Islam for many of the same reasons that West Africans did; however, the mixture of African and non-African peoples typically found in the major commercial entrepôts of the coast, like Kilwa and Mombasa, was probably even greater than what one typically would have encountered in the western Sudan. The greatest period of conversion seems to have been from 1000 to 1500 CE.

By the ninth century, a series of small city-states were established whose community life centered on manufacturing and trade. The earliest of these city-states, such as Mogadishu, Shanga, and Manda, were concentrated along the coasts of modern Somalia and Kenya. Once the gold from the coast of Mozambique, coming from Great Zimbabwe (see following section), began to dominate coastal trade, the great East African emporium of **Kilwa** became prominent. In most coastal centers, local Swahili controlled these sophisticated

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commercial states. In the late thirteenth century, however, the Mahdali (MAH-dah-lee) clan from southwestern Arabia established an Arab Sultanate in Kilwa. Calling themselves the Abu'l-Mawahibs (ah-BOOL mah-WAH-hibs—loosely translated as “The Givers of Gifts”—their position was based on Islamic piety, claims of descent from the Prophet Muhammad, and a monopoly of Kilwa’s gold trade with Great Zimbabwe. The Moroccan traveler, Ibn Battuta, visited the court of the reigning Abu'l-Mawahib in 1331 and provided one of the best accounts available from that period.

GREAT ZIMBABWE

Southern Africa has a moderate climate and good soil, which encouraged settlement by Bantu-speaking farming peoples, who reached it around the fourth century CE. Later reports by shipwrecked Portuguese sailors indicate that, by the 1500s, Bantu-speaking mixed farmers and Khoisan-speaking hunter-gatherers and cattle pastoralists were living in agricultural villages, pastoralist communities, or hunter-gatherer camps all across the tip of the continent. Archaeology reveals that iron had come into use as early as the fourth century CE. Nevertheless, the spread of mixed farming into areas that had previously been purely pastoralist or even hunting-gathering seems to have been slow.

The chief center of early settled life in southern Africa was not near the coast but far inland: **Great Zimbabwe** (zihm-BAH-bway). Today, the ruins of what was once a large capital city and fortress can be seen in the present-day nation of Zimbabwe, inland from Mozambique. Great Zimbabwe was not discovered until 1871, and unfortunately, we know nothing of its history from written sources. Nevertheless, its massive walls and towers

make it one of the most impressive monuments in Africa south of the pyramids. Apparently, the first stages of its construction were begun in the tenth and eleventh centuries by kings whose wealth and power rested, just as did for the kings of Ghana and Mali, on the control of gold production. Trade in gold and ivory passed down to the Swahili ports on the coast, while exotic imports such as glass beads and pottery passed hand to hand in the opposite direction to Zimbabwe.

The region flourished as a political, religious, and trading center. Additional stone structures continued to be built at the Great Zimbabwe site, and other *zimbabwes* (courts and burial places for royal clan members) were constructed until the fifteenth century, when the state broke apart into several smaller, competing kingdoms. We



Images of Africa Photobank/Alamy

THE GREAT ENCLOSURE AT GREAT ZIMBABWE. These stone walls are the only remnants of the once-important center of the gold trade in the south-central African interior. Europeans discovered them only in the late nineteenth century, and, typical of attitudes of the time, believed they were built by some “white” race and not by the local Shona people.

IMAGES OF HISTORY

THE ÔBAS OF BENIN

In these two artifacts, dated to the 16th century, we see images of the special powers claimed by the *ôbas* of Benin.

> **IVORY BRACELET.** This bracelet was worn by the *ôbas* when leading rituals associated with rivers, streams, and rainfall. Although Benin was a forest kingdom, the *ôbas* were archetypal examples of Sudanic kingship. Central to this was the notion that the kings, once enthroned, took on sacred roles that gave them mastery over rain and water; therefore, the *ôba* was often portrayed as having crayfish feet, which allowed him to walk on water.



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Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Berlin/Alamy [B2B11X06]

< **THE PALACE OF THE ÔBA OF BENIN.** This bronze plaque depicts the gate of the *ôbas*' palace. Standing guard are two soldiers flanked by two pages. The snake over the gate represents "positional succession and perpetual kingship," an essential feature of African Sudanic kingship. Stated differently, this meant that, while kings died (snakeskins), the kingship (the snake) never did.

also know from early Portuguese sources that the supply of Zimbabwe's gold had begun to peter out by the early 1500s. As happened with other great world civilizations, the population might also have grown to the point that it tipped the delicate balance with the natural environment.

In a sense, they may have become victims of their own success. The most likely explanation, however—as is usually the case in history—is that all of these factors combined caused the decline and abandonment of the site of Great Zimbabwe.

AFRICAN ARTS

In the absence of written languages, African art was necessarily visual and plastic, and the sculpture and inlay work of all parts of sub-Saharan Africa have lately aroused much interest and study in the Western world. Perhaps the most famous are the **Benin bronzes** from the West African kingdom of Benin, one of the successors to Mali. The highly stylized busts and full-length figures in bronze, gold, and combinations of metal and ebony are striking in their design and execution. They are obviously the product of a long tradition of excellence. Benin’s enemies vandalized many of these pieces during the constant warfare that marred West African history. Many others were carried off as booty by the early Europeans and have since disappeared. Enough remain in museums, however, to give us some appreciation of the skill and imagination of the makers. (See Images of History for examples.)

The same is true of the wood sculptures of the Kanem and Bornu peoples of central Sudan, who assembled, between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, a series of kingdoms in the vicinity of Lake Chad that lasted in one manifestation or another until the eighteenth century.

The ivory and gold work of the Swahili city-states is also remarkable and was greatly appreciated, especially by Middle Eastern buyers. Some Muslims looked on this infidel artwork depicting human figures as a mockery of Allah and destroyed much of it, either in place in Africa or later in the countries to which it was transported.

The earthenware heads of the Nok people of prehistoric Nigeria, on the other hand, have come to light only in this century. Dating from roughly the first five centuries before the Christian era, these terra-cotta portrait heads are the oldest examples yet found of African art. Their probable religious significance is not known.

SUMMARY

AS SEEN IN CHAPTER 3, Africa is a continent of vast disparities in ethnic background, climate, and topography. Much of its interior remained shut off from the rest of the world until a century ago, and much remains unknown of its history prior to the sixteenth century. Only the Mediterranean coastal region and the Nile Valley came to be included in the classical world, while the great Saharan Desert long secluded the African heartland from northern penetration.

African state formation proceeded slowly and unevenly. The first sub-Saharan states were in the northeast, where already in the first century, Axum emerged as masters of the Indian Ocean–Mediterranean trade routes. Its decline followed upon the Arab Muslim expansion in the eighth century. In the tenth and succeeding centuries, several large kingdoms arose in the western savanna lands, largely dependent on an active trade in gold and

slaves across the desert to the northern Muslim regions. Ghana was the first of these commercially oriented kingdoms, followed by the larger and more permanent Mali and Bornu empires. A Muslim elite formed the governing class. In the Swahili city-states along the eastern coast, an Islamicized African population known as the Swahili ruled.

By 1200 CE, the tentacles of expanding international trade had reached almost every nook and cranny of the continent. While the Islamic states of the western savannah and the East African coast occupied the crucial role of middlemen, it was the inland regions that were the actual sources of the gold, ivory, and other valuable commodities that were in high demand in the Old World trade. Consequently, the period between 1000 and 1400 saw the appearance of several secondary states of the forests and woodlands, such as Ifè, Benin, and Oyo.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Axum	Ewuare
Benin	Ghana
Benin bronzes	Great Zimbabwe

Ifè	Oyo
Kilwa	patrilineal descent
lineage	Sudanic kingship
Mali	Swahili
matrilineal descent	trans-Saharan trade
ôba	

For Further Reflection

1. What seem to have been the principal technological, economic, and ideological developments that helped bring Africa into the expanding (Old World) global networks during the classical and post-classical eras?
2. How would regional traditions, religions, and cults have acted as “communities of discourse?” Provide some examples that you encountered in this chapter.
3. What is a state? What factors seem to have been present in most cases where small-scale societies evolved into formal states and kingdoms in Africa?
4. Although long-distance trade seems to have been necessary to support African states, to what extent do you think that agriculture continued to be important? Which aspects of Sudanic kingship seem to have been essential to supporting agriculture?
5. How do you think historians can use artifacts like the Benin bronzes to help uncover Africa’s precolonial history?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book’s website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The kingdom of Axum
 - a. was converted early to Islam.
 - b. succeeded the kingdom of Kush in northeast Africa.
 - c. was the original home of the Bantus.
 - d. was crushed by the Egyptians during the New Kingdom of Egypt.
 - e. was ruled by Mansa Musa and his descendants.
2. By about the fifth century CE, the population of the western Sudan had increased dramatically as a result of
 - a. increased food production.
 - b. changes in climate.
 - c. immigration from the eastern regions.
 - d. the practice of polygamy.
 - e. large populations of slaves captured in battle.
3. Arab travelers to sub-Saharan Africa were often shocked by
 - a. the freedom enjoyed by women.
 - b. agricultural practices.
 - c. trade practices.
 - d. the apparent lack of laws.
 - e. women’s control over markets.
4. The outside people having the greatest cultural influence on the kingdom of Ghana were the
 - a. Sudanese merchants.
 - b. European colonists.
 - c. Muslim Berbers and Arabs.
 - d. Egyptian Christians.
 - e. Ethiopians.
5. Which of these early sub-Saharan African kingdoms was heavily involved in the Red Sea trade?
 - a. Ghana
 - b. Axum
 - c. Takrur
 - d. Egypt
 - e. Kilwa
6. In Sudanic kingships,
 - a. the king exercised absolute power.
 - b. the collective will of court officials could negate the power of the king.
 - c. the queen mother often had greater power than the king himself.
 - d. many times the king was actually a woman.
 - e. the priests could override decisions made by the king.
7. Trade in slaves in both East and West Africa before the fifteenth century was
 - a. commonplace.
 - b. limited to extraordinary circumstances.
 - c. controlled by the Muslims.
 - d. rarely encountered.
 - e. completely unknown.
8. The Swahili city-states were essentially populated by
 - a. Arabs.
 - b. Arabs, Persians, and Indians.
 - c. Bantu animists.
 - d. Bantu-speaking Muslims.
 - e. refugees from Kush.
9. Mansa Musa was
 - a. the outstanding Muslim geographer who described early Africa.
 - b. the wealthy African king who journeyed to Arabia on pilgrimage.
 - c. the founder of the kingdom of Mali.

- d. the Arab missionary who converted the king of Mali.
 - e. the Moroccan traveler who visited Great Zimbabwe.
10. Which of the following, according to the text, was not a likely reason for the decline of Great Zimbabwe?
- a. Invasion by outsiders
 - b. Dynastic quarrels
 - c. Overpopulation of the land
 - d. A decline in gold production
 - e. Environmental upsets



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18

The Mongols Unify Eurasia

CHINA UNDER THE SONG DYNASTY, 960–1279

Song Internal Policies
Foreign Affairs

THE MONGOLS

Pastoral Nomadism
Chinghis Khan and the Rise of the Mongols
The Conquests

THE MONGOL EMPIRE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The Yuan Dynasty in China
The Khanate of the Golden Horde in Russia
The Il Khan Dynasty in the Middle East

FRAGMENTATION OF THE EMPIRE

THE ASIAN WORLD IN the period after the decline of the Abbasid caliphate in the West and the fall of the Tang Dynasty in the East was in a state of almost continuous upheaval. Waves of nomadic pastoralist peoples emigrated out of the steppes of central Asia seeking new pasturelands for their flocks and wealth to plunder. In the lands of Islam, between the ninth and the early thirteenth centuries, this emigration was experienced as the relatively peaceful arrival of Turkish tribes. China, on the other hand, already had a long history of attacks by Turco-Mongolian “barbarians” from the North and West. For the most part, both of these great civilizations had found ways of dealing with such nomadic peoples: in the Islamic East, by converting them and, in China, by bribery and the building of a Great Wall to keep them out. In the thirteenth century, these methods no longer worked. The civilizations of Asia and eastern Europe were about to experience an invasion at the hands of a new steppe land force—the Mongols.

CHINA UNDER THE SONG DYNASTY, 960–1279

Armed with their newly discovered mandate, the successors of the Tang were able men. The rulers of the **Song** (sung) **Dynasty** systematically promoted the many technical innovations that the Tang period had produced and encouraged others. The most important of these was printing. At first, printers used a separate carved wooden block for each page or column of ideographs, but by the

... my greatest joy is in victory: to conquer enemies, to pursue them and steal their possessions, to make their women cry, to ride on fast horses and return to my wife and daughters.

—Attributed to
Chinghis Khan

960–1279	The Song Dynasty
1167–1227	Life of Chinghis Khan
1221–1258	Mongol conquests of Persia and Iraq
1227–1279	Conquest of China
1227–1480	Khanate of the Golden Horde in Russia
1258–1349	Il Khan Dynasty in the Islamic heartlands
1260	Mongols defeated at Ain Jalut
1271–1368	Yuan Dynasty in China

eleventh century, they had developed moveable wooden type, which sharply reduced the cost of printed material. Other laborsaving devices included the water pump and the spiral worm drive for transport of liquids. Together, they revolutionized the use of irrigation, made mining less difficult and more efficient, and allowed the construction and use of locks, which made canal boats a more widespread and useful form of transport. Avenues of internal trade opened along the network of canals that linked the South with the North. These have been used ever since to move most of China's bulk goods.

Manufactures were much advanced by the invention of the waterwheel and the forge bellows. The *abacus* and the water clock enabled accurate measurement of quantity and of time. Perhaps the best known of all the Tang- and Song-period inventions was gunpowder, which the Chinese used only for pyrotechnic entertainments for a long while but then adapted to warfare to a minor degree. Strong ocean-going vessels were armed with small rockets, for example, as defense against frequent pirate attacks. Gunpowder did not play a major role in Chinese military tactics until the 1200s, when it was used against the invading Mongols, who then carried it west to the Muslims and eventually the Europeans.

As in the Roman Empire and almost everywhere else in the world, most people in Song China lived in villages, but the cities dictated the culture and defined the atmosphere of the empire. Along the canals in central and southern China sprang up several large cities, all with more than half a million in population. One of the largest was Hangzhou, whose delights and splendid vistas were described in wonder by the Venetian visitor Marco Polo (1254–1324) in the thirteenth century. Hangzhou was a port and grew in response to market forces and mercantile necessities rather than according to a government plan. Both Hangzhou and Kaifeng, the Song capital, are thought to have had more than a million inhabitants and contained all sorts of amusements and markets for the rich and the poor.

Song Internal Policies

For the most part, the Song continued the government style and policies of the Tang period. In the South, the bureaucracy they commanded worked well for an unusually long span of almost 300 years. Most decisions had to be made at the top in the capital—many by the emperor himself. By some estimates, only 30,000 officials were needed to govern this large empire (the size of all of Europe, with a much larger population). The habits of obedience and self-discipline were already deeply ingrained in the people, who were educated along Confucian lines and living for the most part in self-governing villages.

The generals of the large army were kept under tight control and were not allowed those liberties in the outermost provinces that had often degenerated into warlordism in the past. The rest of society looked down on the military;

a popular saying held that soldiers were the lowest types of humans and that good men should not be turned into soldiers any more than one would waste good iron to make nails. The military ranked even below the merchants, who gained somewhat in prestige during the Song period but still occupied low rungs on the social ladder.

The Chinese economy reached an enviable state of smooth-working and innovative production during this era. The final portion of the **Grand Canal** was completed in 611, an important link of the politically dominant North (the Yellow River plains) to the economically productive South (the Yangtze Valley). A population estimated at more than 100 million by the end of the Song period was supported in decent conditions. The introduction of a new hybrid rice from Annam (Vietnam) helped feed this large population. It was now possible to grow two crops per year in South China, doubling the land's productivity. The volume of domestic and foreign trade increased markedly, aided by the development and use of paper money and sophisticated banking and credit operations.

The Song era witnessed for the first time the development of a commercial economy based on both agriculture and manufacturing. In the geographically more diverse south, regions became specialized in the farm products they cultivated: Some grew the traditional grains; others specialized in teas or mulberry leaves for silk making, for example. Silk and cotton textile production began to be concentrated in the Jiangnan (jang-nahn) area near the mouth of the Yangzi River. Thousands of great kilns were built in Jingdezhen (jing-deh-chung) as porcelain joined silk as a major luxury export article. Tens of thousands of workers lived in the city, and the porcelain factories ran around the clock. Hundreds of mammoth warehouses formed a distribution network that reached throughout the Empire and extended overseas. Despite the risk of breakage, Chinese porcelains were prized imports in many distant lands, including parts of East Africa and the Red Sea region.

Song emperors encouraged these advances in a number of ways. The state expanded the use of silver coinage to increase the money supply and allowed its currency to circulate in foreign lands wherever Chinese goods were in demand. They experimented with paper money and encouraged the development of other systems of exchange, not unlike the banking networks that later characterized the Renaissance era in Europe.

In conjunction with this, large ships that used the magnetic compass and the **sternpost rudder**—both Chinese inventions—were built for the active trade with Japan and Southeast Asia. Today's itinerant Chinese traders, as well as colonies of Chinese immigrants throughout Asia, have their ancestry in this (Song) period of prosperity.

Foreign Affairs

Despite the triumphs and improvements in internal affairs under the Song Dynasty, China's control over its East

Asian lands was drastically reduced from its high point during the Tang Dynasty. The emperors never succeeded in gaining firm control of the northern half of the country. Tibet and the far-western province of Sinkiang were abandoned to the nomads who had continually contested the Han and Tang governments there. Fearful of the costs of reducing them to obedience, Vietnam and Korea were allowed to become autonomous regions, paying the Song a token tribute but effectively resisting any hints of Chinese sovereignty. The huge northeastern region of Manchuria, always a battleground between nomads and the Chinese, broke away entirely.

These losses had a positive side, however. By giving up territories that were never firmly under China's hand, the Song were able to focus on the heartland, ruling the area between the Yellow and Yangtze rivers from their capital at Kaifeng (Gaifung). For two centuries, the Song rulers and their large armies were able to repel the increasing pressures from the northern and western tribes, but in the twelfth century, they weakened. Toward the end of the 1100s, they lost any semblance of control over the far west to the Mongols. By the mid-1200s, the Song had been defeated by the descendants of **Chinghis Khan** and formally gave up the north and center of traditional China to them. The Song were able to hold on for a brief time in the South, but in 1279, there, too, dominion passed into the hands of the Mongols under Kubilai Khan—the first and only time China has been conquered in its entirety by outsiders. The Mongol Yuan Dynasty thus began its century-long reign.

THE MONGOLS

Before their conquests, the Mongols were a relatively small group of steppe nomads. Their sources of food were their herds of livestock and what they could obtain by hunting, while their small, but strong Mongol ponies served them as both a mode of transportation and a food source. Being nomadic, they lived in felt, tentlike structures called **yurts** (made out of horsehair), and their highest level of leadership was the tribal warlord, or *khan*.

Pastoral Nomadism

Throughout history, pastoral nomads existed on marginal desert, or **steppe** land (prairie grasslands), that was unsuitable for agriculture. So rather than depending on seasonal crops as farmers did, they adapted to the more restrictive environments in which they lived by learning to breed and raise livestock such as camels, dromedaries, goats, sheep, horses, and yaks to satisfy their primary needs. These animals furnished milk, meat, and even blood for the food and fermented beverages on which they depended, as well as hides and hair from which they

created clothing, carpets, and shelter for themselves. Generally speaking, pastoralists enjoyed secure ways of life and cultures that were as rich as those of their more settled neighbors. However, constant resource shortages obliged them to be continuously on the move in search of water, suitable grazing lands for their flocks, and alternative sources of food.

Because of their different ways of life, pastoralists' and farming peoples' dealings with each other were often tense and warlike. They depended on each other for products each of them needed: farmers for meat and livestock that pastoralists could provide, and pastoralists on cultivators for the products of field and farm. Trade was the predominant form of intercourse between herding and agriculturally based civilizations, but when severe want or shifts in the balance of power followed peaceful conditions, episodes of raiding or outright conquest typically broke out. Peoples like the Arabs, the Turks, and the Mongols were organized to be constantly prepared for raiding and warfare, so they wandered along the borders of the ancient civilizations of western and eastern Asia as constant threats to the peaceful existence that farming peoples' settled ways of life demanded.

Pastoral peoples were usually organized in tribes, which were subdivided into clans. Their usual form of military action involved raiding for livestock and slaves, but they sometimes conducted more prolonged campaigns to seize pastureland and water rights or to extend control over subject populations. They chose tribal leaders—whom Turco-Mongolians called **khans**—on the basis of their personal wealth and charisma, and above all for their military skills. Nearly always, these were males.

Little evidence survives concerning the roles of women among the Mongols; however, women from the families of khans are thought to have participated in the management and negotiation of tribal affairs. Recent archaeological discoveries of burial mounds of the western Asian Scythian nomads suggest that nomadic women sometimes fought as warriors alongside men. Grave mounds containing female remains accompanied by weapons, shields, and various symbols of wealth and honor lend support to this thesis. DNA taken from these skeletons has matched samples taken from some modern Mongol women, providing evidence that the ancient Scythian "Amazons" were the direct ancestors of these women.

Like other pastoral nomads, the prime advantage of the Mongols in war was their ability to cover long distances more rapidly than any of their settled enemies. Virtually living on their small, hardy ponies, Mongol warriors combined the tactic of surprise, an uncanny accuracy with the bow and arrow, and the ability to use massed cavalry against their mainly infantry opponents. They usually bypassed walled strongholds against which a cavalry charge would be ineffective and starved their enemies into submission through their control over the surrounding countryside.



Victoria and Albert Museum, London/Art Resource, NY

MONGOL ARCHER. Mongol soldiers typically traveled with as many as five ponies, because they provided swift, sure transport as well as a food source. The Mongols' ability to carry out lightning attacks and to fire accurately from the backs of these mounts was the key to their military successes.

Chinghis Khan and the Rise of the Mongols

If one measures greatness by the territorial extent of a person's conquests, then there can be no doubt at all that Chinghis Khan (CHING-his HAHN) was the greatest ruler in world history. He was originally named **Temujin** (teh-moo-jin) but was given the title Chinghis Khan ("Great King") in later life. Before his death in 1227, he had come to rule a vast territory from the South Russian steppes to the China Sea. His sons and successors expanded the Mongol empire even farther, until it was easily the largest the world has ever seen.

Temujin was born about 1167 into a violent landscape and had to struggle almost from birth against harsh competitors. At the time of his birth, Mongolian life (typical of pastoralist nomads) centered around numerous tribes that warred against one another continuously—when they were not assaulting the richer lands of the Chinese and the Koreans. Temujin enjoyed years of successful conquest in these tribal wars. Greatly feared for his ferocity and ruthlessness, by 1196 he had become powerful enough to assert personal control over all of the Mongol tribes. In 1206, at a meeting of the *Khuraltai* (KHOO-ral-teye), the Grand Council of clan elders at the capital of *Karakoram* (KAH-rah-KOH-ruhm), he accepted the title of Great King (Chinghis Khan) of the Mongols and imposed tight

military order on his hundreds of thousands of followers. For the first time in their history, the Mongols were united under one leader.

Chinghis Khan combined traditional Mongol fighting methods with propaganda and new forms of organization to forge his armies into a remarkably efficient war machine. First, he divided them into light and heavy cavalry. The light units relied purely on the swiftness of their horses and their light weapons—swords, bows, and arrows—to make lightning strikes. The heavy cavalry units added Chinese-style armor to the usual light Mongol weapons. To maintain both political and military unity, Chinghis never allowed his army to remain organized along traditional tribal lines, so he restructured it by mixing all of the tribal warriors into new units consisting of members from many different tribal and clan groups. The largest army unit, the **Tumen** (TOO-muhn), consisted of 10,000 men and was further divided into smaller tactical units of 1,000, 100, and 10.

Chinghis and his generals also learned to make use of Chinese inventions like gunpowder and primitive guns to improve their proficiency in the art of the siege. To keep the loss of life among his followers to a minimum, he deliberately encouraged the spread of rumors about Mongol blood thirst. The fears these instilled in demoralized opponents, and the growing reputation of Mongol skills in battle and siege, won many battles and cities without a shot having to be fired. (For an example, see the apocryphal quote attributed to Chinghis at the head of this chapter.)

The Conquests

The Mongol conquests proceeded in three phases. The first lasted from 1206, when Chinghis and his army attacked China unsuccessfully, to his death in 1227. The initial failure in China forced Chinghis to direct his armies westward against the Turks and Persians. Proud cities such as Bokhara, Samarkand, and Herat—all centers of a rich Muslim civilization—were overwhelmed after desperate resistance, and their populations were massacred or enslaved. Some cities would never recover their former wealth and importance. Mosques were turned into stables and libraries were burned. Never had such destruction been seen; word of an approaching Mongol army sometimes was enough to inspire wholesale flight. Everywhere, the invaders were feared for their reputed bloodthirstiness towards those who resisted (see the two Law and Government boxes) and despised as cultural inferiors. This was particularly true in China, but also in the Christian and Muslim lands they overran. Many of the conquered territories had been under Persian Muslim rule for centuries and had developed a highly civilized lifestyle.

Following these successes, Chinghis headed north. In 1222, he crossed the Caspian Sea and raided southern Russia. He and the Mongols attacked Novgorod, again striking so much fear into the Russians that they called



CHINGHIS KHAN. Chinghis united the Mongol clan leaders for the first time in their history and, as the first of the Great Khans, created a world empire that included much of the Eurasian landmass.

the Mongols “*Tartars*” (people from Hell). However, it was Chinghis’s grandson, Batu (Bah-TOO), who completed the subjugation of Russia after 1238.

Sated by these victories, Chinghis and his followers returned to Mongolia and gave the peoples to the west a temporary reprieve. His stay in his homelands did not last very long, though, and in 1227 he was again on the road to more battles. Not to be denied a victory and having failed once, he launched a second invasion of northern China. Again, the selective use of terror was applied as his most effective propaganda weapon, and he massacred all Chinese in his path who resisted, sometimes including women and children (see Law and Government: A Muslim Describes the Mongol Invasion). The warlord finally had conquered the entire world that was known to him, which essentially included the grasslands of Mongolia, northern China, Turkistan, Afghanistan, Persia, and Russia. His success in China was short-lived, however, and his death in 1227 ended the first phase of the Mongol eruption.



A MONGOL YURT. At the time of the Mongol conquests, these tentlike shelters were ideal for a nomadic, warlike people who were constantly on the move. The yurts were made from felt, which provided relatively good insulation against all kinds of temperature extremes.

By then, the Mongols believed that their great sky god, Tengri, had commanded them to conquer the entire world, and they came close to doing so in the second and third phases of their conquests. Chinghis’s successors returned to Russia to add to the previous conquests and also defeated the Teutonic Knights of Germany along the way, driving them back almost to the walls of Vienna. The sudden death in 1241 of another Great Khan, however, saved the city, as the Mongols hastily retreated to Mongolia to choose a new leader. Afterward, the Mongols under Chinghis’s grandson, Hulegu (HOO-luh-goo), returned to Persia and Iraq in 1251, and in 1258, the great city of the caliphs, Baghdad, suffered the same fate as so many before it. What had been one of the greatest cities in the world was severely plundered by Mongol troops; scholars have estimated that 80,000 of its citizens were killed. Among these was the last Baghdad caliph of the once proud and mighty Abbasid Dynasty, along with his son and heir. Some of the family managed to escape and flee westward to Egypt, where a much-reduced caliphate was maintained for 250 years in a humbler state under the protection of an Egyptian sultanate.

THE MONGOL EMPIRE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

It would be easy to assume, from their methods of waging war, that the intrusion of the Mongols into the great centers of civilization—like those of Islam and China—brought only destruction. While that often occurred

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

THE MONGOL ARMY

Shortly after the devastating Mongol attack, a high-ranking Persian Muslim, Ala-ad-Din-Juvaini, wrote *The History of the World Conqueror*. Clearly impressed by the new overlords, he spoke of the discipline of the Mongol army:

What army can equal the Mongol army? In time of action when attacking and assaulting, they are like trained wild beasts out after game, and in the days of peace and security they are like sheep, yielding milk, and wool and many other useful things. In misfortune and adversity they are free of dissension and opposition. It is an army after the fashion of a peasantry, being liable to all manner of contributions, and rendering without complaint what is enjoined upon it.... It is also a peasantry in the guise of an army, all of them, great and small, noble and base, in time of battle becoming swordsmen, archers and lancers in whatever manner the occasion requires....

Their obedience and submissiveness is such that if there be a commander of a hundred thousand [men] between whom and the Khan there is a distance of sunrise and sunset, and if he but commit some fault, the Khan dispatches a single horseman to punish him after the manner prescribed; if his head has been demanded, he cuts it off, and if gold be required, he takes it from him.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What reasons can you give to explain these apparent contradictions in the men who formed the Mongol army? Are they, in fact, contradictions? What does the Mongol army have in common with any good army?

Source: Ala-ad-Din Ata-Malik Juvaini, *Ghenghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, Vol. 1, trans. J. A. Boyle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 23; cited in *The Islamic World*, ed. W. H. McNeill and M. R. Waldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).



during the initial conquests of new territories, once they settled down to governing their enormous empire, Mongol rule also opened new opportunities for the traders and merchants among the peoples they had conquered. For about a century, the so-called **Pax Mongolica** (Mongolian Peace) extended across many thousands of miles, all under the supervision of a single Great Khan at Karakoram or Beijing and the relatives and clan leaders he appointed as subordinates to represent him. Goods could be transported from as far away as China and Southeast Asia to the towns of the eastern Mediterranean with relative ease and safety, so long as a tribute or tax was paid to the Khan's agents.

The conquest reopened the old Silk Road after it had effectively been shut down during centuries of warfare among the Turkmen tribes of central and western Asia. Now, for the first and only time, all of mainland Asia (except southern India) was under the rule of a single great power (see Map 18.1). The impact this had on world history was considerable indeed. Besides the transport of the usual goods, crucial new technologies passed from China to the West that paved the way to the early European modern age. The spinning wheel helped revolutionize textile making. The compass proved to be an invention of incalculable value to bold navigators and sea captains such as da Gama, Albuquerque, Magellan, and Columbus of Europe's Age of Discovery. European and Turkish improvements on Chinese inventions like gunpowder, primitive guns,

and rockets eventually gave them superior weapons that enabled the Europeans to conquer and forge commercial empires that spanned the globe for the first time in history (Chapter 22).

Yet hidden dangers lurked as more people were placed into direct contact with each other over vast distances. Besides spices, silks, precious metals, and other luxuries, microbial agents and diseases were passed from region to region to deadly effect. In the late Middle Ages (Chapter 21), the Black Death—possibly a form of Bubonic Plague or anthrax—appeared first in central Asia and then spread along the trade routes and devastated at least three great civilizations: those of China, Islamic western Asia and North Africa, and Europe. Other regions that also might have been affected are southeastern Asia and parts of sub-Saharan Africa. Later still, European and African diseases like smallpox and malaria destroyed most of the Native American civilizations of the New World.

The Yuan Dynasty in China

To administer the great expanse of territory, Chinghis Khan installed members of his family in positions of command as he fought his way into western Asia. After his death, his sons and grandsons divided the huge empire among themselves. The richest part, China, went to the **Yuan Dynasty** (YOO-an), whose most illustrious member was **Kubilai Khan** (koo-buh-lee haan or KOOB-lee haan),

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

A MUSLIM DESCRIBES THE MONGOL INVASION

The Mongols purposely used terrorism as one way to subdue their enemies, sometimes even without a fight. This description by Ibn al-Athir, a thirteenth-century Muslim, of the Mongol conquest of the Middle East reveals how effective a weapon this fear sometimes was.

... For even Antichrist will spare such as follow him, though he destroy those who oppose him, but these Tatars spared none, slaying women and men and children, ripping open pregnant women and killing unborn babes. Verily to God do we belong, and unto Him do we return, and there is no strength and no power save in God, the High, the Almighty, in face of this catastrophe, whereof the sparks flew far and wide, and the hurt was universal; and which passed over the lands like clouds driven by the wind. For these were a people who emerged from the confines of China. ...

... Now this is a thing the like of which ear has not heard; for Alexander, concerning whom historians agree that he conquered the world, did not do so with such swiftness, but only in the space of about ten years; neither did he slay, but was satisfied that men should be subject to him. But these Tatars conquered most of the habitable globe, and the best, the most flourishing and most populous part thereof, and that whereof the inhabitants were the most advanced in character and conduct, in about a year; nor did any country escape their devastations which did not fearfully expect them and dread their arrival.

... It is now time for us to describe how they first burst forth into the lands. Stories have been related to me, which the hearer can scarcely credit, as to the terror of the Tatars, which God Almighty cast into men's hearts; so that it is said that a single one of them would enter a village or a quarter wherein were many people, and would continue to slay them one after another, none

daring to stretch forth his hand against this horseman. And I have heard that one of them took a man captive, but had not with him any weapon wherewith to kill him; and he said to his prisoner, "Lay your head on the ground and do not move," and he did so, and the Tatar went and fetched his sword and slew him therewith. Another man related to me as follows: "I was going," said he, "with seventeen others along a road, and there met us a Tatar horseman, and bade us bind one another's arms.

"My companions began to do as he bade them, but I said to them, 'He is but one man; wherefore, then, should we not kill him and flee?' They replied, 'We are afraid.' I said, 'This man intends to kill you immediately; let us therefore rather kill him, that perhaps God may deliver us.' But I swear by God that not one of them dared to do this, so I took a knife and slew him, and we fled and escaped." And such occurrences were many.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Where does the author seem to have gotten this information? How much truth do you think there was in this report? Assuming some of it might be exaggeration, how do you suppose such stories originated? What sort of an impact did they have? Do you know of any other instances where terrorism was purposely employed in history as a weapon?

Source: Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 427–431.

Scanned by Jerome S. Arkenberg, California State University, Fullerton. The text has been modernized by Prof. Arkenberg.



You can read more of Ibn al-Athir's *On the Tatars* online.

the host of Marco Polo. In 1279, Kubilai completed the conquests of China that had begun under Chinghis Khan.

For half a century, the Chinese had made successful use of gunpowder to keep the Mongols at bay. They developed an early, primitive type of gun called the *fire lance*, which permitted them to discharge several arrows at once against their fearsome attackers. This weapon had given them an edge for a while, but it figuratively backfired when the Mongols learned the secrets of the new weapon and used it themselves.

Kubilai and his followers tried to transform China into their notion of what a land should be: one that resembled the grassy steppe lands from whence they had come. Not fully understanding agriculture, they plowed up productive farmland to graze their horses and camels. One sage advisor to Kubilai, however, finally recognized the wastefulness of such measures and convinced the Great Khan to abandon this behavior. After all, farmers who were allowed to cultivate could produce tribute; prevented from following their livelihood, they could produce nothing.





MAP 18.1 The Mongol Empire in 1255

In the early 1200s, Chinghis Khan created the vastest empire ever seen. His sons and grandsons expanded and divided the empire after his death in 1227. Except for India and the far southeast, almost all of Asia and eastern Europe was under Mongol sway. The Yuan

Dynasty in China was the host of Marco Polo. The map shows boundaries between various regions conquered by the Mongols.

MAP QUESTIONS

Despite this spread of disease, what might have acted as an enduring connection between China and the West?

Moreover, the Mongols soon learned to rely more on the Chinese and their institutions for help in governing.

China during the years of Yuan rule was divided into a hierarchy, with Mongol officials, called *stamp wielders*, at the top. The old Confucian examination system of earlier dynasties was discarded. The Mongols fought against assimilation. To find suitably educated people to staff government positions, they relied on foreigners more than on their Chinese subjects, and they accorded foreigners a higher status and supervisory authority over the old *mandarin* elites. Many of these foreign recruits were Muslims, so Islam began making significant inroads into the eastern parts of China at this time, in addition to the Far West. The fact that Kubilai preferred foreigners over the native Chinese explains why Marco Polo was given an important position when he visited the court of Kubilai Khan from 1275 to 1292.

The Mongols could not long remain entirely resistant to Chinese influences, however. Confucianism, while not

encouraged, was at least tolerated. The universalism of Buddhism proved to be more appealing to the Mongols than native Chinese religions and philosophy, and even though the Mongols continued to segregate themselves from the Chinese, that faith found many converts among them.

The Pax Mongolica also meant that Yuan rule was a time of considerable prosperity for China, just as it was throughout the rest of the empire. It marked the end of further invasions from the North, a time of peace for a huge swath of territory, and the peaceful passage of merchants and caravans, which proved to be an enormous boon that helped offset the terrors of the initial invasions.

The Khanate of the Golden Horde in Russia

Once the Russians were subdued, the Mongols there proved to be unexpectedly tolerant of local ways. Called

the **Khanate of the Golden Horde**, the Mongols settled down and converted to marginally more peaceful habits. For the most part, they remained content simply to extract tribute from their Russian subjects, otherwise leaving them to their traditions and Russian Orthodox Christianity. Eventually, too, most Mongols adopted Islam and its highly sophisticated culture. As in other regions over which they ruled, the Mongol khans' ability to impose universal peace and stability went a long way toward assuring Russians under their rule a greater measure of peace than they had enjoyed previously. The Khanate of the Golden Horde proved to be the most durable of the four sub-khanates, lasting until 1480 before the Russians under the Muscovite principality finally ended the Mongols' regime.

The Dynasty of the Il Khans in the Middle East

Ethnically speaking, Islam's origins were Arabic and Persian. The Arab nomads who had conquered Persia in the 640s were quickly absorbed by the much-more-sophisticated and numerous Persians. Unlike the Arabs, the Persians had long been accustomed to serving as rulers and models for others, and they reasserted those talents after mass conversion to Islam. For two centuries, the message of the Qur'an came through an Arab-Persian filter. In the 900s, however, a new ethnic group, the Turkish peoples, began to dominate the religion and culture. In the next centuries, the Seljuk Turks (see Chapter 16—who initially assumed control over the Baghdad caliphate in the tenth century—and their Mongol successors gave Islam a Turco-Mongol cast that it retained for centuries. Conversion of these steppe peoples had proved to be an effective way of winning a potential enemy over to being a useful ally. The Seljuks, for example, were successful in their resumption of the jihads against the Byzantines. However, when a new threat appeared at Islam's doorstep in the early 1200s, the caliphs and sultans of Persia and Iraq were unable to contain it.

Once the armies of Chinghis's grandson, Hulegu, crushed Abbasid defenses and overran Baghdad, they continued their conquests to the West. Aleppo was sacked when it resisted, but Damascus surrendered and was spared. Neither Christians nor Hindus nor Buddhists had been able to stop them, and only their defeat in 1260 by the Egyptian sultanate's army, **Ain Jalut** (AYN jah-LOOT), near Nazareth in Palestine saved the remaining Muslim lands from further destruction. Coming just two years after the Mongol conquest of Baghdad in 1258, this victory revived Muslim resistance and is one of the handful of truly decisive battles of world history.

Hulegu and his successors ruled the Islamic heartlands from Azerbaijan for the next ninety-one years as the dynasty of the **Il Khans** (il HAHNS). They were slow to convert to Islam, but as elsewhere, the Mongols remained tolerant of their subjects' faith, and their rule was benign.

This peaceful rule was terminated by a series of especially savage wars launched by another Turco-Mongolian warlord by the name of Timur-Lenk, or Tamarlane. Ironically, Tamarlane was a convert to Islam, but that did not prevent him from sweeping away everything in his path in a campaign of devastation upon entering eastern Iran in 1379. He went on to conquer virtually everything between northern India and Moscow, leaving behind him only death and ruin across the entire eastern Islamic world. His conquests seem to have served no purpose beyond conquest for its own sake. He made no real effort to create anything positive. He died in 1405, soon after defeating the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid in a Syrian battle, and left nothing behind. Under his sons, Tamarlane's so-called Timurid (TIH-muh-rid) Empire dissolved almost as quickly as it had appeared.

FRAGMENTATION OF THE EMPIRE

The Mongols had five Great Khans in the 1200s, beginning with Chinghis and ending with the death of Kubilai Khan in 1294 (see Table 18.1). After that, the ethnic segments of the huge empire went their separate ways. The nomadic culture and the Mongols' approach to government (exploitation through conquest) would have made it difficult to maintain their vast domain under a single center, even if much better communications and a much larger pool of loyal officials had been available. Because these resources were not available, the original unified conquest broke up within a century. First China, then Russia and the Middle Eastern lands separated from one another under sub-khanates with their own conflicting interests. Successive intra-Mongol fights for regional supremacy after 1280 further weakened the power of the dynasty.

The second and third generations of Mongol rulers were more sensitive to their subjects' needs and expectations and included some exceptionally able men. Their adoption of one or another of the competing religions of Asia also enhanced their prestige for a time at least. In China, Kubilai Khan favored Buddhism. One of the Middle Eastern Il Khan rulers adopted the Muslim faith in the 1290s and simultaneously began the revival of Persian power and prestige. The Russian-based Golden Horde khans also

TABLE 18.1 The Great Khans of The Mongols

Chinghis Khan	1206–1227
Ogodei Khan	1229–1241
Guyuk Khan	1246–1248
Mongke Khan	1251–1259
Kubilai Khan	1260–1294

adopted Islam in the late 1200s, but their conversion had no influence on the Russian people, who remained steadfast in their Eastern Orthodox Christianity.

Gradually, the Mongols' far more numerous Christian (Russia, Near East), Muslim (Middle East, India), and Buddhist (China, Tibet) subjects began to make their presence felt, as they tamed and converted their conquerors. By the

mid-1300s, the empire was disintegrating into its pre-conquest component parts, and rebellions against Mongol rulers were multiplying. In China and Persia first (late 1300s), then in the Near East and Russia (1400s), Mongol rule became a bad memory. The former rulers were either absorbed into the subject populations or retired back into their desolate Central Asian homelands.

SUMMARY

THE CENTURIES PRIOR TO THE Mongol irruption constituted a period of heightened change and innovation in China. During the Tang era, the Chinese Empire attained its greatest territorial extent, but Song dynasts proved powerless to defend the ancient overland trade routes of the Tarim Basin against tribal nomads called the Uighurs (WEE-gers). Worse still, the Song emperors eventually had to cede control of almost the entire northern portion of their empire to another tribal people, the Jurchen. While these setbacks were surely injurious to their dignity, gains in China's manufacturing and commercial economy more than offset them.

The tribes of the Central and Eastern Asian steppe lands had long been a thorn in the side of their more settled neighbors to their west and southeast. The Chinese had been forced to build the Great Wall as a defense against the Mongols' continual depredations. Also, Mongol pressures against their western neighbors forced the Germanic tribes and, in the ninth century, the Turks to migrate to the West, eventually contributing to the destruction of the western Roman Empire and the unsettling of the eastern Islamic Empire. The rise of the Mongols under their

notorious warlord Chinghis Khan must be understood partly against this deep background. Yet Chinghis's exceptional abilities as a leader unified the Mongols, and the formidable military talents of the mounted Mongol warriors accounted for their singular success as conquerors.

As always seems to be the case with the most successful conquerors in history, their victims saw them as exceptionally uncivilized. To some degree, the Mongols' reputation for brutality can be attributed to this view. However, these accusations also seem to bear some truth, given that the Great Khans tried to spare their own blood and that of their soldiers through deliberate campaigns of terror tactics. Cities fell and, in many cases, peoples surrendered without a fight. Whatever the truth of the stories told about them, the Mongols undoubtedly created history's greatest empire, having conquered an unprecedented swath of territory that included most of the Eurasian landmass by the end of the thirteenth century. Once their invasions were completed, the Mongols settled down to a more peaceful existence and managed to create a zone of peace and prosperity that this enormous region had not enjoyed since the days of the Kushan Empire (Chapter 12).

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Ain Jalut
Chinghis Khan
Grand Canal

Il Khans
Khanate of the Golden
Horde

khans
Kublai Khan
pastoral nomadism
Pax Mongolica
Song Dynasty
steppe

sternpost rudder
Temujin
Tumen
Yuan Dynasty
yurts

For Further Reflection

1. What technological advances did China make during the Tang and Song periods that later had significant impacts on western Asian and European civilizations? Why do you suppose they were slow to reach western Eurasian lands?
2. What steppe-land peoples had disrupted trade along the Silk Road in previous centuries?
3. What kind of exchanges occurred between East and West after the revival of the Silk Road in the Mongol period? In what ways did these differ from the exchanges of previous centuries?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's Website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com

1. Judging by the previous strategies followed by the Tang and Song emperors of China in dealing with northern steppe peoples, when faced with the Mongol threat, one would have expected the Song to resort to
 - a. seeking military assistance from the caliphs of Baghdad.
 - b. recruiting a powerful army of mercenaries to defend their realm.
 - c. relying on Japanese samurai to ward them off.
 - d. playing off another steppe-land ally against the Mongols.
 - e. retreating farther south into China.
2. After about 1130, the Song Empire
 - a. was smaller than the Tang.
 - b. was about the same size as it was during the Tang period.
 - c. was largely confined to the southern regions.
 - d. had grown to include much of Manchuria.
 - e. both a and c
3. Chinese manufacturing saw important gains in the production of ____ during the Song period.
 - a. pottery
 - b. silk
 - c. porcelain
 - d. iron wares
 - e. both b and c
4. Which of these is the correct sequence of Chinghis Khan's conquests?
 - a. China, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Persia, and Russia
 - b. Mongolia, Persia, Russia, China, and Afghanistan
 - c. Mongolia, Turks, Persians, Russia, and northern China
 - d. Mongolia, Persia, Turkistan, China, and Russia
 - e. Mongolia, China, Turkistan, Persia, and Russia
5. Through the use of terror, the Mongols
 - a. easily overran all enemies.
 - b. often were able to cow enemies into surrender without a fight.
 - c. sometimes frightened themselves.
 - d. were so successful in defeating opponents that they no longer had to use weapons.
 - e. frightened all of their enemies into thinking they were from hell.
6. After the Mongol conquests, the Abbasid caliphate
 - a. was extinguished.
 - b. continued to exist in a reduced state in Egypt.
 - c. was relocated to Azerbaijan under the Il Khans.
 - d. continued to exist in Baghdad under the domination of the Il Khans.
 - e. was protected by the Khanate of the Golden Horde in Russia.
7. It appears that the principal difference between Mongol rule in China and in the Middle East is that the Mongols
 - a. were more resistant to assimilation in Persia.
 - b. preferred Islamic civilization.
 - c. admired Abbasid rule.
 - d. were more resistant to assimilation in China.
 - e. resorted to the use of terror more frequently in governing China.
8. Russia was left to the khanate called the
 - a. Golden Horde.
 - b. Abbasids.
 - c. Il Khans.
 - d. Timurids.
 - e. Yuan.
9. The Timurids differed from the Il Khans in which respect?
 - a. They were Buddhists.
 - b. They were Christians.
 - c. They were Muslims.
 - d. They conquered the Muscovites.
 - e. They left no lasting empire.
10. Which of the following can be said of the Mongol conquests as a whole?
 - a. They were totally destructive.
 - b. The Mongols were generally tolerant of their conquered subjects.
 - c. They were good for long-distance trade.
 - d. They usually resulted in a cultural decline wherever they happened.
 - e. They were as described in both b and c.



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19

Japan and Southeast Asia

VERY EARLY JAPAN

Buddhism and Shinto
Government and Administration

THE NARA AND HEIAN PERIODS, 710–1185

THE KAMAKURA PERIOD, 1185–1333

THE ARTS AND CULTURE IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

Buddhist Evolution

THE ASHIKAGA SHOGUNATE, 1336–1573

Contacts with China
Korea

THE EARLY SOUTHEAST ASIAN STATES

Funan and Champa
Kampuchea
Sri Vijaya
Majapahit
Burma and Thailand
Vietnam

THE ISLAND NATION OF Japan emerges from the mists of prehistory in the early centuries CE, when Chinese travelers begin to report on their adventures there. Geography explains both Japan's receptivity to Chinese influence and its ability to reject that influence when it wished. Japan could adapt foreign ideas and values to its needs without having to suffer military or political domination from abroad. For the first thousand years of recorded Japanese history until about 1500 CE, the Japanese state was successful in this adaptation, fitting imported governmental and cultural institutions to existing customs and the requirements of the native society.

VERY EARLY JAPAN

The Japanese islands (the four main ones are Hokkaido, Honshu, Kyushu, and Shikoku) are situated off the Korean Peninsula and Siberia, separated from the mainland by 120 to several hundred miles of open water (see Map 19.1). Together, these mountainous, volcanic islands are about the size of California.

In life there is nothing more than life; in death nothing more than death; we are being born and are dying at every moment.

—Dogen, *Thirteenth-Century Zen Master*

Japan

400s–500s	Yamato state formed
604	Shotoku's <i>Seventeen Point Constitution</i>
710–794	Nara period
794–1185	Heian period
1185–1333	Kamakura shogunate
1336–1573	Ashikaga shogunate

Southeast Asia

c. 500	Earliest mainland states founded
c. 900–1300	Khmer, Burmese, Sri Vijayan empires flourish; Dai Viet kingdom
1250s–1280s	Mongol invasions; destruction of Malacca sultanate; Islam comes to Indonesia
1400s	Anghor abandoned; rise of Thai kingdom



MAP 19.1 Japan and Its Neighbors

The hundred-mile interval between Japan and Korea was not difficult to cross even in ancient times, and Chinese cultural influences came into Japan via Korean intermediaries until direct contacts were established in the seventh century.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Considering the likelihood that the Japanese originally came from Korea, which Japanese island(s) might have continued to shelter Japan's original population?

Only about one-fifth of the surface area is suitable for agriculture, and Japan's climate ranges from subarctic in the extreme north to temperate on the main island of Honshu (HAHN-shoo). The Japanese people are considered the most homogeneous in Asia, and this homogeneity has played a major role in the country's history right up to the present day. There has been no need to assimilate numerous immigrants or to make conscious concessions to other cultures. Where the original settlers came from is uncertain, but the Koreans and the Japanese are much closer ethnically than the Chinese and the Japanese. The native oral language of Japan is entirely different from Chinese. The written language, which originally borrowed heavily from written Chinese, is still different in many ways.

According to ancient Japanese legends, the Japanese people are the descendants of the Sun Goddess, who continues to have a special relationship with the country through the person of the emperor. For many centuries, the Japanese thought of the emperor as divine, a status that was only finally and formally rejected by the terms of the Japanese

peace treaty after World War II. Archaeological data reveal that as early as the middle of the first millennium BCE, an early farming people known as the Jomon (joh-MAHN) inhabited the southern island of Kyushu, burying their dead chieftains in elaborate mounds with many pottery figures. The Jomon became masters of wet rice culture, the nutritional basis of all later Japanese civilization. Their success in adopting rice growing laid the foundations for the Yayoi culture a few centuries later, when these people (who seem to have been the ancestors of the present-day Japanese) moved northward from their original home on Kyushu (kee-OO-shoo) Island. It was the Yayoi (YAH-yoi) who eventually organized the first regional governments and produced the first Japanese state.

Buddhism and Shinto

The two major religious belief systems of both ancient and modern Japan are the imported Buddhism and the native **Shinto**. Buddhism in Japan, as everywhere, proved

capable of undergoing many mutations and adapting to local needs. The special Japanese versions are the Zen, the Pure Land, and the Nichiren sects, which gradually developed after the introduction of the religion in the sixth century from Korea. Distinctions among the sects became clearer as time passed (see the discussion later in the chapter).

Buddhism gave Japanese religion a much broader intellectual content. Its insistence on ethical action and compassion for the weak and unfortunate was as beneficially transforming to Japanese life as it had been earlier in India and China. In Japan, more than elsewhere in Asia, Buddhism emphasized meditation techniques. For the more intellectually demanding followers, Buddhist beliefs could be complex, but for most Japanese believers, the religion was relatively simple and joyful in its acceptance of things as they are and in its anticipation of happiness in an eternal heaven.

The Shinto (SHIHN-toh) religion is a native Japanese product, but it is fairly close to Chinese Daoism. The word *Shinto* means “the way of the gods,” and the religion combines a simple animism—in which all kinds of natural objects possess a spirit—with a worship of great deities such as the Sun Goddess, who are immortal and benevolent. The Shinto legends with which all Japanese are familiar speak of a time when all things, even stones and trees, could speak and interact with humans, but they were later forced into silence and must now evidence their powers to humans through the *kami* (KAH-mee), or spirits, that inhabit them.

Shinto is a basically optimistic, guilt-free view of the world and personal ethics. It has no theology of the gods or sacred book, no heaven or hell or wrathful Yahweh, and

no Fall of Adam. Shinto is supremely adaptable, however, and could serve as a sort of permanent underpinning to whatever other religion individuals might prefer. It persists to this day in that role.

Government and Administration

For the most part, Japan has a mountainous and broken terrain, which, as in the Greek example, helps explain why the process of creating a central government with effective controls was peculiarly slow and subject to reverses. The beginning of organized large-scale government occurred in the Yamato (yah-MAH-toh) period in the fifth and sixth centuries CE. At that time, a collection of noble clans ruled over the commoners by a combination of military and economic power. The Yamato, the biggest and most potent of these clans, ruled over a good-sized arable area in central Honshu, near what is now the city of Osaka (oh-SAH-kah). The clan claimed direct descent from the Sun Goddess and founded what was to become the imperial family of the Japanese state. The dynasty that began with the Yamato clan leaders has never been overturned. The present-day emperor is considered the direct descendant of the earliest Yamato, although he is no longer seen as a divinity.

During this early period, the relationship between Japan and Korea was important for both countries (see below). There appear to have been invasions as well as much commerce in both directions, and many Koreans lived among the Japanese until well into the first millennium CE. From Korea came several major cultural imports—most important, Buddhism, which arrived in Japan in the sixth century.

Buddhism soon became the favored viewpoint of the Yamato state’s upper class, and by the beginning of the



HORYU-JI PAGODA. The massive Shinto temple is the world’s oldest wooden building still in use. The 700-year-old structure stands in a park in the ancient Japanese capital of Nara. The pagoda style of architecture was brought to Japan from China and found new adaptations there.

seventh century, it was used as the vehicle for a general strengthening and clarification of the role of the central government in Japan. In 604, **Prince Shotoku** (SHOH-toh-koo), a Yamato leader and a devout Buddhist, offered the **Seventeen Point Constitution**, which is the founding document of the Japanese state. It was not really a constitution in the modern sense, but rather a list inspired by Buddhist and Confucian doctrines of what a government and a loyal citizenry ought to do. It has had great influence on both the theory and practice of political science in Japan ever since.

The way of affairs in China was the general model for the Seventeen Points, so to put his constitution into effect, Shotoku sent selected youths to China for a period of study and training under teachers, artists, and officials. In the seventh century, thousands of Japanese were thus prepared for governmental responsibilities and were also trained in the arts and techniques of Tang China. The Chinese model was particularly apparent in government. The village was the foundational unit of all civic affairs. The state's territory was divided into administrative units similar to the Chinese provinces and districts. Taxes were now to be paid to the central government by the peasantry, thus weakening the local lords who had previously been the tax collectors. The reforms created a ministry of eight officials to advise and assist the emperor, whose position was greatly strengthened by the official adoption of the Sun Goddess myth. In all, this was one of the earliest and most impressive examples in history of deliberate cultural transfer from one people to another.

The Chinese example had a powerful influence in most public and many private spheres, but the Japanese were selective in how they applied it. For example, they adopted the Tang equal-field system, in which land was frequently redistributed among the peasants to attempt to ensure equity, but the Japanese soon changed this system to allow an individual to have transferable (salable) rights to a parcel of productive land no matter who actually tilled it. Another example was the Japanese approach to bureaucracy. Although they admired the efficiency of the Chinese bureaucracy, they did not imitate it. The concept of competitive meritocracy was, and remained, alien to Japanese thinking. Having competitive exams open to all threatened deep-rooted Japanese social values. Government remained an aristocratic privilege in Japan; the lower classes were not allowed to attain high posts, regardless of their merit.

THE NARA AND HEIAN PERIODS, 710–1185

For seventy years after the death of Prince Shotoku in 622, the reforms he advocated were continued by members of the **Fujiwara** (foo-jee-WAH-rah) **clan**, which had intermarried with the Yamato and were to be the leading actors in Japanese government for the next couple of

centuries. The first capital, Nara, was established in central Honshu in 710. Buddhism was especially popular among the Nara clans, and when an influential Buddhist monk named Dokyo (DOH-kee-yoh) attempted to usurp political power, there was a strong reaction. Dokyo allegedly used his position as chaplain to the empress to further his political ambitions. When the empress died, Dokyo was driven into exile. This experience may explain why, in all the remainder of Japanese history, there have been only two other female rulers.

The reaction against the Buddhist monks and monasteries did not mean a rejection of the religion. In the early ninth century, Japanese visitors to the mainland became acquainted with the Tendai and Shingon sects of Buddhism and took them back to Japan. These sects attracted popular attention because they featured magical elements and promises of salvation to all, and they spread quickly. Thus, Buddhism in Japan was steadily transformed from a narrow preoccupation of the court aristocrats into a vehicle of popular devotion.

In 794, the imperial court was moved to a new town called Heian (high-YAHN; modern Kyoto), where it remained until modern times. At this time, the aristocrats checked further Chinese influence by severing relations with the mainland. For about a century, contacts with China and Korea were strictly limited while the Japanese aristocracy devoted themselves to organizing the government and creating a cultural/artistic style that was uniquely their own. The process lasted several centuries and was more-or-less complete by about 1200.

Government during the Heian era quickly became a struggle—almost always concealed—between the Chinese model of an all-powerful emperor ruling through a bureaucracy and the kind of rough-and-ready decentralized model that had marked the Yamato state before the reforms. The landed aristocrats soon won out, as they proved more adept at securing the tax from rural peasant lands than did the central government. Provincial noble families—above all, the Fujiwara clan—were able to make themselves the real powers. The Fujiwara ruled from behind the throne by arranging marriages between their daughters and the sons of the monarchs and then having themselves nominated as regents. They remained content to dominate indirectly and did not try to displace the ruler.

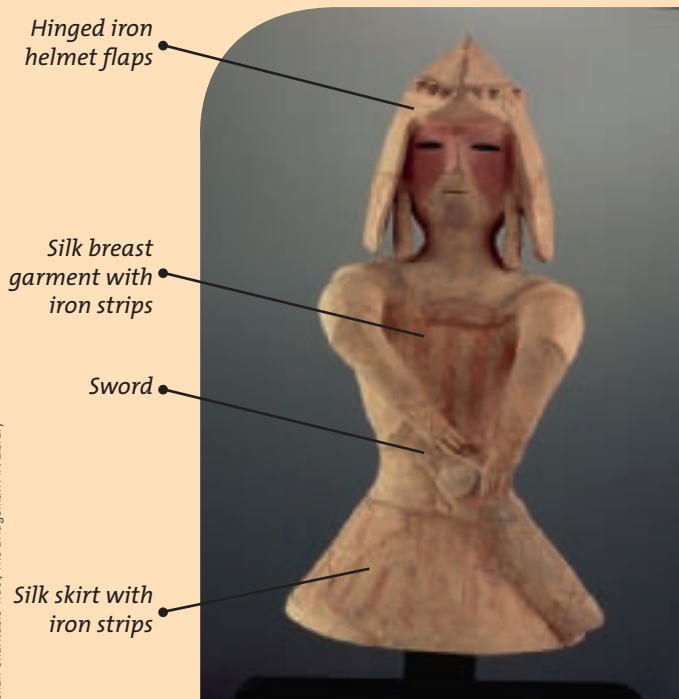
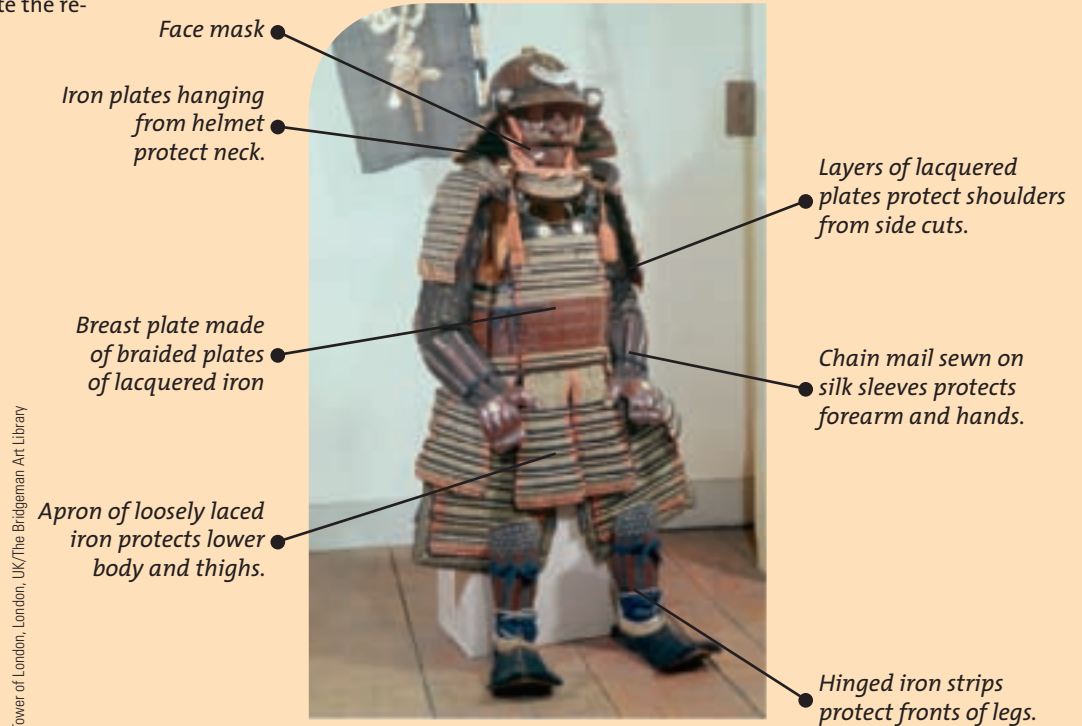
This system of disguised rule by powerful families at court was to become a recurrent part of Japanese life under the name of the **shogunate** (SHOH-guh-nate). The true head of government was the *shogun*, or commander-in-chief of the imperial army. The shoguns stayed in the background but decided everything that mattered, while the divine emperors were restricted to the merely ceremonial aspects of government.

This system worked fairly well for two centuries, but it too began to break down as rival clans found ways to break the Fujiwara monopoly. In the outlying provinces, and especially in eastern Japan, warriors known as *bushi*

IMAGES OF HISTORY

THE HANIWA WARRIOR AND THE SAMURAI

Some of the earliest images we have of Japanese warriors are baked-clay *Haniwa* figures found in the tombs of nobles of the Nara period and earlier. Note the resemblance to later samurai.



Haniwa Warrior

(BOO-shee) were experiencing a rise in power and prestige. The bushi—or **samurai**, as they are better known in the West—were the executors of the will of the large landholders and the enforcers of public order. In their outlook, means of support, and demanding code of conduct (**bushido**; BOO-shee-doh), the bushi were similar to the medieval knights of western Europe. There were, however, some important differences: The samurai's code (see the Law and Government box) included no provision for chivalry toward women or for generosity toward a beaten opponent, who expected to die by ritual beheading. This made the samurai a more brutal and menacing figure to the ordinary man and woman.

Using their samurai effectively, the rival clans threw out the Fujiwara regents and then fought one another for supremacy. The house of Minamoto (mee-nah-MOH-toh) eventually won out and introduced the **Kamakura** (kah-mah-KOO-rah) **shogunate**.

THE KAMAKURA PERIOD, 1185–1333

The Kamakura period of Japan's history (in most aspects, a Japanese version of European feudalism) was marked by the complete domination of the country by the samurai and their overlords in the clan aristocracy. The powers of the imperial court in Kyoto declined nearly to the vanishing point. Political leadership at any level depended on two factors: control of adequate numbers of fighting men and control of adequate *shoen* to support those fighting men.

The **shoen** (SHOH-ehn) were parcels of productive land, sometimes including villages. They had originally been created in the early Heian era to provide support for the monasteries or to reward servants of the emperor for outstanding service. Their critical feature was their exemption from taxation. Whereas most Japanese land had always

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

SAMURAI HONOR

The samurai warriors were bound to a strict code of conduct that, among other things, told them that they were expected to die rather than surrender. Because it was commonplace for the victorious commander to order the execution of the captured enemy, the samurai usually had no choice in the matter. An expert in medieval Japanese affairs tells us:

Those of the defeated who had not been killed in action often had recourse to suicide. We are in possession of many accounts of these suicides, whether the warrior cut open his abdomen with his dagger (*hari-kari* or *seppuku*), or threw himself onto his sword, or preferred to perish in his burning house with his most faithful servants and vassals (*junshi*, or collective suicide). When he was about to be taken prisoner, Yoshitsune “stabbed himself under the left breast, plunging the blade in so deeply it all but came out again in his back; then he made three further incisions, disemboweling himself and wiping the dagger on the sleeve of his robe.” Thereupon his wife sought death at the hands of one of their vassals.

Some warriors' suicides were deliberately spectacular for the edification of their descendants:

Yoshiteru climbed up on the watchtower of the second gate, from where he made sure that the Prince was now far away (for he had taken his place and his clothes in order to deceive the enemy and give his lord time to flee). When the time had come, he cut the handrail of

the tower window so that he could be better seen, calling out his lord's name:

“I am Son-un, prince of the blood of the first rank, Minister of Military Affairs and second son of Go-Daigo Tenno, ninety-fifth emperor since Jimmu Tenno. . . . Defeated by the rebels, I am taking my own life to avenge my wrongs in the Beyond.

Learn from my example how a true warrior dies by his own hand when Fate plays him false!” Stripping off his armor, he threw it to the foot of the tower. Next he took off the jacket of his underdress with its tight fitting sleeves . . . and clad only in his brocaded breeches, he thrust a dagger into his white skin. He cut in a straight line from left to right, cast his entrails onto the handrail, placed the point of the sword in his mouth and flung himself headlong towards the ground.

This kind of death was admired by the samurai and deemed heroic and worthy of praise by generations to come. Many put an end to their lives in this way.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

How did this suicidal concept of military honor influence the medieval history of Japan? What does the threat of Yoshiteru to “avenge my wrongs in the Beyond” seem to say about the nature of the life to come?

Source: From L. Frederic, *Daily Life in Japan at the Time of the Samurai* (New York: Praeger, 1972), 190f.





been considered the property of the emperor, the *shoen* and the rights to their income, called *shiki* (SHEE-kee), were strictly private and remained outside normal laws.

A monastery or an official that owned *shoen* would often convey them to a more powerful person, who would allow the original owner to continue as tenant under his protection. Thus, the ownership-and-use system became ever more complex and eventually resembled the European system of vassalage. It was not unusual for a *shoen* to have three to five “lords” who each had some special rights (*shiki*) to the land and its produce. *Shoen* and *shiki* were thus the currency used by the aristocrats to pay their samurai. In this sense and others we noted earlier, the samurai closely resembled the European knights, but there were enough differences that some authorities see the samurai as quite different from the knights and reject the idea that Japanese society in this era was basically the same as medieval European.

One of the chief differences was the **bakufu** (bah-KOO-foo), or military government under the shogun, which had no European equivalent. The shogun, always a member of the dominant clan controlling the emperor, was supposedly the executor of the emperor’s will as head of the army. In fact, he was totally independent and the real ruler of Japan. The Kamakura period derives its name from the small town of Kamakura where the shogun of the Minamoto clan resided—quite separate from the imperial court in Heian/Kyoto.

Perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of the way in which the shogun and his *bakufu* organization could lead the nation occurred in the late 1200s, when the feared Mongols under Kubilai Khan prepared to invade the islands (see Map 19.2). Having conquered China in its entirety and all of eastern Asia to Vietnam, the Mongols sought to do what the Chinese themselves had never attempted. Twice, the khan assembled armadas from his

bases in Korea and landed on Kyushu, where the waiting samurai met his forces on the beach. The effectiveness of the Mongols' most potent weapon, their cavalry, was sharply limited by the terrain and by Japanese defenses, including a long wall along the coast that horses could not surmount. The Mongols called off the first invasion after fierce resistance led to a stalemate. The second attack in 1281 ended in a huge disaster when a typhoon (the *kami-kaze*, or "divine wind") sank most of their ships and the 140,000 men on them. The Mongols, thus, never extended their rule to the Japanese.

THE ARTS AND CULTURE IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

The partial severance of relations with China following the establishment of the capital in Heian allowed the Japanese full freedom to develop their own culture. Their language and literature show that they were vigorously imaginative. The Japanese and Chinese languages are radically different in both structure and vocabulary; the earliest Japanese writing was a close, but necessarily clumsy, adaptation of Chinese. The earliest Japanese books, the eighth century *Chronicles of Japan* and the *Records of Ancient Matters*, used this script. During the Heian period, writers simplified the language and brought it into closer conformity with spoken Japanese. The withdrawal from Chinese vocabulary and modes of expression forced the court authors to invent literary models and expressions of their own. Japanese writers invented written signs that were based on phonetics, rather than being ideographs or pictographs as in Chinese, and could therefore be used to match the syllables of the spoken language—in other words, the beginnings of an alphabet.

The world's first novel, the famous *Tale of Genji* (GEHN-jee) by court lady Murasaki Shikibu (moo-rah-SAH-kee shee-KEE-boo; c. 976–1026), was written in the early eleventh century and tells us a great deal about the manners and customs of the Japanese aristocracy of the day (see the Arts and Culture box for an excerpt from Lady Murasaki). It reveals a culture of sensitive, perceptive people who took intense pleasure in nature and in the company of other refined persons. The impressions left by the *Tale of Genji* are furthered by the other classic court tale of this era, Lady Sei Shonagon's (say shoh-NAH-guhn) *Pillow Book*, a collection of anecdotes and satirical essays centered on the art of love. The fact that their authors were women gives some indication of the high status of females among the educated class.

Poetry was the special strength of the early writers. Very early, the Japanese love of nature was evident. Prose was considered somewhat vulgar and the domain of females, but poetry was for everyone—everyone, that is, in

the tiny fraction of the population that partook of cultured recreations.

Japanese painting in the Heian era exhibited a marvelous sense of design and draftsmanship, following on the calligraphy practiced in the written word. Scenes from nature were preferred, but there was also a great deal of lively portraiture that often possessed the sense of amusement that marks many of Japan's arts. The wellborn were expected to be proficient in dance and music, and calligraphy was as revered as it was in China.

Great attention was given to the cultivation of beauty in all its manifestations: literary, visual, plastic, and psychic. Both sexes were expected to take pains with their appearance and used cosmetics. (Blackened teeth were the rage among Heian court ladies!) A refined sense of color in dress was mandatory. Both sexes cried freely, and a sensitive sadness was cultivated. The Buddhist insistence on the transitory quality of all good things—the reminder that nothing is permanent—was at the heart of this aristocratic culture. Life was to be enjoyed, not to be worried about or reformed. The Japanese would never have been so crude as to exclaim, "Eat, drink, and be merry for tomorrow we die"; their message was more "Take pleasure now in the flight of the butterfly, for tomorrow neither it nor you will be with us."

Buddhist Evolution

Two Buddhist sects, the *Pure Land* and the *Nichiren* (NEE-chee-rehn), made many converts during the Kamakura period. Both emphasized the salvationist aspect of the religion and the possibility of attaining nirvana through faith alone. The founder of the Pure Land sect, Honen (c. 1133–1212), insisted that the Buddha would save those souls who displayed their devotion to him by endlessly repeating his name. The Nichiren, who took their name from their thirteenth-century founder, held a similar belief in the mystical power of chanting devotional phrases and also emphasized the immortality of the soul. The Nichiren differed from all other Buddhists in being highly nationalistic and insisting that they alone had the power to lead the Japanese people on the righteous path.

Zen Buddhism, on the other hand, insisted on strenuous meditation exercises as the only way to purify the mind and prepare it for the experience of nirvana. Rising to prominence in the thirteenth century along with the Pure Land and Nichiren sects, Zen (derived from the Chinese *ch'an*) was to become the most influential of all forms of Buddhist worship in Japan. It was the preferred form for the samurai, who found that its emphases on self-reliance and rigorous discipline fit closely with their bushido code.

Interestingly, despite its popularity among warriors, Zen also underlay much of the Japanese interpretations of beauty and truth and remained a powerful influence on the visual arts. The famous rock gardens, for example, are

ARTS AND CULTURE



LADY MURASAKI

In the eleventh century, a Japanese noblewoman, whose name is not known for certain, wrote the world's first work of literature that can be called a novel. The *Tale of Genji*, written between 1015 and 1025, is a long, fascinatingly detailed account of the life of a courtier at the Kyoto imperial palace and his relationships with others there.

in the extremely refined Kyoto palace was the *Tale of Genji*. In fifty-four books, or chapters, which together are more than twice as long as Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, Lady Murasaki depicts the panorama of Japanese upper-class life in the ceremony-filled, ritualistic court of the emperor and his consort. She thus made a memorable, subtle outline of the traditions that guided the Japanese uppermost class and that would continue to be honored for most of the ensuing millennium.

Prince Genji (Shining One) is a fictional character but presumably was drawn closely on an actual one. Stricken by the death of his mother, to whom he was greatly attached, the young man comes to court to forget his sorrow. Popular with both sexes for his gallantry and charm, he engages in a series of love affairs with the court women, in which he displays both his amorous character and his artistic refinement. In a setting where manners are everything, Genji reigns supreme, but his escapades with the ladies lead to trouble with jealous husbands and suitors, and Genji is banished from the court.

He soon obtains forgiveness and returns, only to fall deeply in love with the commoner Murasaki, whom he makes his wife. But she dies young and childless; heartbroken, Genji soon follows her in death.

The action now shifts to Genji's son and grandson by a former marriage. These two are in competition for the same girl, Ukifune, who feels committed to both in different ways. Depressed and ashamed, Ukifune attempts suicide but fails, and she decides to salvage her life by renouncing the world and entering a Buddhist monastery. The competing father and son are both deprived of what they want and are left in bewildered grief at their unconsummated love. The novel ends on a note of deep gloom.

The psychological intricacies of the story have fascinated Japanese readers for 900 years. The novel was first translated into English in the 1930's by Arthur Waley. Of Lady Murasaki's last years we know nothing.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Why do you think Murasaki chose this anything-but-happy ending to her novel? How much does it relate to what you understand as the ordinary lives of Japanese commoners in her day? Would that relationship be of concern to Lady Murasaki?



Private Collection/Bridgeman Art Library

PRINCE GENJI. The artful lover is shown here departing in the moonlight in a nineteenth-century illustration for the famous novel. On one side is a courtly lady and her attendant watching the prince's departure.

About the life of the author we know only some fragments. She was born into an official's family, a member of the large and powerful Fujiwara clan that long occupied a major place in Japanese affairs. Shikibu, as she was named, probably received the minimal education customary for even high-class Japanese women.

Presumably, she did not know Chinese, which was the literary language of well-educated males in this epoch. She was married to another official at age twenty, but her husband died soon after, leaving his widow with a young daughter. For some years, Shikibu retired to a chaste widowhood in a provincial town. In 1004, her father received a long-sought appointment as governor of a province and used his influence to have his widowed daughter made lady-in-waiting to the empress Akiko in Kyoto.

From 1008 to 1010, Lady Murasaki (as she was now known at court) kept a diary, which was translated and published not long ago, but her major effort in her years with the empress



JAPANESE LANDSCAPE. Japanese painting strives for a harmonious balance between the works of humanity and Nature, and this balance is revealed in this sixteenth-century work. Although natural objects are given much space by the artist, the painting's focal point is the house and the human figure within it.

a physical rendition of Zen principles of simplicity and restraint. Far outnumbered in adherents by both Pure Land and Nichiren, Zen became the favored belief among the upper class, and it has been the form of Buddhism peculiarly identified with Japan in foreign eyes.

THE ASHIKAGA SHOGUNATE, 1336–1573

The expenses of summoning a huge army to repel the Mongols in the 1280s proved fatal to the Minamoto clan. Despite their desperate efforts, they lost their hold on power. In 1336, the **Ashikaga** (ah-shee-KAH-gah) **clan** succeeded in establishing themselves in the shogunate, a position they continued to hold until the late sixteenth century.

The Ashikaga shoguns ruled from Kyoto as the head of an extended group of **daimyo** (DEYE-mee-oh) nobles who much resembled the dukes and counts of contemporary Europe in their lifestyle and powers. Some daimyo were much more powerful than others, and at times they were practically independent of the shogun. The most trusted vassals of the reigning shogun were entrusted with the estates surrounding Kyoto, whereas the outer provinces were rife with rebellion and conflicts among the daimyo.

The Ashikaga period was one long and bloody tale of wars among the nobility and between groups of nobles and the shogun. For long periods, all semblance of central authority seemed to have broken down in Japan. The imperial court was shoved still further into the background and did not play any independent political role during this era. All concerned gave verbal respect and honor to the reigning emperor, but these phrases were not accompanied by any allocation of power to him.

Contacts with China

Kamakura and Ashikaga shogunates saw a resumption of contacts with Song China, especially in trade. The Chinese prized the very fine Japanese steel for swords. Japan, in turn, imported the habit of tea drinking from the Chinese, which led to a whole subdivision of Japan's domestic culture: the tea ceremony. The coming of the Mongols briefly interrupted this commerce, but it soon resumed. Many goods were exchanged by force or illegally. Japanese pirates and smugglers gave the early Ming Dynasty (1378–1664) so much trouble that for a time, the Chinese rulers actually attempted to withdraw their coastal populations and make them live inland. This scheme was wholly impractical, and the smuggling went on unabated for another century, until Japan retired into voluntary seclusion (see Chapter 27).

Korea

As mentioned earlier, much of the commerce in goods and ideas between Japan and China was mediated through Korea. That country had already been a civilized society for several hundred years by the time the Japanese were organizing the Yamato (yah-MOH-toh) state. Korea in turn had been strongly affected by its

proximity to China and had fallen into the Chinese orbit during the later Han and the Tang dynastic periods. At this time, the Korean Peninsula was divided between three contesting kingdoms, all of which became tributary states of China under the powerful Tang Dynasty. Confucian ethics were widely adopted by the upper class, and one of the three contestants—the kingdom of Silla—imposed the Chinese style of centralized government by bureaucracy after the unification of the country in the tenth century.

The rulers of Silla imitated the Tang governors in China but were not completely successful in their political strivings to rule as the “Son of Heaven.” A feudal division of power between king and local lords continued. Fortunately for the dynasty, the collapse of the Tang in Beijing and the weakness of the Chinese thereafter allowed the Koreans a large degree of autonomy for the next several centuries. It was during this era that Korean national culture received its most important monuments, and the amalgam of Buddhist faith with Confucian ethics was deeply and permanently embedded in the educated class.

Only with the coming of the conquering Mongols in the thirteenth century did Korea again fall under strict alien controls. As in China, and for the same reasons, the era of Mongol rule was painful for the Koreans, and the Korean king became a mere Mongol agent. When the Mongols were driven out of China, they were also forced out of Korea, and a new period of quasi-independence under a new dynasty began.

THE EARLY SOUTHEAST ASIAN STATES

The term *Southeast Asia* is a recent invention, not coming into wide usage until after World War II. It denotes an enormous and varied area ranging from Burma in the northwest to Indonesia’s islands in the southeast. By general consensus Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippine Islands are included in this region as well (see Map 19.3).



MAP 19.3 Southeast Asia, 500 CE–1200 CE

Through the Strait of Malacca at the tip of the Malaysian Peninsula passed the largest volume of maritime trade in the world during this epoch and later.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Where were the likely points of overland and oceanic passage for merchants trading between the Indian Ocean routes and China? What other factors facilitated the early development of trade and states in this region?

Although all of these states but Thailand entered modern times as colonial possessions of European states, they all had a lengthy previous history of independent political organization. Their history was very much a factor in defining and segregating one people from others despite strong ethnic similarity. Most of the mainland Southeast Asians are descended from speakers of the Turco-Mongolian language group, whereas most of the islanders are descended from speakers of Austronesian languages, with modern admixtures everywhere of Chinese and Indian immigrants. The original inhabitants of the mainland seem to have drifted slowly southward from southern China and eastward from India around 80,000 years ago; most of the islanders apparently came from the mainland at some later dates. Archaeology has shown Neolithic farming sites dating to the fifth millennium BCE scattered throughout the region.

The earliest political-cultural units existed in the shadow of either imperial China or India, and these states were to have permanent influence on the Southeast Asians in many different spheres. As a rule, China's influence was founded on military and diplomatic hegemony, whereas India's came via either a trading or a cultural-philosophical channel. The dividing line between the Chinese and the Indian spheres of culture was located in Vietnam, and there was little overlap.

Only in one Southeast Asian country—Vietnam—was the Chinese factor so powerful as to create at times an unwilling or coerced satellite. Elsewhere, several influences conspired to make India the model and leading partner of Southeast Asia in cultural affairs: the activity of the Indians in the busy east–west Indian Ocean trade, the similarities in the Indian and Southeast Asian economies, and the extraordinary flexibility of the Hindu/Buddhist religious traditions (see Chapter 12).

Funan and Champa

The earliest mainland entities to be historically or archaeologically proven were Funan, in the Mekong River delta, and Champa (CHAHM-pah), in central Vietnam. Little is known for certain about ancient Champa and Funan (fo-NAHN). Both became empires of moderate extent during the early Christian era, and both were Hindu states, in the sense that the governing group was influenced strongly by Hindu Indian ideas and individuals. Funan succumbed to the Khmers (discussed later) in the sixth century and was wiped from the map. Champa managed to survive in some form all the way into the nineteenth century, when its Vietnamese neighbors finally overwhelmed it.

Kampuchea

In the seventh century, the conquerors of Funan moved into the politically dominant role that they would continue to occupy for the next several hundred years. These

conquerors were the Khmers (KAY-mers), ancestors of the present-day Cambodians. They built the great civilization centered on the city of Anghor and its surrounding villages.

Kampuchea (kahm-poo-CHEE-yah)—the original (and current) name of the Khmer state otherwise known as Cambodia—was the greatest of the ancient Southeast Asian mainland kingdoms. It remained so until its slow decline and fall to the invading Thais. Its wealth was based on a wet-rice agrarian economy that supported perhaps a million people in and close to Anghor (Chapter 12). The economy was based on hydrological engineering rivaling that of the Nile Valley. These works modified the effects of the huge peaks and valleys of the monsoon weather pattern. They served some 12 million acres of paddies, which were capable of giving three harvests of rice per year.

Kampuchea began as another Hindu kingdom, with a semidivine king, but in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Hindu belief was supplanted by Hinayana Buddhism (see Chapter 4), with its emphasis on the equality of men and rejection of monarchic divinity. Not even the immense temple at Anghor Wat, built as a king's funeral monument like the pyramids of Egypt, could reestablish the prestige of the throne. Perhaps the temple contributed to its decline because of the heavy taxation its construction necessitated—another similarity to the Egyptian experience. The steady chipping away of Khmer territories by the Champa state on its east and the Thais on its north and west seems to have been as much a consequence as a cause of the decline of royal powers. By the late fourteenth century, Thais were taking over Anghor and much of the Khmer kingdom. The temple-city was abandoned in the early fifteenth century, not to be heard of again until French explorers, acting for the new colonial power, rediscovered it after a half-millennium's lapse.

Sri Vijaya

If Kampuchea was mainland Southeast Asia's primary power, the maritime empire of **Sri Vijaya** (sree vee-JAH-yah) held sway over much of the insular region during these same centuries. One of the most important sources for very early history, the diary of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim I Jing (ee ching), written in the late seventh century, notes the abundance of shipping and mariners of all Asian nations in Sri Vijaya's harbors. It was common for ships to put up for months in these ports, waiting for the turn of the monsoon winds to enable them to return westward across the Indian Ocean.

Owing much to the initiatives and support of Indian colonists, the Sumatra-based Sri Vijayan kings gradually forced their way into the breach in intra-Asian trade left by the decline of Funan and Champa. Sri Vijaya sought little territory but focused instead on dominance in the busy straits of Malacca trade route, as well as supplying the South China ports with island spices and foodstuffs.

It was a lucrative business, and the conquest of Sri Vijaya by the Chola buccaneers from India did not impede it. On the contrary, Indian conquest brought a higher degree of organization and expansion to trade. Chinese recognition of the rights of Sri Vijaya to monopolize the north–south trade along the Chinese coasts and down to Malacca was also a huge asset. When this recognition was withdrawn because of Chinese rivalry, the empire began to decline in earnest.

Majapahit

The Sri Vijaya **Majapahit** (mah-jah-pah-HIHT) rulers, centered on eastern Java, delivered the final blows against Sri Vijaya. They created the only indigenous (native to the area) empire to unify all of present-day Indonesia. Majapahit's success is supposedly attributable to the efforts of Indonesia's national hero, *Gaja Mada* (GAH-jah MAH-dah), the first minister of the king for a generation (1331–1364).

Gaja Mada supervised the conquest of the entire archipelago and possibly (accounts vary) of a considerable part of the mainland as well. Like its insular predecessors, Majapahit's empire was a trading and commercial venture, with command of the sea being far more important than landed possessions. The glory lasted for less than a century, however, before other challengers arose, led by the new city of Malacca on the straits that bear the identical name (see Map 19.3).

Majapahit was the last great Hindu kingdom in Southeast Asia, and its demise in the fifteenth century was largely caused by the coming of an aggressive Islam, again spearheaded by immigrants from the Indian Peninsula. Where Hinayana Buddhism had replaced original Hindu belief in most of the mainland, Islam now replaced it in most of the islands. By the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, who were the earliest Europeans in these latitudes, much of the population of the archipelago had been converted.

Burma and Thailand

After the fall of the Khmers, the mainland was gradually divided among three principal entities. In the far west, the Burmese kingdom centered on the religious shrines at **Pagan** (pah-GAHN). Founded as far back as the ninth century, it had gradually spread south and east to embrace several minority groups related to the majority Burmans. Originally Hindu, thanks to the region's common borders with India, the governing class adopted the Hinayana Buddhism brought to them from the centers of that faith in Sri Lanka during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

In the 1280s, the Mongol conquerors of China sent armies to the south, where they severely ravaged several Southeast Asian states. Chief among these victims were the Burmans, who saw their capital city of Pagan utterly destroyed and their political dominion wrecked as well.

Burma disintegrated into several rival principalities during the next three centuries.

To the east of Burma, the Thai people, with their religious and political center at **Ayuthaya** (ah-yoo-THAH-yah), took advantage of the opportunity afforded by Kampuchea's weakening and the Mongol destruction of the Pagan kingdom. Although the Mongols militarily overwhelmed the Thais in their expeditions of the 1280s, they later favored them as tributaries rather than objects of exploitation. The rise of Thai power was closely linked to this favoritism.

Three great monarchs in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries assured the Thai kingdom of central importance in mainland Asia throughout early modern times. Their contributions ranged from the adoption of Hinayana Buddhism to a model land-tenure system, an advanced and efficient code of law, and standardization of the language, both written and oral. Collectively, the Thai kings of the *Chakri* (CHAH-kree) *Dynasty* created the most stable and most administratively advanced state in the area.

Thailand (the name is a recent replacement for Siam) became the successor-through-conquest of Kampuchea in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. By the fifteenth century, less than a century after its founding, the capital Ayuthaya had a population estimated at 150,000. Its temples and public gardens rivaled those of Anghor in its heyday and quite overshadowed the now-ruined Pagan.

Vietnam

Vietnam is the exception among the states we are now reviewing in its intense, love–hate relationship with China. For a thousand years, the Vietnamese were the oft-rebellious subjects of the emperor of the Middle Kingdom. When this “yoke” was finally thrown off in 939 CE, the educated people had been sinicized (made Chinese) to an extent not otherwise experienced anywhere, even in Korea and Tibet.

In 111 BCE, a Han ruler made Nam viet (nahm vee-YEHT; land of the Viets) into a province of the Chinese empire. For the next thousand years, imperial appointees who were schooled in Confucian principles and assisted by a cadre of Chinese officials governed it. Chinese missionary monks brought Mahayana Buddhism to the country. It soon became the dominant faith and remained so when the rest of Southeast Asia had turned to the Hinayana version. The pre–twentieth century Vietnamese script was the only Southeast Asian form of writing based on Chinese ideographs. In many different ways, then, China was the tutelary deity of Viet culture.

Yet this closeness inevitably brought forth a mirror image of rejection and dislike. Heavy-handedness and the serene presumption of superiority that so marked China's upper classes in their contacts with foreigners left their scars on

the Vietnamese as deeply as on anyone else. The national heroes are two sisters, *Trung Trac* (truhng TRAHKH) and *Trung Nhi* (truhng NYEE), who as co-queens led an armed rebellion in 39 CE that resisted the Chinese for two years before being crushed. The sisters committed joint suicide and became the permanent focal point of anti-Chinese patriotism.

There followed 900 years of domination from the north, but the wish for independence never died out. After the weakening of the Tang Dynasty allowed successful revolt in 939, Vietnam (more precisely *Dai Viet*, the “kingdom of the Viets”) became and remained a sovereign state for another millennium. Its relationship with its great neighbor to the north was always delicate, but the adoption of a tributary relationship, with certain advantages to both sides, allowed the Vietnamese effective sovereignty and maintained the peace. Even the Mongol conquerors of China came to accept the right

of Dai Viet to exist as an independent entity. Their campaigns aimed at subduing the kingdom in both the 1250s and again in the 1280s were repelled by brilliantly led guerrilla warriors.

In the ensuing centuries, the Ly and the Tran dynasties ruled Dai Viet from the city eventually named Hanoi. They successfully expanded their territories against both the resurgent Champa kingdom to the south and the Khmers (later known as the Thais) to the west. In general, these dynasties followed the Chinese administrative style, backed up strongly by the official Confucian culture and the thorough Sinicization of the educational system. The Le Dynasty was notably successful in organizing resistance against renewed Chinese invasion in the early 1400s, adding another chapter to the long Vietnamese saga of rejection of Chinese military hegemony coupled with admiration and pursuit of Chinese culture.

SUMMARY

THE EARLIEST PERIOD OF JAPAN'S history is shrouded in mist. The lack of written sources until the eighth century CE forces us to rely on archaeology and occasional references in Chinese travel accounts. Unlike many other peoples, the Japanese never experienced an alien military conquest that unified them under strong central control.

For most of Japanese history, the imperial court was essentially a symbol of national distinctiveness, based on religious mythology rather than a government. Real power was exercised by feudal lords, loosely organized in clans, who dominated specific localities instead of nationally. In later times, the regent called the shogun was sometimes able to subdue these lords and create an effective military government parallel to that of the court.

Japan's relations with China and Korea were close through most of its early history but were punctuated with brief periods of self-willed isolation. In the broadest sense, most of the models of Japanese culture can be traced to Chinese sources, which often came through Korea. Among Japan's notable borrowings from China were Buddhism, writing, and several art media and forms; but in each instance, the Japanese adapted these imports to create a peculiarly native product. They entirely rejected the Chinese style of imperial government and its accompanying bureaucracy, favoring instead a military feudalism.

The Southeast Asian societies experienced some type of extensive political organization beginning in the early Christian centuries, but little is known from historical sources until much later. The earliest mainland kingdoms seem to date from the fifth or sixth centuries CE, and those in the islands a good deal later, as the Burman Pagan kingdom, the Khmer kingdom of Anghor, and the Thai kingdom of Ayuthaya exercised the greatest cultural and political influences in the first 1,400 years of our era. Although they originally subscribed to Hindu viewpoints carried by Indian traders, all of these and other mainland countries converted in time to Hinayana Buddhism.

Unlike its neighbors, all of which were under strong Indian cultural influence, Vietnam looked to the north and emulated Chinese Confucian values and practice for a lengthy period without surrendering its insistence on political sovereignty. Some of the mainland entities extended their domains into Malaya and the archipelago of Indonesia, but generally speaking, the islands brought forth their own imperial centers that rose and fell depending on control of the lucrative maritime trading routes. At the end of the period under discussion, a militant and proselytizing Islam was replacing both Hindu and Buddhist religions in most of the islands.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Ashikaga clan
Ayuthaya

bakufu
bushido

daimyo
Fujiwara clan
Kamakura shogunate
Kampuchea
Majapahit
Pagan
Samurai
*Seventeen Point
Constitution*

Shinto
shoen
shogunate
Prince Shotoku
Sri Vijaya
Tale of Genji

For Further Reflection

1. Why do you think cultural influences flowed primarily from China to Japan and Korea and not the reverse?
2. For what reasons do you think the Japanese limited contacts with China from time to time?
3. What influences, if any, did Southeast Asia have on China, Korea, and Japan?
4. What role did Southeast Asia play in the international movements of people, goods, and ideas that was similar to that of central Asia?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. Very early Japanese history is best summarized as
 - a. a complete mystery until the Tang Dynasty in China.
 - b. unknown except for sporadic Chinese reports.
 - c. well documented from native sources.
 - d. dependent on the reports of Japan's early invaders.
 - e. extensively documented in Japan's early written language.
2. The first Japanese government we know of was organized by the
 - a. Yamato clan.
 - b. Shinto monasteries.
 - c. Buddhist monks.
 - d. Heian emperors.
 - e. Chinese conquerors.
3. Shinto is best defined as
 - a. a belief in the infallibility of the emperor.
 - b. the original capital city of Japan.
 - c. the native religion of the Japanese.
 - d. the most important of the Buddhist sects in Japan.
 - e. a strongly ritualistic religion.
4. The chief original contribution of the Japanese to world literature was the
 - a. novel.
 - b. epic.
 - c. short story.
 - d. essay.
 - e. poem.
5. A shogun was
 - a. the high priest of the Shinto temples.
 - b. a samurai official.
 - c. an illegal usurper of imperial authority.
 - d. a general acting as political regent.
 - e. a Japanese warrior.
6. In the Japanese feudal system, a shoen was
 - a. an urban commercial concession.
 - b. a property outside imperial taxation and controls.
 - c. the preferred weapon of the samurai.
 - d. land owned by a free peasant.
 - e. land controlled by the state.
7. Which of the following best describes the relationship of China and Japan through 1400 CE?
 - a. Japan was a willing student of Chinese culture.
 - b. Japan selectively adopted Chinese models and ideas.
 - c. Japan was forced to adopt Chinese models.
 - d. Japan rejected Chinese pressures to conform.
 - e. China made several cultural adjustments based on its interactions with Japan.

8. In Lady Murasaki's tale, Genji is
 - a. a samurai warrior who has no time for love.
 - b. a betrayed husband of a court beauty.
 - c. a romantic lover of many court ladies.
 - d. a wise peasant who avoids courtly snares.
 - e. an elderly man recounting the adventures of his youth.
9. Which statement is correct about the early history of Southeast Asia?
 - a. The mainland nations normally controlled the islands politically.
 - b. The islands clung to their Hindu and animist beliefs throughout this period.
 - c. The Hinayana Buddhists did not support the idea of divine kingship.
 - d. The Khmer empire was destroyed by the Chinese.
 - e. When Portuguese merchants arrived in the region, most of its people were still Hindus.
10. Identify the false pairing of country/nation/empire with a geographic center:
 - a. Kampuchea—Anghor
 - b. Dai Viet—Hanoi
 - c. Burma—Pagan
 - d. Majapahit—Malacca
 - e. Funan—Mekong River



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The European Middle Ages



THE WORKERS

The Medieval Serf
Medieval Agriculture
Urban Workers

THE WARRIORS

THE WORSHIPERS

The New Clerical Orders

THE ECONOMIC REVIVAL

Bourgeoisie and Jews

MEDIEVAL CULTURE AND ARTS

The First Universities
Gothic Architecture
Vernacular Literature

DISASTERS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The Black Death
The Hundred Years' War

PROBLEMS IN THE CHURCH

ROYAL KINGDOMS AND THE FORMATION OF STATES

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY that emerged from the trials and troubles of the Dark Age was built on personal status. Law and custom assigned everyone a place on the social ladder, but their specific rung depended on whether their function was to fight, to pray, or to work. The great majority, of course, fell into the third category, but they could occasionally leave it by entering one of the others. The church was open to entry from below and grew steadily more powerful in both the spiritual and the civil spheres. Its claims in worldly matters brought it into increasing conflict with the kings and emperors—a conflict that hurt both sides. Despite the resistance of both the church and the nobles, the royal courts gained increasingly more prestige and power. The European Middle Ages (c. 1000–1450 CE) saw the faint beginnings of the modern Western state and society between about 1000 and 1300 CE.

The fourteenth century, however, was a time of unprecedented disasters that sharply reduced the population and caused a decline in the economy

Consider your origins: You were not born to live like brutes but to follow virtue and knowledge.

—Dante

1066	William (the Conqueror) of Normandy conquers Anglo-Saxon England
c. 1075–1122	Investiture Controversy
1096	First Crusade
1100s	Gothic style begins
c. 1200	University of Paris founded
1305–1378	Babylonian Captivity (papacy in Avignon)
1337–1453	Hundred Years' War
1346–1350	Black Death's first round
1378–1417	Great Schism
1381	English peasants' revolt; the Lollards and John Wyclif
1414–1417	Council of Constance

that continued for about 150 years. The so-called feudal governing system and the agriculturally based economy reeled under great blows: the Black Death, the Hundred Years' War, and the labor shortages these events created.

THE WORKERS

Most people were peasants who worked on and with the land. Perhaps 90 percent of the population in western Europe, and more in eastern Europe, worked the fields, orchards, and woodlots for a living. Their lives were filled with sweaty labor, but this work was far from continuous. For six months of the year or so in North Europe, they were restricted by climate and habit to their huts and villages. Then they spent a great deal of time on farm and household chores and literally “sitting about.” Even during the growing season, from about April to the autumn harvest, many church-ordained holidays and village festivals interrupted the drudgery. Work was largely a communal responsibility; people worked with others in a rhythm dictated by the needs of the community and ancient traditions. These traditions left much room for rest and recreation.

The Medieval Serf

The work on the large manors, which became dominant in western Europe, was performed by millions of peasant farmers, or **serfs** (see Chapter 11). By the year 1000, serfs had replaced slaves in most places in Europe. Slavery virtually disappeared because the Christian church was opposed to the enslavement of fellow Christians, and this viewpoint gradually prevailed. Because almost the entire continent had been converted to Christianity by 1100, few non-Christians were left who could be enslaved. In some places, though, serfdom differed little from slavery in practice, and the following remarks apply more to the western region. Legally, a serf could not be bought or sold as a slave could, and no one questioned that a serf was a human being with God-given rights and a soul equal in the eyes of heaven to any other person.

Generally speaking, serfs were in important measure unfree. They were bound by law and tradition to a given place (normally a farm village) and to a given occupation (normally farm work) under the loose supervision of their noble or clerical lord (*seigneur*, *Herr*, *suzerain*, bishop, abbot). Beyond this general statement, it is difficult to give a specific description of serfdom because conditions varied so much by time and place. Conditions in, say, tenth-century France were not the same as in eleventh-century Spain or England. In general, however, serfs were bound to perform labor services for their lord and to pay certain “dues” and taxes to the lord, which were set by tradition and by sporadic negotiations.



Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY

SERFS AT WORK. Sheep shearing and harvesting the first crop of summer.

Only rarely were these conditions written. The labor took myriad forms but usually included work on the **demesne** (domain)—the part of the agricultural land of the estate that belonged to the lord directly. The remainder of the estate’s cultivable land was normally given out to the serfs for their own use. They did not own what was allotted to them, but only a right to use the land, which was still owned by the lord. As a rule, serfdom was hereditary. People usually had become serfs because they fell into debt or because they offered themselves and their land to a local strongman in exchange for his protection during a period of disorder. In bad times, it was always safer to be the ward of some powerful person than to try to stand alone.

It was possible, however, for a serf to gain freedom. The most common way was simply to run away from the lord’s manor and start a new life in freedom elsewhere—normally in a town. “Town air makes free” was an axiom of medieval lawyers. In western Europe, people who could prove they had resided in a town for a year and a day were considered legally free. Many others gained their freedom with the lord’s permission. Some were freed of further obligation by the lord’s will; some were rewarded for good service; still others worked their way out of serfdom by paying off

their debts. After the eleventh century, freedom could also be won by volunteering to open new lands—particularly in the Low Countries, where dikes were constructed and land was reclaimed from the sea, and in eastern Europe, where much uncultivated land still existed and lords were anxious to gain new labor.

In the fourteenth century, after the tremendous loss of life from the Black Death (see below), the serfs who survived were in a strengthened bargaining position with their masters, and serfdom in western Europe became less onerous. Peasant tenants still had to meet certain dues and

minor obligations, but the old hardships and treatment like slaves were over.

Medieval Agriculture

Manorial agriculture made steady, although unspectacular, progress during the Middle Ages. Productivity, which was formerly very low (perhaps a 3:1 ratio for return of grain from seed), improved with the introduction of the iron-tipped plow after about 1000. Because it could till heavier soils, this implement opened up whole new regions to grain

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

THE MEDIEVAL VILLAGE OF WHARRAM PERCY

Long-accepted ideas about life on the manor, the status of serfs, and the so-called feudal order have come under assault. Even so, it is natural to try imagining what life would have been like for medieval men and women in villages like Yorkshire's Wharram Percy. The site became celebrated after archaeologists excavated it from the 1950s to 1992, making it one of the best-known medieval villages in Britain.

Located in a steep-sided valley in a north-south direction, Iron Age farmers were the first to settle Wharram, around 100 BCE. Wharram never became a large town. It appears to have been most active from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, during which time it had as many as thirty-seven peasant households and about 185 total inhabitants. A major indicator of the changes the community underwent was the continual alterations that occurred in the size and layout of the village church, St. Martin's. It started out in the tenth century as a small, private chapel. By the fourteenth century, it had become the village church; as the village grew, it had undergone several reconstructions in the Gothic style and had come to incorporate two aisles and external buttresses.

Archaeologists unearthed the remains of two manor houses. The South manor was built first, probably by the original landholders, the Chamberlain family. Then around 1254, a second—the North manor—eclipsed the older one as another family, the Percys, assumed control of the estate.

The peasants constructed their longhouse-style quarters alongside each other on the western side of the valley and below the hilltop furrows of arable farmland. They made their walls out of *wattle-and-daub* (woven straw and mud). Beams fashioned in wishbone shapes, called crucks, supported these and thatched roofs. Divided into two quarters, one for the humans and the second for livestock, the longhouse typically was around sixty feet long and fifteen feet wide. The living quarters had no partitions. In its center was a fire pit, with a smoke hole cut into the roof above. Some houses incorporated

a tiny bedchamber at one end, built at half height. Around and behind each house was a small “yard” (or *toft*) for growing vegetables, plus a bigger garden (the *croft*) behind the toft, which supplied the family with peas, beans, and turnips.

Archaeologists unearthed objects that peasants typically would have used, but no weapons. Also included were simple household utensils (spoons, knives, thimbles, keys, scissors), ornamental objects (pins, buckles, strap ends, clothes fasteners), hardware (stirrups, spurs, sharpening stones), and spinning whorls. These were fashioned out of natural materials like wood, clay, stone, bone, and iron.

Life for these farmers clearly was austere. In “The Dialogue Between Master and Disciple,” the lord asks, “What sayest thou plowman? How do you do your work?” To this, the serf replies,

“O my lord I work very hard: I go out at dawn, driving the cattle to the field, and I yoke them to the plow. Nor is the weather so bad in winter that I dare stay at home, for fear of my lord: but when the oxen are yoked, and the plowshare and the coulter attached to the plow, I must plow one whole field a day, or more.”

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

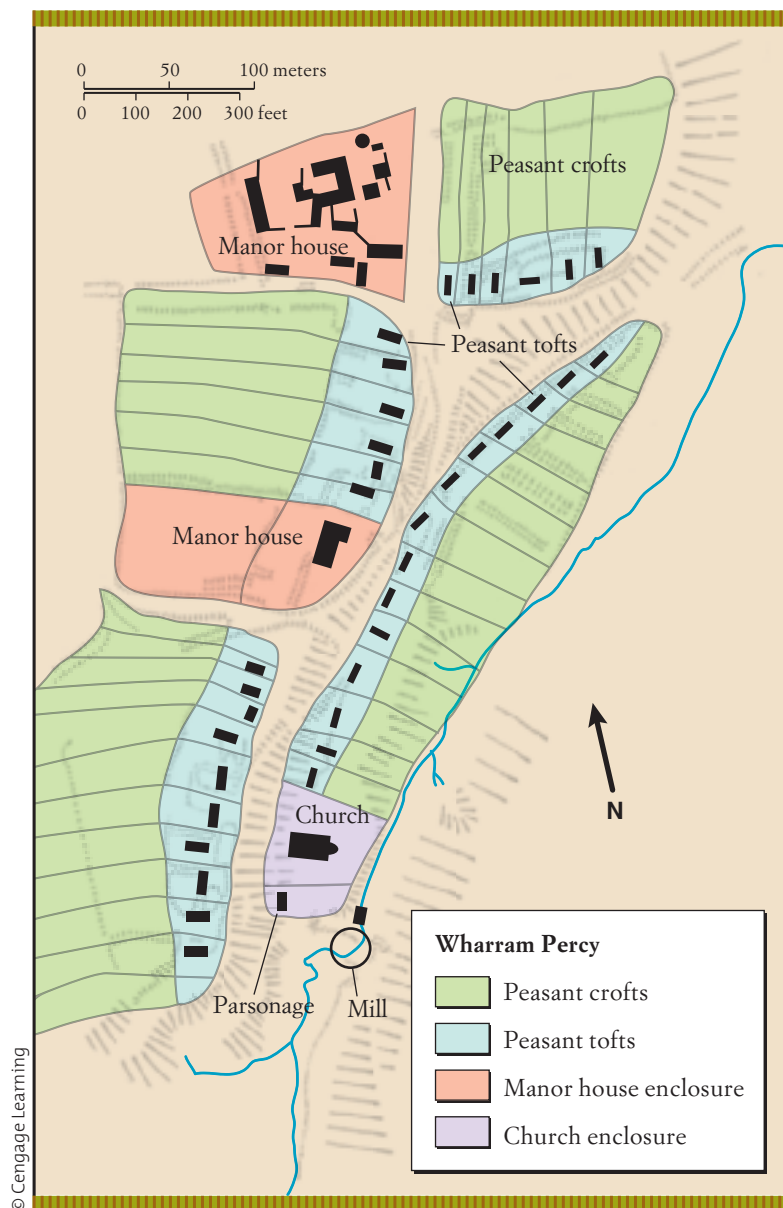
Why were there two manor houses at Wharram? Based on the evidence, what changes did the replacement of the old manor house seem to bring to the estate and the village?

Besides the manor houses, what other building seems to have occupied a position of significance in the village? How do you explain its importance?

Why were the houses of the peasants built in a longhouse style? What functional significance did this have?

Source: “The Medieval Sourcebook: The Dialogue Between Master and Disciple: On Laborers,” c. 1000.





MAP 20.1 Wharram Percy

Tofts are in red; crofts are in green.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Why do you think that the lands the peasants were allotted for their gardens had an elongated appearance? Were these gardens for raising grains? Where would those have been located? Do you see them on the map?

Urban Workers

The urban workers were not yet numerous and were sharply divided in income and social status. At the top were the craftsmen and shopkeepers. Some of them were highly skilled and enjoyed a solid economic livelihood; they could often afford to educate their children in the hope of advancing them still further. These people benefited from the **guild** system (see Chapter 21 for more), which restricted competition and assured that their socioeconomic status would be secure.

Below these few fortunates were the semi-skilled, unskilled, and casual laborers. These men and women worked for others and had few prospects of becoming independent. Many of them lived a hand-to-mouth existence that may have been harder than the lives of the bulk of the manorial peasants. They were often the victims of changed economic conditions (like a new trade route) or local famines. A great many oscillated between seasonal agrarian jobs and town occupations.

Finally, the towns were filled with marginal people who never had steady work. They begged or moved on to more promising places, “living on air” in the meantime. Historians have estimated that as many as one-fourth of the population of seventeenth-century Paris fell into this category. The number in medieval days was smaller, because the towns were still relatively small and residence rights were restricted, but there must have been many then too.

production. The introduction of the padded horse collar from Asia, which distributed the load so as to allow the horse to pull a much heavier burden, was another major advance. Horses were expensive and difficult to handle and keep fit, but their use, combined with the new plow, greatly increased farm production by 1100. The systematic use of animal manure as fertilizer also improved productivity, although this practice remained the exception.

The productivity of medieval agriculture was above all limited because one-third to one-half of the cultivated land was left **fallow** (unseeded) each year. This practice was necessary because it was the only way the land could recover its nutrients in the absence of fertilizer. Every farmer had a piece or a strip of land in both the cultivated and the fallow segments of the manor, which were rotated from year to year.

THE WARRIORS

The European nobility of the Middle Ages constituted perhaps 2 to 3 percent of the population on average, although their numbers varied from country to country and region to region. Their rights generally stemmed from **patents of nobility**, royal documents that granted them or their ancestors the status of noble and certain privileges that went with that status.



Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

ELEVENTH-CENTURY KNIGHTS. From the Bayeux tapestry, a scene from the Battle of Hastings, 1066. These early Norman knights dressed in hauberks, leather tunics on which were sewn iron ringlets, and battle helmets fashioned out of hardened leather and iron strips. Note the distinctive Norman lance and shield. In later centuries, when powerful crossbows and even primitive guns came into use, plate armor replaced hauberks and chain mail.

What type of preferences did they enjoy? The privileges could be almost anything imaginable: economic, political, or social, but above all, they were social. The nobles were thought to be of a superior nature than the commoners. They spoke mostly to one another, married other nobles, held exclusive gatherings, and enjoyed an altogether different lifestyle than ordinary people, be they well-off or poor.

Like serfdom, noble status was hereditary; nobles generally were born noble. Nobility was thus a caste that was more-or-less closed to outsiders. In medieval times, it was rarely possible to buy one's way into the nobility by purchase of a patent, although the practice became common later. Women were equally as noble as men, if they were born into the caste. They could not become noble by marriage, however, whereas men occasionally could. Also like serfdom, nobility varied so much that it is impossible to generalize accurately beyond a few facts. Not all nobles were wealthy, although many were. The only type of wealth that was considered to be meaningful was land.

By the 1300s, it was not so unusual to find impoverished nobles who were anxious to have their sons marry rich commoners' daughters. Many once-noble families sank out of sight, pulled down by a combination of inflation and their hugely wasteful lifestyle. Nobles were always free; they could not be bound as an inferior to another, but they were also normally **vassals** of some person of superior rank to whom they owed loyalty and specific duties. In the early Middle Ages, these duties were military in nature. Later, they often changed into some sort of service.

The superior person to whom service was owed was called the vassal's **suzerain** (SOO-zuhr-ane). He—or she—gave something of value to the vassal in return. Usually this

was his political support, protection, and a **fief** that included one or more rural villages and/or manors. As a rule, a noble's rank was inherited; there were basically five ranks of nobility, ranging downward from duke to count to marquis to baron to knight. Each country had its variations on this scheme. The knights were only semi-noble in that their status was solely for their own lifetimes; the king might ennoble the knight's sons, but they had no claim to nobility by birth. Knights were by far the most numerous of the nobility and the least prestigious.

The nobles originally claimed their preferred status by virtue of being professional soldiers, guardians, and judges. They supposedly protected the other members of society, upheld justice, ensured that the weak were not abused by the strong, and guarded public morals. That, at least, was the nobles' story! In fact, nobles were often noble because in unsettled times, they or their ancestors were successful freebooters who possessed stronger arms than their neighbors and intimidated the neighbors into submission. Alternatively, they bought or fought their way into a victorious warlord's (later, king's) circle of thanes or married their way upward.

In any case, the nobles considered themselves as the defenders of society through the command of both God and king and their own sense of honor. Honor was a particularly important aspect of their lives, and every person was supremely conscious of its obligations. Honor meant spending a year's income on the marriage of a daughter or on a proper costume for a court function. Honor meant fighting duels over alleged insults from other nobles and refusing to fight them with commoners. Honor meant living as a nobleman should: living on the manorial duties his serfs surrendered to him, while holding money in contempt.

How did noblewomen fit into this pattern? Female nobles frequently held positions of some power in public life. Queens were generally considered to be a political misfortune, but this did not prevent a few women from attaining that rank. More frequently, widows of royal husbands served as regents. The widows were usually

expected to seek another husband and defer to his advice. Some did, and some did not.

In private life, many noblewomen exerted a strong influence on their husbands or ran the extensive and complex households themselves, as we know from many historical records. They were responsible for the day-to-day management of the estates; when the husband was absent, which was frequent, they moved into his shoes in matters of commerce and even warfare. There are records of duchesses and abbesses who did not hesitate to resort to arms to defend their rights.

First and foremost, however, like all medieval women outside the convents, a noblewoman was expected to produce legitimate children to ensure the continuity of the (male) family name and wealth. A barren noble wife was in a highly unenviable position; sterility was automatically attributed to the woman, but divorce was next to impossible because of the church's opposition. Hence, sonless husbands sometimes turned to concubines in their search for posterity. A child so produced would have only very limited rights, even if he were acknowledged, but for some desperate husbands this was better than nothing.

THE WORSHIPERS

The men and women who worshiped were less numerous than the warriors, but they filled a social niche that was just as important. In an age of faith when no one doubted the reality of heaven, hell, or the Last Judgment, those who prayed for others were considered to be absolutely essential. They included both the parish clergy and the regular clergy, or monks, but because the monks were both more numerous and more important than the parish clergy, the following applies particularly to them. The chief visible difference between monks and parish priests was that the monks lived somewhat apart from the world in communities called monasteries. The monastery has had a long history in the Christian world. The first were founded in the fourth century in Egypt, but the most important monastic institutions were those founded by the Italian Benedict of Nursia in the sixth century. His **Benedictine Rule** for regulating monastic life was the most widely observed, although several others were also in use during the Middle Ages (the Trappist and Cistercian rules, for example).

What was a Benedictine monastery like? The monks believed that continual worship, along with a mixture of manual and intellectual work, was essential for a pious and contemplative life. The monks operated extensive farms, which they sometimes leased out to peasants in part. They were also craftsmen, and the abbey house, or main center of the monastery, was a workshop filled with bustling activity; but the monks never forgot that their intercession with God on behalf of fellow Christians was at all times the center of their lives. From early morning to night, the

Benedictines set aside hours for prayer and contemplation. They also usually ran schools for the more talented peasant youth, some of whom were invited to join them in the monastic life.

Monks and nuns (in the convents that were the close equivalent of the monasteries but designed for females) normally came from the aristocracy until the twelfth or thirteenth century, when they became increasingly middle class in origin. They were often the younger sons or daughters of a noble family, who had little hope of inheriting property sufficient to maintain them in proper style. Their parents, therefore, put them into a monastery at the age of twelve or so. Sometimes, the child was miserable in the religious life and left it sooner or later with or without permission.

The collective wealth of the monasteries was considerable. European Christians customarily remembered the church in their wills, if only to ensure that masses would be said for their souls in that way station en route to heaven called purgatory. Noble sinners often tried to escape their just desserts at the Last Judgment by leaving the local monastery or convent large bequests on their deathbeds. In these ways, the property controlled by the church, and above all by the numerous monasteries, grew to tremendous figures. Historians reckon that, as late as the fifteenth century, the property controlled by the church institutions in western Europe outvalued that controlled by the Crown and the nobles together.

Despite the corruption wealth inevitably brought into monastic life, monks and nuns did much good work by their devotions and their actions on behalf of the poor. Government in medieval Europe was primitive, and social welfare services did not exist. Instead, the church institutions—monasteries, convents, cathedrals, and parish churches—supplied most of the public welfare for the aged, the poor, and the helpless. The clergy founded and managed hospitals, orphanages, hospices, asylums for the aged, and shelters for the impoverished, as well as providing scholarships for the deserving poor. In so doing, they were using funds contributed by the faithful or generated by the church business and rental income. Then as now, money was used for good ends as well as bad ones.

The New Clerical Orders

In the thirteenth century, for various reasons **heresies** became more widespread in the church than ever before. Regular armed crusades were even mounted against them at times. These crusades meant to stamp out heresy by killing or suppressing the heretics. Brutal force was their hallmark. To a pair of saintly young priests, this was not the Christian way, and they sought a different approach.

St. Francis of Assisi was a young Italian who practiced a life of total poverty and total service to his fellows. St. Dominic, a contemporary of Francis of Assisi, was a young Spaniard who wanted to reform the clergy in a different

way. He wanted especially to convert the heretics back to the true faith by showing them the error of their ways calmly and peaceably. The Dominican Order was therefore an intellectual group, specializing in lawyerly disputation and preaching. Dominicans were the outstanding professors of law and theology in the early universities of Europe. To combat heresy, the Roman Catholic Church instituted the **Inquisition**, a clerical court to bring individuals suspected of adhering to forbidden doctrines before a panel of Dominican friars who questioned their beliefs. Most were pardoned, but in its severest form, as it later became in Spain, the Inquisition sometimes employed brutal methods to extract confessions and then turned over the hardest cases to secular officials for imprisonment or public burnings.

In their different ways, both Franciscans and Dominicans attempted to elevate the spiritual life of the clergy and, through them, the people of Europe. They attempted to bring about needed reforms in the church that the papal court was refusing to address. But their efforts were dulled with the passage of time and checked by a clerical hierarchy that did not want to hear of its failures and corruption or think about how to change.

THE ECONOMIC REVIVAL

Starting in the eleventh century, the towns of Europe, so long stagnant or semi-deserted, began a strong revival. Some entirely new cities were founded—for example, Berlin, Moscow, and Munich. Mostly, however, the eleventh- and twelfth-century revival saw the renaissance of older sites under the influence of three related factors: (1) higher agricultural production, as discussed above; (2) increased trade; and (3) a more peaceful environment.

The basic reason for the resurgence of the towns was the rising volume of trade. After centuries of stagnation, Europe's merchants and moneylenders were again looking for new fields to conquer. Mercantile activity approached levels it had last reached a millennium earlier, in the fourth century. Merchants found that a stable coinage and financial techniques such as letters of credit, which they learned from the Muslims, increased their commercial opportunities.

The obvious locations for markets were the strategic, protected places that had been market centers in Roman days. Old municipal centers such as Cologne, Frankfurt, Innsbruck, Vienna, Lyon, and Paris—which had almost been abandoned in the sixth and seventh centuries—began to come back from the grave. They once again became what they had been under the Romans: commercial and crafts centers with some professionals and administrators. Nevertheless, cities and towns were not yet large or numerous. By the twelfth century, for example, Cologne's population reached 30,000, which was a large city by medieval standards. The largest cities were Paris, Florence, and Venice,

which had populations of somewhat less than 100,000 each in the twelfth century.

Several developments helped create a more peaceful setting for economic activity. One was the increased power of the church to enforce its condemnations of those who fought their fellow Europeans or engaged in random violence. The Peace of God and the Truce of God were now enforced across most of the continent. Under the Peace of God, non-combatants—such as women, merchants, peasants, and the clergy—were to be protected from violence. The Truce of God forbade fighting on Sundays and all holy feast days. Violators were subject to spiritual sanctions, including excommunication, and to civil penalties as well in most areas.

The **Crusades** also contributed to peace in Europe by giving ambitious young nobles an outlet to exercise their warlike impulses in a church-approved arena. Starting with the First Crusade in 1096, tens of thousands of aggressive younger sons of the nobility went off to Palestine or eastern Europe to fight the unbelievers, recover the long-lost Holy Land, and make their fortune (they hoped). Although the First Crusade was able to seize Jerusalem and briefly set up a Christian-ruled kingdom in Muslim Palestine, these exercises refreshed and deepened old animosities between Muslims and Christians, which had largely subsided since the Bedouin conquests had been completed centuries earlier. The harmful aspects of the Crusades culminated in the fiasco of the Fourth Crusade (1204). Western knights turned their belligerence and cupidity on their Greek hosts in Constantinople, rather than on the Muslims. So great was the scandal that although several more attempts were made to organize armies to regain the Holy Land by the later 1200s, the Near East had reverted to uniform Muslim rule once again.

Finally, the renewed application of Roman law led to the use of legal procedures as a substitute for armed action in disputes. Interest in the *corpus jurisprudentiae* began in the law school founded at Bologna in the eleventh century. Roman law, which had always been retained to some slight degree in the church's administration of its internal matters, was now gradually reintroduced into secular affairs as well. The legal profession was already well developed in the twelfth century.

Bourgeoisie and Jews

Many people in the towns were what we now call the upper middle class: doctors, lawyers, royal and clerical officeholders, and, first and foremost, merchants. These were the **bourgeoisie**, the educated, status-conscious people who lived within the *bourg* (or *burg*), which was a walled settlement meant to protect life and property.

The residents of the reviving towns were not all Christians. A small Jewish population had come to western Europe from the Mediterranean Jewish colonies of the Diaspora. They lived completely segregated from the Christian majority in small urban areas of a block or two



British Library/The Art Archive

MONEY LENDING. This manuscript illustration from fourteenth-century Italy shows the moneylender and his clients. Note the monks and other church officials, as well as the women, who avail themselves of these forerunners of banks.

called **ghettos**. Initially, Jews provided several of the elementary financial services in medieval cities and in the countryside; by the thirteenth century, however, they were being rivaled by Christians, who no longer paid much attention to the church's official distaste for usury, or the taking of money for the use of money (interest). Most places prohibited Jews from owning land or entering craft guilds, so they had little choice but to take up financial and mercantile pursuits.

MEDIEVAL CULTURE AND ARTS

Hand in hand with the rising wealth of the urban population came more effective central governments in parts of Europe during the twelfth century. Wealth meant a more

lucrative base for taxes levied by the royal crown and by the church. To manage that wealth properly and to levy and collect the taxes, both institutions needed trained personnel who could plan and oversee the work of others. It is no accident that the first European universities appeared at this time.

The First Universities

The first universities were established in Cairo, Baghdad, and Spain to train students in the advanced Islamic sciences. Two centuries later, Bologna and Salerno, using the Muslim academies as their model, established specialized academies devoted to law and medicine. These were gradually expanded and attracted students from all over Europe. Slightly later, the University of Paris was founded by a royal charter; there, students studied law, philosophy, and Christian theology. Much of the university curriculum was devoted to commentaries on the semisacred books of the Greek Classical Age. Greek authors such as Aristotle had long been forgotten in the Christian West, but they were now being recovered for study through the Muslims, especially in Spain. Unlike the West, the Muslims were quite aware of the value of the Greco-Roman classics and had preserved and studied them ever since conquering the Greek lands in the East (see Chapter 16).

The greatest Christian teacher of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was St. Thomas Aquinas. In his *Summa Theologica*, he managed to use the arguments of Aristotle to prove the existence of God. Other great medieval teachers included Albertus Magnus and Peter Abelard, who used reason to teach the truths of faith in an age that was still ruled by universal belief in Christian doctrines.

Gothic Architecture

The **Gothic style** of architecture and interior design came to be the norm in Europe during the thirteenth century. The first important example of Gothic architecture was the abbey church of St. Denis, which was built outside Paris in the mid-twelfth century. It was such an artistic success that the style spread rapidly throughout western Europe. The Gothic style's basic elements include a flood of illumination through windows and portals designed to throw the sunlight into every corner; an abundance of decoration, inside and out; and the use of arches, buttresses, and complex vaulting to support a sharply vertical, towering architecture.

The great Gothic cathedrals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that were built from Italy north and west to England were expressions not only of building and artistic skills but also of the deep faith of those who constructed and used them. The cathedrals were also

IMAGES OF THE PAST

THE GOTHIC STYLE

Without doubt, one must look to the art of the church as the supreme artistic expression of the culture of Europe's late Middle Ages. Often called the "poor man's [or woman's] Bible," the medieval cathedral was swathed in sculpture, carvings, and stained-glass windows, depicting Biblical scenes or themes that even the most illiterate could "read." Until the twelfth century, the prevailing style of church architecture was Romanesque, so-called because it incorporated Roman rounded arches, barrel vaulting, and massive walls for support. In the 1100s, however, the Gothic style replaced Romanesque. These photos illustrate some of its basic features.

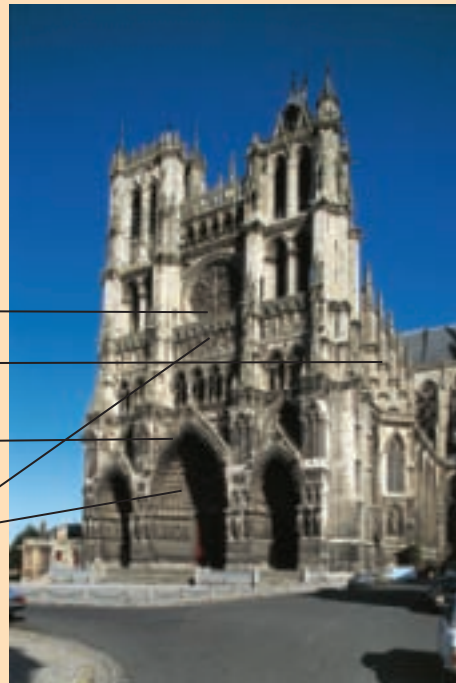
West Façade, Rheims Cathedral

Stained glass rosette

Flying buttresses

Pointer arches

Exterior heavily
covered in carved
stone



© DeA Picture Library

Exterior view of Rheims Cathedral



Peter Willi/The Bridgeman Art Library

Cross vaulting

Stained glass windows

Supporting pylons

Transept

Interior view, Chartres Cathedral



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Josse/The Art Archive

CRAFTSMEN AND THEIR TOOLS. This marvelously detailed miniature painting shows the crafts employed in sixteenth-century construction. Many of these techniques have not changed significantly since that time.

rich pictorial teaching devices, meant to instruct a still largely illiterate population in the mysteries and lessons of Christianity. Enormously expensive, they were built over generations of time with donations from all classes and the contributed labor of many hundreds of artisans. Each town strove to outdo its neighbors in the splendor of its cathedral. Many cathedrals were destroyed by fire at one time or another and were rebuilt. They could take 50 to 100 years to build or rebuild, and many were not completed until modern times.

Vernacular Literature

Until the end of the thirteenth century, all serious writing between educated people was normally conducted in Latin, the language of the church everywhere in western Europe and the most highly developed vocabulary and grammar of the day. In the fourteenth century, however, the common people's oral languages (the vernacular) began to be used for the first time as vehicles of literature such as poems, plays, and elementary readers for children.

The most important of these early works was Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy*; written in Italian, it is one of the great poetic epics of world literature. Somewhat later came the first important work in English: Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, which presented a panorama of English society. In the ensuing years, authors writing in the German, French, and Spanish vernaculars also scored artistic breakthroughs in literature. By the end of the

fourteenth century, Latin was no longer the automatic choice of the educated for communicating what they held important.

DISASTERS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Beginning almost immediately after 1300, Europeans began experiencing a concatenation of one disaster after another. For the most part, these were natural in origin, but some were manmade and had their origins in earlier days. By 1300, the population had been growing steadily for two centuries, aided by the new land that had been put into production, several major technical breakthroughs in agriculture, and an unusually benevolent climate, which brought warmer temperatures and appropriate amounts of rain to most of western and southern Europe for a century or longer.

By the fourteenth century, there remained very little good land left to be cleared and farmed. Worse still, this period experienced the beginnings of what climatologists call the **Little Ice Age**. This lasted for about 500 years and brought noticeably colder and wetter weather, hitting Europe especially hard in the first half of the fourteenth century with year after year of cold, rainy summers, shortened growing seasons, and frequent crop failures. Local famines became commonplace in parts of Europe; those who did not starve were often physically weakened as a consequence of poor nutrition over many years. Europe had too many mouths to feed, and the balance was about to be restored through the natural disasters of famine and disease and the manmade disaster of war.

The Black Death

The **Black Death** of the mid- and late fourteenth century is the most massive epidemic on record and by far the most lethal in the history of Europe, Asia, and parts of Africa. What was it, and why did it deal such a blow to Old World populations?

Until recently, scholars thought that it was a form of bubonic plague common in the Asian steppes but previously unknown to Europeans that was carried to the Mediterranean ports by Italian trading ships in 1346–1347. Most believed that fleas living on rats spread the plague *Bacillus*, and the rats were then (as now) found everywhere humans lived. However, this theory has come under attack. Some now think that the Black Death was a form of anthrax or even an Ebola-like hemorrhagic fever. Whatever its precise nature, it reached Sicily in 1349, having traveled westward along the Silk Road from its place of origin in central Asia. Within two years, this usually fatal disease had spread all over western Europe and North Africa; within two more, it had spread from Syria to Sweden and from Russia's western provinces to Spain (see Map 20.2). As in China,



MAP 20.2 Spread of the Black Death

The original infections of plague were in Italy and spread rapidly north and west during the years 1346–1350. A pause ensued, but the plague returned on several occasions in parts of Europe until the 1380s.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What factors of the late Middle Ages contributed to the direction and rapidity of its spread?



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millions of people died in the first years of the plague. To make matters worse, it came back again to some parts of Europe during the 1360s and 1370s, sometimes killing one-third or even one-half of the populations of towns and cities. No one had any idea of how the disease was spread or what countermeasures should be taken. Fourteenth-century European medicine lagged behind the medical practices in several other parts of the world. Because most people lacked any immunity to the disease, high death tolls were virtually inevitable; death came in about two out of three cases, with the highest mortality rates in the old and the young. City dwellers died in vast numbers because crowded conditions and primitive sanitation aided the spread of the disease. Those who had some place of refuge

fled into the countryside, often carrying the highly infectious disease with them. Debate continues on just how many died from the plague, but historians believe that as many as one out of three people inhabiting the more populous areas of Europe and Asia died.

The economic consequences of the plague are not easily traced and do not lend themselves to generalizations. Government revenues were affected: With fewer taxpayers left alive, tax revenues declined sharply; public works such as the cathedrals had to be stopped for a generation or longer. Some places experienced a shortage of labor that was not relieved for at least two generations. In the towns, which had been overcrowded, the plague reduced the excess population, and the survivors enjoyed

better health and work security. Wages for the surviving craftsmen and common laborers rose sharply despite vain attempts to impose wage and price controls. Merchants and traders found fewer consumers to buy their goods, however, and the volume of trade declined.

Peasants who were still bound in serfdom, those who had to pay high labor rents, and those who were otherwise dissatisfied with their lords took quick advantage of their strong bargaining position—or tried to. France, England, and Germany experienced peasant revolts against their lords. The peasants invariably lost these armed confrontations with the mounted and well-armed nobles, but in the longer run, the settlements made between lords and peasants favored the freedoms of the peasants. Serfdom of the near-slavery sort died as a result of the plague.

What were the psychic consequences of the plague? These effects can be detected for the better part of a

century after 1347. During the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, all types of European art reveal a fascination with death. The figure of the Grim Reaper, the reminder of human mortality, and the waiting Last Judgment became major motifs in pictorial and sculptural art. The Dance of Death, a scene in which skeletons link arms with the living revelers, also appeared frequently. Most Christians believed that a wrathful God had given earthly sinners a horrible warning about what awaited the world if morals and conduct were not improved. Many people joined penitential societies, while others chose more extreme measures to exorcise sin from their midst. Groups of flagellants traveled the countryside, whipping themselves to beat sin from their flesh. Others, blaming the Jews for the crucifixion of Jesus, believed that the plague was God's punishment for allowing Jews to live among them. These people turned on Jewish minorities, and thousands of innocent victims were publicly burned at the stake. It was at this time that Christianity took on much of the burden of guilt and shame, as well as the consciousness of sin and its consequences, that distinguishes it from other major religions.

The Hundred Years' War

Even before the outbreak of the Black Death, another European disaster was under way: the Hundred Years' War. This conflict between England and France—or, more accurately, between the kings and nobles of England and France—started because of a dynastic quarrel between the English Edward III and his French rival, Philip VI.

Recent interpretations of the causes of the war have stressed economic factors. The course of the war was erratic. Several truces were signed, when one or both sides were exhausted. The conflict took place entirely on French soil, mostly in the provinces facing the English Channel or in the region of Paris. The major battles included: **Crecy** in 1346, where English archers used their new longbows effectively against the French (the English may have used a few of the just-introduced gunpowder-charged cannons as well); **Poitiers** in 1356, where the English captured the French king and held him for ransom; and **Agincourt** in 1415, where the English routed the discouraged French a third time but could not coerce a settlement.

By the 1420s, the war had long since lost its dynastic element. It had become a matter of national survival to the loyal French nobility. At this juncture appeared the patron saint of France, Joan of Arc. This peasant girl, who said she had been told by God to offer her services to the embattled Charles VII, routed the English and their French allies at Orleans in 1429 and changed the trend of the war, which now began to favor the French. In the ensuing twenty years, France recaptured almost all of the lands lost to the English invaders during the previous hundred. In 1453, the costly and sometimes bloody struggle finally ended



THE BLACK DEATH. A late medieval painter captures the dismay and despair of the victims of the plague. Note the swelling of the neck of the falling man, one of the most common signs of infection. Above, a devil and an angel battle in the sky, as St. Sebastian (with the arrow-pierced body) pleads for Christ's mercy on the sufferers.

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (37.1955)

with the English withdrawal from all of France except the port of Calais on the Channel.

What consequences did the war have for England and France? Although originally popular among the English, the war eventually came to be seen as a bottomless pit, swallowing up taxes and manpower. The costs of maintaining a large army of mercenaries in France for decades were enormous, and even the rich booty brought home from the captured French towns had not been enough to pay for the war. In addition, the war had disrupted England's commerce with continental markets.

The power and prestige of Parliament had increased, however. Since its origins in the thirteenth century, Parlia-

ment had met only sporadically. Now, in thirty-seven of the forty years between the beginning of the war in 1337 and Edward III's death in 1377, Parliament was in session. The king was always looking for money, and Parliament had to be consulted for the necessary new taxes. As a result, by the end of the war, Parliament was a determining voice in matters of taxation and other policy.

France did not experience a similar parliamentary development. The French kings allowed regional assemblies to meet in the major provinces, but they avoided holding a national assembly, which might have attempted to negotiate as equals with the Crown on national issues and policies.

This difference in parliamentary development between the two countries would become more significant and more visible as time wore on. France followed the path of most European monarchies in steadily transferring power to the royal officials and away from the nobles and burgesses of the towns, who would have been representatives to a parliament. England strengthened the powers of its parliament, while checking those of its king. In either case, much depended on the personal traits of the king, the progress of wars, and sheer happenstance.

The Hundred Years' War effectively ended chivalric ideals of combat in Europe; the style of warfare changed dramatically during its course. No longer were the heavily armored horsemen the decisive weapon in battle. Cavalry would still play an important role in warfare for 400 more years, as it had for the Romans, but only as an auxiliary force. The infantry, supported by the earliest artillery and soon to be armed with muskets, was now what counted.

The longbow and cannon at Crecy had initiated a military revolution. With the introduction of gunpowder, war ceased to be a personal combat between equals. Now, thanks to the cannon, you could kill your foe from a distance, even before you could see him plainly. The new tactics also proved to be great social levelers. Commoners armed with longbows could bring down mounted and armored knights. The noble horseman, who had been distinguished both physically (by being above the infantry) and economically (a horse was expensive to buy and maintain), was now brought down to the level of the infantryman, who could be equipped for a fraction of what it cost to equip a horseman. The infantryman could also be left to forage for himself at the expense of the local population as no horse could.



MAP 20.3 The Hundred Years' War

Much of northern and eastern France, especially the rich duchy of Burgundy, joined with the English invaders in an attempt to escape the reach of the monarchs based in Paris.

MAP QUESTIONS

What reasons can you give that might explain why the English controlled the north of France?



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PROBLEMS IN THE CHURCH

The fourteenth century was also a disaster for the largest, most universal institution in the Christian world: the Roman Catholic Church. The church was represented at the community level by the parish church, and it was in every way the heart of community life throughout the Middle Age and into modern times.



Graudon/Art Resource, NY

JOAN OF ARC. This miniature of the patron saint of France is one of the few contemporary renditions that has survived. A peasant dressed in armor, she was an extraordinary female figure in this age of male warriors drawn from the nobility.

Just as the church was the focal point of everyday life, the parish priest was an important man in the village community. Even if he was ignorant and illiterate, the priest was respected as the representative of an all-powerful, all-seeing lord and final judge. In the church, the highest judge was the pope, and the papal court in Rome handled thousands of cases that were appealed to it each year. As a result, the clergy came to have an increasingly legalistic, rather than a pedagogical or charitable, outlook.

Probably the greatest medieval pope, Innocent III (1198 to 1216), forced several kings of Europe to bow to his commands. Innocent sacrificed much of the moral authority he had derived from his position as deputy of Christ on Earth. Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) overreached badly when he attempted to assert that the clergy were exempt from royal taxes in both France and England. Boniface eventually backed down, a severe blow to papal prestige. Some years later, the French monarch actually arrested the aged Boniface for a few days; just days after his release, Boniface died of humiliation.

Rather than residing in Rome, Boniface's successor, Clement V, was induced to move his court to Avignon in southern France. To make matters worse, Clement's successors stayed in Avignon as well. This **Babylonian Captivity**, as the popes' stay in Avignon came to be called, created a great scandal. Everyone except the French viewed the French popes as captives of the French crown and unworthy to lead the universal church.

In 1377, one of Clement's papal successors finally returned to Rome but died soon thereafter. In the ensuing election, great pressure was put on the attending bishops to elect an Italian, and the one duly elected took the name Urban VI. Declaring his election invalid because of pressures placed on them, the bishops elected another pope, who took the name Clement VII. Urban refused to step down. There were thus two popes and doubt as to which was the legitimate one.

The final episode in this decline of papal authority now began. For forty years, Christians were treated to the spectacle of two popes denouncing each other as an impostor. Europeans divided along national lines, and neither side would give an inch. This "Great Schism" hastened the calling of a universal conclave of bishops to combat growing problems within the church. Supporters of the **Conciliar Movement** wished to enact some important reforms of church doctrine and the papal government. To them, the entire church community, not the pope, had supreme powers of doctrinal definition. Such definition would be expressed in the meetings of a council to be composed not only of clerics, but members of the laity as well. These ideas fell on fertile ground and were eventually picked up by other fourteenth-century figures.



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/The Bridgeman Art Library

A MEDIEVAL COPYIST. Thousands of monks labored at the tedious job of copying books for medieval libraries. This example comes from the thirteenth century.

Among these were John Wyclif and the leaders of the greatest popular uprising in English history: the revolt of 1381. These rebels were called the Wyclifites, or **Lollards**, and their ideas about the ability of ordinary people to interpret Scripture for themselves were to be spread to the Continent within a few years.

The scandal of the Schism aroused great resentment among Christians of all nations, and intense pressure was brought to bear on both papal courts to end their quarrel.

Finally, a council met in Pisa and elected a new one, but neither of the deposed popes accepted the verdict, and so instead of two, there were now three claimants!

A few years later, from 1414 to 1417, a bigger and more representative council met in the German city of Constance. The council had three objectives: (1) to end the Schism and return the papacy to Rome, (2) to condemn the Wyclifites and other heretics, and (3) to reform the church and clergy from top to bottom. The **Council of Constance**

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

MARGHERITA DATINI (1360–1423)

The discovery of hundreds of letters preserved by accident for 500 years in a residence in Prato, Italy, allows us to participate in many of the life events of a medieval Italian woman named Margherita Datini. She was the wife of a wealthy merchant, Francesco Datini, for more than thirty-five years, and during that time, Francesco's frequent business trips made it necessary for the couple to communicate by letter.

The Datinis met in 1376, when he was almost forty and she was sixteen. Such an age difference was not uncommon in upper-class marriages of the period, although Datini was remarkable in not demanding a dowry from his bride's family. Margherita was an orphan, the daughter of a minor nobleman who had been executed in one of the incessant civil wars that wracked the northern Italian city-states. The winners had confiscated his property. Francesco was also an orphan, having lost both parents to the Black Plague, but he had been successful as a merchant in Avignon, serving the papacy of the Babylonian Captivity era. In 1382, the Datini household moved to the ancestral home in Prato, a textile town near Florence.

Datini decided to erect a real mansion on a lot he owned in the center of town, and he and Margherita lived out their long and generally happy lives there. The Datini house still stands. It is now a museum housing the archive they left. The Datinis experienced one great sadness: Margherita was unable to conceive, so they had no legitimate offspring. (Francesco had at least two illegitimate children and probably more.) Every classic remedy against barrenness was put into play, but nothing worked—not even the poultices of ghastly contents and the belts ornamented with prayers to St. Catherine.

Margherita's main tasks included the management of the large house and its several inhabitants. About eleven persons resided with the couple, four of whom were female slaves purchased at various times from Venetian merchants, who obtained them in Constantinople or in Venice's trading posts on the Black Sea. The others were servants, who were free to leave if they desired. All, slaves and servants, were

treated well as members of the *famiglia*, the household. In addition to these live-in persons, several more servants came and went daily, so the lady of the house was constantly overseeing or instructing someone.

A few years after arriving back in Prato, Francesco's business as a cloth merchant and importer had grown so much that he opened a branch office in Pisa and a retail establishment in Florence. The separations these endeavors required persuaded Margherita to learn to read and write. In her frequent letters to her absent husband, she expresses many familiar concerns: He spends too much time away, he is probably unfaithful, and he gives his businesses more attention than his home. But good feeling is evidenced as well: Francesco clearly respected his wife's growing accomplishments as an educated woman; he was proud of her, while she was affectionate to him and wished she could see more of him. She even took care of his illegitimate daughter Ginevra as though the girl were her own.

When the plague returned in 1399, the Datinis pledged that they would endow a Prato charity if they survived. When Francesco died at the age of seventy-five in 1410, his wife was the executor of his will and followed his wishes by giving most of his large estate to the poor and the orphans. The slaves were all freed and the servants well provided for, as were the surviving illegitimate children. Margherita survived thirteen more years, to age sixty-three, and is buried in Prato's St. Maria Novella churchyard, where the visitors to her former home can view her last resting place.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What advantages at the time of marriage can you see in an age difference so great as that of the Datinis? Disadvantages? What do you think of the arrangement by which Margherita brought up the illegitimate daughter as her own, keeping in mind that she was childless and twenty-four years younger than her husband?



was successful in its first goal: A new pope was chosen, and the other three either stepped down voluntarily or were ignored. The heresies the Council condemned simply went underground and reemerged a century later. As for the third objective, no real action was taken. The popes and other clerical officials who had resisted the whole idea of the council had triumphed, but their victory would come at a high price for their successors. The need for basic reform in the church continued to be ignored until the situation exploded with Martin Luther (see Chapter 23).

ROYAL KINGDOMS AND THE FORMATION OF STATES

The revival of the towns and the growth of urban populations were important factors in the steady strengthening of the royal governments against the nobles' claims for autonomy and fragmentation. The foundations of the modern states of England, France, and Germany can be traced back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

England was a pioneer in creating a state. Since the fifth century, the island was divided among a series of rival kingdoms of Angles and Saxons that fought one another and the invading Vikings. In 1066, William of Normandy (in France) invaded and conquered. William then organized a new type of kingdom, in which the king alone was the source of final authority. He now ignored the old aristocracy and established a new cadre of nobles whom he chose from among his loyal supporters. A tangible sign of his power was the incredibly thorough and detailed **Domesday Book** (1086–1087), which he ordered to be prepared as a census for tax purposes.

William's successors were not all so clever or determined as he, but by the middle of the twelfth century, England possessed all the earmarks of a modern state. It had, among other things, a corps of royal officials, a system of courts, laws that were more or less uniform from one end of the kingdom to the other, a royal army, and a national currency issued by the royal treasury.

France developed a little more slowly. In the early twelfth century, France was still a collection of nearly independent duchies and counties, whose lords looked only reluctantly and occasionally to the king in Paris. Some French lords,

such as the count of Anjou and the duke of Normandy, could figuratively buy and sell the French king; the royal territory around Paris was a fraction of the size of their lands. Furthermore, the king had no royal army worthy of the name.

This situation began to change in the late twelfth century, when Philip II Augustus (1179–1223) came to the throne and started unifying and strengthening his realm. By the end of the thirteenth century, the king had become stronger and was sufficiently in control of taxation and the military that he could intimidate any combination of his nobles. The Crown would experience many ups and downs from this time onward in France, but the outlines of the French state were in place by 1300.

The modern state that we know as Germany was created only in the late nineteenth century. For many hundreds of years before that, its territory was an agglomeration of petty principalities, kingdoms, and free cities. This had not always been the case, however. In the early Middle Ages, Germans had lived under one powerful government headed by an emperor who claimed descent from Charlemagne, but this state failed and broke up. In the eleventh century, the emperor and the pope in Rome became embroiled in a long, bitter struggle over who should have the right to “invest” bishops in Germany—that is, to select the bishops and install them in office. This **Investiture Controversy** (from about 1075 to 1122) gravely weakened the authority of the emperor, as one noble after another took the opportunity to pull clear of the central government's controls.

Another factor weakening the empire was that emperors succeeded to the throne through election. Prospective candidates engaged in all sorts of maneuvering and conspiracy and were even willing to barter away much of their monarchic power to gain votes. Civil wars among the nobility were common at the death of each emperor.

In 1152, the noble electors finally tired of this exhausting sport and agreed on a strong leader in Frederick Barbarossa, who tried his best to reunify the Germans. In 1212, Barbarossa's grandson Frederick II assumed the title of the Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation and opted to settle in Sicily, which he made into one of the leading states in contemporary Europe. In the process, he ignored his possessions across the Alps, and the land of the Germans gradually broke up into several dozen competing domains and independent cities.

SUMMARY

THE EUROPEAN MIDDLE AGES WERE a period of substantial advances for the Europeans, who came back from the long centuries of instability, violence, and ignorance that followed the fall of the western Roman Empire. Three segments of society were recognized: the workers, the warriors, and the worshipers. The first were by far the most numerous, but the other two had important roles to fill in government and society. Town life revived after 1000 CE, especially in the western parts of the continent, where traders, bankers, and artisans of all types began to congregate in the former ghost towns left by the Romans. By the thirteenth century, towns and cities could be found with upward of 80,000 inhabitants. Cities such as Paris, Bologna, and Oxford had universities, and fine goods from the East were familiar—in part through the experiences of the crusaders, who sought to recover the Holy Land from its Muslim conquerors.

In the wake of growing population and increasing government stability, traders began to develop long-distance markets in basic goods. Peace was by no means universal, but the invasions had ceased, and many of the riotous noblemen were diverted into the Crusades against the heathen in the Near East or in eastern Europe. The professions—particularly law—were also reviving, encouraged by the church and its strong interest in a law-abiding environment. Europe had finally emerged from the shadow of Rome's collapse and was developing a new

culture. Noteworthy examples included the magnificent architecture and art of the Gothic style and the literary use of the vernacular languages.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Europe became a mixed scene of cultural advances, social violence, economic and military disasters, and religious strife. The fourteenth century was a particularly disastrous epoch. The Black Death carried off perhaps one-fourth of the population to an early death, thereby creating a shortage of labor that impeded Europe's recovery for generations. Peasants seized the chance to escape serfdom, sometimes to the extent of rebelling openly against their lords. Such revolts were put down mercilessly, but the days of serfdom in the old sense were over from Germany westward.

The Hundred Years' War dealt a heavy blow to the French monarchy, which was rescued from disintegration only through Joan of Arc. The war also ended the domination of the field of battle by noble horsemen and signaled the coming of modern gunpowder warfare. The Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism marked the onset of a decline in the papacy that was not to be reversed until after Luther's challenge. The major weapon in the papal arsenal, the moral authority of the Vicar of Christ, was rapidly being dulled as pope after pope gave more attention to politics and power than to matters of faith.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Agincourt	Black Death
Babylonian Captivity	bourgeoisie
Benedictine Rule	Conciliar Movement

Council of Constance	heresies
Crecy	Inquisition
Crusades	Investiture Controversy
demesne	Little Ice Age
Domesday Book	Lollards
fallow	patents of nobility
fief	serfs
ghettos	suzerain
Gothic style	vassals
guild	

For Further Reflection

1. Aside from late-Roman influences, what factors seem to have shaped European rural life after the tenth century?
2. Based on the discoveries at Wharram Percy and other material covered in this chapter, write a brief narrative of what life might have been like on a European manor in the Middle Ages.
3. Explain how life in the late medieval European town or city would have been different from life on a manor.
4. Based on information in this chapter, what changes were happening in Christianity in western Europe's late Middle Ages? What did these portend for the future at that time?
5. What changes occurred in the late Middle Ages that spelled the long-term decline of the nobility?

Would it have been better for most people? Explain your answer.

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. Which of the following statements about a medieval manor is false?
 - a. It was normally an economically self-sufficient unit.
 - b. It was normally headed by an official of the church or a noble.
 - c. It was normally dependent on the labor rendered by unfree peasants.
 - d. It was normally a politically independent unit.
 - e. It normally had a large part of its land lying fallow.
2. Members of the medieval nobility
 - a. did not have any special legal status.
 - b. generally inherited their position.
 - c. were uninterested in military affairs.
 - d. were limited to males only.
 - e. could not be bound to others as vassals.
3. Noblewomen in the Middle Ages
 - a. were strictly confined to domestic duties.
 - b. generally married men younger than themselves.
 - c. often carried large managerial responsibilities.
 - d. played no role in political life.
 - e. were often divorced by their husbands if they failed to produce heirs.
4. The Dominican Order concentrated most of its efforts on
 - a. total service to their fellow man.
 - b. rooting out heretics in the country of France.
 - c. practicing lives of total poverty.
 - d. reforming the Church officialdom.
 - e. scholarly discourse and preaching.
5. Most Jews in medieval Europe
 - a. were prohibited from owning land.
 - b. found themselves welcomed into craft guilds because of their skills.
 - c. refused to lend money to non-Jews, making them unwelcome in many places.
 - d. became more numerous than Christians in many towns.
 - e. eventually migrated from eastern to western Europe in large numbers.
6. A major difference between England and France was
 - a. England's insistence on a strong royal government.
 - b. France's royal dependency on officials who volunteered their duties.
 - c. France's use of a corps of royally appointed officials in the provinces.
 - d. England's attempts to hold the king responsible for the defense of the whole realm.
 - e. France's issuance of a single national currency.
7. One consequence of the Hundred Years' War was
 - a. an increase in the importance of France's parliament.
 - b. an improvement in England's patterns of trade.
 - c. an increasing acceptance of chivalry as a way of life.
 - d. a more important role for the cavalry in battle.
 - e. the development of a stronger parliament in England.
8. During the Babylonian Captivity, the pope became the satellite of the
 - a. Holy Roman Emperor.
 - b. Roman mob.
 - c. French crown.
 - d. German nobles.
 - e. Swiss cantons.
9. One result of the Council of Constance was to
 - a. elect a new pope in an attempt to end the Great Schism.
 - b. end the idea of papal supremacy in the church.
 - c. split the church into two halves.
 - d. move the papacy from Rome to a new home in Avignon.
 - e. initiate major reforms within the church.
10. Which of the following did Margherita Datini not experience in her lifetime?
 - a. Raising the illegitimate daughter of her husband
 - b. Losing her father by execution
 - c. Being frequently separated from her husband by business
 - d. Raising two healthy sons
 - e. Managing her rather large, prosperous household



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The Late European Middle Ages and the Renaissance



URBAN SOCIETY IN LATE MEDIEVAL EUROPE

THE RISE OF THE ITALIAN CITY-STATES

THE RENAISSANCE ATTITUDE

THE NORTHERN RENAISSANCE

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RENAISSANCE EUROPE

The Theory of the State

Royal Governments

ART AND ITS PATRONS

FAMILY LIFE AND THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

Celui qui ne sait pas
dissimuler ne sait pas regner.
(He who doesn't know how to
deceive doesn't know how to
rule.)

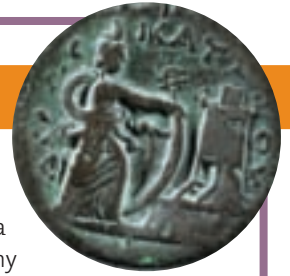
—Louis XI of France

AS DISCUSSED IN THE previous chapter, beginning about 1000 CE and for the next three centuries, European civilization underwent a revival and consolidation. In the towns, the new bourgeoisie continued to gain prestige and wealth at the expense of the nobility while having to defend its position against the rising discontent of the urban workers. The towns and their inhabitants were by now becoming a major feature of the political and social landscape. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, kings discovered that their surest allies against feudal rebels were the propertied townspeople. The towns were the source of a growing majority of the royal tax revenue, even though they contained only a small fraction (perhaps 10 percent) of the European population. Whereas the agrarian villagers' taxes disappeared into the pockets of the nobles and their agents, the towns paid their taxes directly to the royal treasury.

By now, the townspeople were no longer dependents of the local lord; having purchased a charter from the throne, they had the privilege of electing their own government officials and levying taxes for local needs. Their defense costs (town walls were costly to build and maintain) were borne by the citizenry, not put into the devious hands of the nobles. The towns often had the privilege of deciding citizens' cases in their own municipal courts; appeals went to the king's officials, not to the local nobleman.

1300s	Renaissance begins in Italy
1400s	Renaissance spreads north of Alps
1461–1483	Reign of Louis XI of France
1485–1509	Reign of Henry VII Tudor of England
1480	Russians terminate Mongols' occupation
1500s	New monarchies, new concept of state
1511	"Third Rome" idea broached in Russia

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY



LIBERTIES OF LORRIS

In the town charter of the small city of Lorris in northern France is the essence of the “liberties” that the medieval bourgeoisie gradually gained from a reluctant aristocracy, using the king as their protector. King Louis VII granted the charter of Lorris in 1155. By this time, the towns had fully recovered from the long centuries of decay and lawlessness after Rome’s fall. Most of the rights dealt with economic regulations and taxes, because the feudal nobility were most likely to apply pressure in these areas. The eighteenth liberty is a good example of the rule that runaways would be free from serf status if they could remain in a town and out of trouble for a year and a day.

The Charter of Lorris:

2. Let no inhabitant of the parish of Lorris pay a duty of entry nor any tax for his food, and let him not pay any duty of measurement for the corn [grain] which his labor, or that of his animals may procure him, and let him pay no duty for the wine which he shall get from his vines.

3. Let none of them go on a [military] expedition, on foot or horseback, from which he cannot return home the same day! ...

15. Let no man of Lorris do forced work for us, unless it be twice a year to take our wine to Orleans, and nowhere else ...

18. Whoever shall remain a year and a day in the parish of Lorris without any claim having pursued him thither, and without the right [of remaining] having been forbidden him by us or by our provost [equivalent of sheriff], he shall remain there free and tranquil ...

33. No man of Lorris shall pay any duty because of what he shall buy or sell for his own use on the territory of the parish, nor for what he shall buy on Wednesdays at the town market ...

Given at Orleans, in the year of our Lord 1155.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Who would be in the best position to take advantage of these liberties? Why would the local lords who fully controlled the peasants allow the townspeople these freedoms?

Source: As cited in O. Johnson, *World Civilization*, 364.



You can read all of the *Liberties of Lorris* online.

URBAN SOCIETY IN LATE MEDIEVAL EUROPE

As we noted, an upsurge in peasant rebellions followed the Black Death. All of them were crushed. Nevertheless, in the long run, the peasants did succeed in obtaining more freedoms and security. The **Jacquerie** of 1358 in France shocked the nobility, as the peasants raped and looted, burned castles, and even destroyed chapels. The nobles took a heavy revenge, but the French and Flemish peasants were by no means through. Revolts occurred repeatedly throughout the 1300s and early 1400s in parts of France.

In England, the Lollard rebellion of 1381 was an equal jolt to the upper classes and the king (Chapter 20). One of its leaders was the priest John Ball. His famous couplet would be shouted or mumbled from now on: “When Adam delved and Eva span/Who was then the gentleman?” (*Delved* means “plowed,” and *span* is old English for “spun.”)

The causes of the Lollard rebellion were complex and varied from place to place, but almost all of England was involved, and in an unusual development, many artisans and laborers in the towns joined the peasants. These urban workers had been impoverished by a rigid guild system that prevented newcomers from competing with the established shops and kept pay rates low for all but the workers at the top.

The **guilds** were medieval urban organizations that controlled what was made, for what price, and by whom. First formed in urban areas in the 1200s, the guilds were very strong by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Their scheme in which a worker advanced from apprentice to journeyman to master as his skills developed was almost universal. Most journeymen never took the final step upward, however, because the guild restricted the number of masters who could practice their trade in a given area.

The guilds aimed at ensuring economic security for their members, not competitive advantage. The members fixed prices and established conditions of labor for

employees, length of apprenticeships, pay scales, examinations for proving skills, and many other things. The labor shortages caused by the Black Death actually prolonged and strengthened the monopoly aspects of the guild system. In some European cities, the guilds, which abhorred the free market, were the chief determinants of economic activity until the nineteenth century.

Urban areas had been terribly overcrowded, at least until the Black Death. The reduced populations that followed the plague enabled many towns to engage in the first instances of urban planning. Many medieval towns emerged from the crisis with open spaces, parks, and suburbs that made them more attractive. (*Suburb* originally meant a settlement outside the walls of the town.) Again and again, a cramped city found it necessary to tear down the old walls and build new ones farther out. This expanding series of defensive earthwork and masonry walls is still perceptible in the maps of some modern European cities.

Inside the town walls or just outside, many types of skilled and semiskilled workers plied their trades, generally in home workshops employing one or two workers besides the family members. Factories, or mass employment places of production, were still in the distant future. Machines of any type independent of human or animal energy were unknown. Even water- and wind-powered mechanisms, such as waterwheels and windmills, were relatively rare. (The Society and Economy box relates more about medieval life, specifically that of an Italian family.)

THE RISE OF THE ITALIAN CITY-STATES

Beginning in the fourteenth century, a new spirit manifested itself in Europe among the educated classes. Much later called the **Renaissance**, or “rebirth,” it was mainly a phenomenon restricted to the uppermost segments of society. There were in fact two distinct Renaissances: (1) a change in economic and social conditions and (2) an artistic and cultural movement that was founded on that change. The Renaissance also differed substantially south and north of the Alps. In the south (Italy), the intellectual spirit of the age was secular and anticlerical. In the north (German-speaking Europe), there was a more pronounced concern for religious reform and less emphasis on the assertion of individual excellence.

The Renaissance began in the northern Italian city-states such as Florence, Venice, Milan, and Pisa. By counterbalancing the governance claims of the papacy against those of the Holy Roman Emperor, these cities had gradually succeeded in becoming independent of both (see Map 21.1).

Why did the first stirrings of the rebirth manifest themselves in this place and in this time? These cities were rich because of both trade advantage and financial genius.

Genoa and Venice dominated the trade routes with the Mediterranean and North Africa; Florence was the center of the skilled metal and leather trades and, with the Flemish, controlled the lucrative textile trade of much of Europe. In the fifteenth century, the huge wealth of the papal court made Rome once again—after a lapse of 1,000 years—a major center of culture and art.

But why specifically was Italy the leader? More and more in the late Middle Age, Italians were leading the way in innovations—scientific, artistic, and economic. Italians were the leading bankers, mariners, scientists, and engineers. Even the devastation of the Black Death, which wracked the Italian cities, could not crush them. In the remarkably short time of two generations—by the early fifteenth century—they had returned to their prior prosperity and positions of leadership.

The city-states of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were princely *oligarchies*. In other words, a small group of wealthy aristocrats, headed by a prince with despotic power, ran the government. No commoners, whether urban workers or peasants outside the city gates, enjoyed even a hint of power. In fact, a huge gap existed between the ruling group of aristocrats, merchants, bankers, and traders and the rest of the population, who were regarded with a detached contempt. It was possible to rise into the ruling clique, but difficult. The key to change was money.

THE RENAISSANCE ATTITUDE

The wealthy in an Italian city were highly educated and very much aware of and proud of their good taste in the arts. Led by the prince, the members of the oligarchy spared no pains or money to assert their claims to glory and sophistication in the supreme art of living well. What did “living well” mean to these individuals? Certain elements recur:

- ◆ *Individualism*. Wealthy men and women of the Italian Renaissance believed that the age-old Christian emphasis on personal humility was wrong. As wealthy and successful people, they did not fear to set themselves apart from the masses and were supremely confident that they could. Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, they encouraged pride in human potential. A thirst for fame and a strong desire to put their own imprint on the contemporary world were at the heart of their psychology.
- ◆ *Secularism*. Increasing **secularism** in Italy meant that the focus of the upper classes’ attention shifted steadily away from the eternal to worldly affairs. The life to come receded into the background as Renaissance men and women rediscovered the joys of life in the here and now. Increasingly, people viewed life as an opportunity for glory and pleasure, rather than as a transitory stage on the way to eternal bliss or



MAP 21.1 Renaissance Centers

The Renaissance was limited to the confines of the old Roman Empire and left stronger traces in Italy and northwest Europe than elsewhere. Its absence in eastern Europe and weakness in the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal) meant that the Renaissance was scarcely noticeable there.

MAP QUESTIONS

What major social and economic changes in late medieval Europe might have made these places the centers of the Renaissance?

everlasting damnation. *Man was the measure*—the ancient Greek motto—for what life had to offer.

- ◆ **Revival of classical values.** The ancient civilizations of the Greeks and especially the pagan Romans became the focus of artistic and cultural

interest. Led by notable scholars such as Petrarch and Lorenzo Valla, the thinkers and writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries looked back to pre-Christian Mediterranean culture for their values and standards. They were not anti-Christian so

much as pro-humanity in their admiration for the achievements of Plato, Aristotle, Virgil, Terence, and countless other contributors to the pre-Christian intellectual world. The collection and careful editing of the ancient texts that had somehow survived (many through Muslim caretakers) became an obsession. What the modern world possesses of the Greco-Roman past is largely the work of medieval Islamic civilization and the European Renaissance.

There were, of course, variations of degree in these attitudes. Even in Italy, many people soberly upheld the medieval Christian viewpoint and insisted that humans were made for God and that the new emphasis on pleasure and self-fulfillment could lead only to disaster. Many of the scholars who paged through the Roman manuscripts were devout Christians, looking for holes in the arguments of their secular opponents or for proof of the earlier pagans' search for an all-knowing God.

In general, the Italian Renaissance was devoted to the self-realization of human beings whose earthly lives were the only sure ones they had. It rejected the devotional Middle Ages as a dark interlude that had lasted all too long, between the light of the Greco-Roman Classical Age and the rebirth now beginning.

THE NORTHERN RENAISSANCE

North of the Alps, the Renaissance was also a powerful force, but with a rather different character than in Italy. Carried to Germany and the Low Countries by students returning from study with the great Italian artists and writers, the new spirit underwent a sort of sea change as it came northward. It became more pietist and less pagan, more reformist and less self-centered.

The term **humanism** is often applied to the northern Renaissance and its leading figures. The humanists were scholars who were painfully aware of the corruption of church and society and wished to remedy it by gradualist means, through reforms grounded in ancient Christian teachings. The Renaissance in this context meant an attempt to return the church and lay society in general to a purer state; it was an attempt to reawaken a sense of Christians' duties and responsibilities toward themselves and their fellow humans.

In the north as well as in Italy, scholars put great confidence in the powers of the intellect to find the truth and employ it to bring about necessary reform. The use of reason, rather than dogma, was an important article of faith for humanists everywhere. They believed that if people could be brought to see the good, they would pursue it. The trouble with the world was that the good was everywhere obscured by bad habits, ignorance, or malice.

How did the reformers propose to achieve their aims? The English Thomas More's *Utopia* is an excellent



Francis G. Mayor/Corbis

THOMAS MORE. The force of character of Sir Thomas More, English statesman and humanist, comes through strongly in this great portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger. The chain of office worn by More shows that the painting was made between 1529 and 1533 when he was the lord chancellor of King Henry VIII, before being executed for resisting Henry's divorce and remarriage to Anne Boleyn.

example; the book was meant as a satire and a lesson for society. The people of Utopia (Greek for “no place”) do not seek wealth because they see no rewards in it. They put their neighbors' welfare ahead of their own. Their education continues throughout their entire lives rather than being limited to a few childhood years. All individuals are absolutely equal in powers and status, and they live by reason rather than passion and ignorance.

It was a radical message: More was saying that a corrupt and ignorant society, not the individual sinner, was responsible for the sorry state of the world. Adam's sin was not enough to explain humans' plight. The way people lived with one another must be reformed—and by humans themselves.

The best known and most noble-minded of all the northern humanists was the Dutch Desiderius Erasmus, who lived in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; by his death, his works were being read throughout Europe. His *Praise of Folly* was a scorching indictment of the so-called wisdom of the world and a plea for a return

to simple virtues. Even more influential was his new, carefully researched edition of the New Testament, with his commentaries and introduction.

Erasmus's work has two basic themes: the inner nature of Christianity and the importance of education. By the inner nature of Christianity, he meant that the true follower of Christ should emulate Christ's life, not what the theologians have tried to make out of his gospels. Erasmus condemned the empty formalism that was so common in the church of his day. In so doing, he was one of the most important forerunners of the Protestant Reformation, although he absolutely rejected Protestantism for himself and condemned Luther's arrogance (see Chapter 23).

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RENAISSANCE EUROPE

The political theory of the Middle Ages was based on a strong centralizing monarchy, which was blessed and seconded by a powerful and respected clergy. The favorite image for government was a man wearing a crown and holding a cross in his left hand and a sword in his right. But in the Hundred Years' War and other late medieval conflicts, that image suffered serious damage. In country after country, the feudal nobility were able to reassert themselves and again decentralize political power. This decentralization was then reversed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The monarchs, now armed with a new theory of authority, effectively denied the nobles' claims of autonomy and subdued their frequent attempts to rebel. The new basis of royal authority was not church and king in partnership, but the king as executive of the *secular* state.

The Theory of the State

The state in Renaissance thinking was a political organism that existed independently of the ruler or the subjects. It possessed three essential attributes: legitimacy, sovereignty, and territory.

- ◆ *Legitimacy* meant that the state possessed moral authority in the eyes of its subjects. It had a right to exist.
- ◆ *Sovereignty* meant that the state had an effective claim to equality with other states and that it acknowledged no higher earthly power over it.
- ◆ *Territory* is self-explanatory: The state possessed real estate that could be precisely bounded and contained certain human and material resources.

The royal personage was not the creator or owner, but only the servant, the executive agent, and the protector of the state. He had every right and duty to use whatever means he deemed fit to ensure the state's welfare and expansion. In the fifteenth-century monarch's view, ensuring



Samuel H. Kress Collection. © 1995 Board of Trustees National Gallery

DEATH AND THE MISER. The Dutchman Hieronymus Bosch was the sixteenth-century master of the grotesque and the damned. Here he shows what happens to the treasure of a miser. As Death comes for him and the angel implores him to put his faith in the crucified Christ, monsters and thieves make off with his money.

the welfare of the state was about the same as ensuring the welfare of the society in general. These so-called new monarchs were intent on one great goal: power. To be the proper servants of the state, they felt they must be the masters of all who might threaten it, and that meant being masters of intrigue, deceit, and intimidation.

All of the Renaissance political theorists spent much time on the relationship between power and ethics, but none had the long-term impact of a young Italian with great ambitions, Niccoló Machiavelli. In his extraordinary treatise on politics entitled *The Prince* (1516), Machiavelli described power relations in government as he had experienced them—not as they *should* be, but as they were *in fact*. He thought that human beings were selfish by nature and must be restrained by the prince from doing evil to one another. In so doing, the prince could and should use

all means open to him. He must be both the lion and the fox, the one who is feared and the one who is beloved. If it came to a choice between instilling fear and love, the wise prince would choose fear, which is more dependable.

Royal Governments

What Machiavelli was preaching was already being followed by the more aggressive throne-holders of Europe. In the fifteenth century, the powers and prestige of various royal governments increased significantly, especially in France, England, and Russia (see Map 21.2).

France. France recovered much more rapidly than might have been expected from the devastation of the Hundred Years' War. The unpromising monarch who



MAP 21.2 Europe, the Near East, and North Africa in the Renaissance

The political divisions of the Mediterranean basin and Europe in the fifteenth century. Note the division of the western parts of the former Abbasid caliphate into several independent sultanates and the Ottoman Empire.

MAP QUESTIONS

In what parts of Europe does this map resemble modern Europe? What modern countries are missing?

owed his throne to Joan of Arc's help, Charles VII (ruling 1422–1461), turned out to be one of the cleverest and most effective of kings. He created the first truly royal army and used it against those who tried to assert their independence. He also gained much stronger control over the French clergy, particularly the appointment of bishops.

Charles's policies were followed, with even greater cleverness, by his son Louis XI (ruling 1461–1483)—the “Spider King,” as he was called by his many enemies. Louis was especially effective at gaining middle-class support—and tax money—against the claims of the nobles. He also significantly expanded the size of the royal domain: that part of the country, centered on Paris, under the direct control of the Crown. Louis is credited with laying the foundation for the dimensions the French state attained under the great Bourbon kings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

England. England took more time to establish a centralized monarchy than did France and never proceeded as far. The strong rule of the early Norman kings ended with weak or unlucky individuals such as John the First (and last!). In 1215, John (ruling 1199–1216) had to accept the *Magna Carta* from his rebellious nobles. Over the centuries, this “Great Charter” was gradually transformed from a statement of noble privilege against an unloved king to a doctrine that held that the monarch, like all others, was bound to obey the laws.

The Hundred Years' War further weakened the royal powers and strengthened Parliament. By the mid-fifteenth century, Parliament had become the preserve of semi-independent barons and earls, who held the tax purse strings and drove hard bargains with the king in the wake of the lost war. The nobility added to the turbulence by engaging in an obscure struggle over succession to the throne. Called the **Wars of the Roses**, the conflict lasted fifteen years (1455–1471).

Three late-fifteenth-century kings—Edward IV, Richard III, and Henry VII—then gradually threw the balance of power in favor of the Crown. Of these, the most important was Henry VII (ruling 1485–1509), the founder of the Tudor Dynasty and a master of intimidation and intrigue. He enlisted the aid of the middle classes and the clergy, both of whom were exasperated by the squabbles of the nobles. Henry not only rebuilt the powers of the royal crown but also avoided foreign wars, which would have meant going back to the noble-dominated Parliament to beg for funds. By the time he died in 1509, the English royal government was in firm control of the state.

The Holy Roman Empire (Germany). The great exception to the recovery of royal powers in the later fifteenth century was the German kingdom, technically still the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Here there was no central power to recover; it had been utterly destroyed in the medieval struggles between emperor and pope and those between emperor and nobles that then ensued.

Why couldn't the Germans recover from these eleventh- and twelfth-century troubles by the fifteenth century? The critical weakness of the monarchy was that the emperor was elected, rather than succeeding by hereditary right. The seven electors, who were all German princes and bishops, could and did negotiate with the various candidates to strike deals aimed at preserving noble autonomy. As a result, Germany had no centralized government in the fifteenth century. The emperor was only the first among equals—and sometimes not even that. He did not have a bureaucracy, a royal army, a national parliament, or the power to tax his subjects. The Holy Roman Empire was really a loose confederation of principalities, dukedoms, and even free cities, some of which were almost always squabbling among themselves. All real power was in the hands of the local aristocrats and the churchmen.

Among the candidates for this weak throne, the Austrian **Habsburg Dynasty** had most often been successful. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a series of extraordinary events propelled it into great international prominence for the first time. Thanks to a series of marriages and the unexpected deaths of rivals, by 1527, the Habsburg territories had trebled in Europe and also included the huge overseas empire rapidly being conquered by Spain, which was now under a Habsburg ruler. It appeared that for the first time since the twelfth century, the Holy Roman Emperor would be able to assert real authority. But the prospects of establishing strong royal rule in Germany were not realized; the burgeoning division in religious affairs between Catholics and Protestants frustrated all efforts to unify the nation until the late nineteenth century.

Russia. Russia was a brand-new entrant—or rather a newly rediscovered entrant—on the European scene in the fifteenth century. The huge expanse of territory east of Christian Poland and Hungary was practically unknown to western Europeans after its conquest by the Mongols in the mid-1200s. The Asiatic tribesmen had severed almost all cultural contacts between Russians and both the Latin and Byzantine Christian worlds. The Mongols' adoption of Islam in the fourteenth century deepened the chasm that separated them from their Russian subjects.

The “Mongol Yoke” that lay on Russia for almost two-and-a-half centuries (1240–1480) caused massive cultural decline. Before the Mongols came, the chief Russian state, the **Principality of Kiev**, had entertained close relations with Christian Europe and especially with the Orthodox Christian empire in Constantinople from which it had received its religion, literature, and law. Though situated on the extreme eastern periphery of the Christian world, Russia had felt itself to be a full member of the European family.

After the arrival of the Mongols, this situation changed radically. Ignorance and superstition became rife, even among the diminished number of the formally educated. The levels of technical and theoretical skills declined, and literacy all but disappeared among the laity.

In the absence of an independent Russian government, the Russian church came to play a particularly vital role in keeping the notion of a national community alive. The Church of Rome had been rejected as heretical ever since the split in 1054. After the Turks seized Constantinople in 1453, the belief grew in Moscow that this had been God's punishment for the Greeks' waverings in defense of orthodoxy. Now, Russia was to become the fortress of right belief: the **Third Rome**. As a Russian monk wrote to his ruler in 1511: "Two Romes [that is, the Christian Rome of the fourth century and Constantinople] have fallen, but the Third [Moscow] stands and there will be no fourth." Russia's government and church saw themselves as the implements of divine providence that would bring the peoples of Europe back to the true faith and defeat the infidels, wherever they might be.

By the late fifteenth century, the Mongols had been so weakened by internal conflicts that their former partner, the prince of Moscow, successfully defied them in 1480 and asserted his independence. Soon after the defeat of the Mongols, the prince of Moscow had extended his rule to all parts of the nation and had taken to calling himself *tsar* ("Caesar" in Slavic).

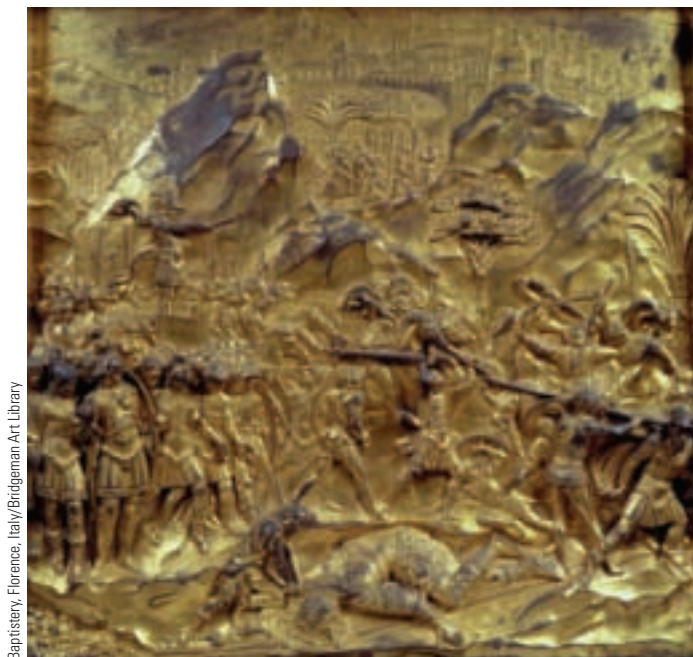
A tsar had far more power than any other European ruler of the day. His alleged powers were so impressive as to raise the question of whether Russia was still a European state or whether, under the Mongols, it had become an Asiatic despotism in which the will of the ruler

was automatically the law of the land. Western European ambassadors and traders sent to Moscow in the sixteenth century felt that they had landed on truly foreign ground. They found themselves in a society that had no middle class and was untouched by the technical and psychological developments of the Renaissance. Its population's superstition and passivity were appalling, and its subservience toward the prince was striking to Western eyes.

ART AND ITS PATRONS

The most visible and historically appreciated form of Renaissance culture is its art, and Italy was the leader in every field. A tremendous creative outburst took place in Florence, Rome, Venice, Milan, and a dozen other city-states during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

As in other widespread cultural phenomena, considerable variation existed from one locale to another. The spirit of North European painting and sculpture differed from that of the South. Northern art is more overtly religious and avoids the lush sensuousness that marks much Italian art. The outstanding exponents of the northern Renaissance in art were the Flemish portraitists of the fifteenth century, such as Van Eyck, Memling, and Bosch. The Germans of the Rhine Valley and Bavaria were also active in both painting and sculpture. Some of the most accomplished woodcarvings of any age were produced in



Baptistery, Florence, Italy/Bridgeman Art Library

DOORS OF PARADISE. The beauty of these bronze doors (right) cast by Lorenzo Ghiberti for the cathedral in Florence was so overwhelming to his fellow citizens that they named them the Doors of Paradise. Ten panels show scenes from the Old Testament; the detail photo above shows the slaying of Goliath by David.



The Bridgeman Art Library

southern Germany and Austria during this era. These, too, display little of the delight in the flesh or the interest in experimentation of the Italians. In general, architecture followed the same pattern. Variations on the Gothic style continued to be the standard in the North, and northern architects made no effort to imitate the revived classicism that was so popular in Italy.

The spirit of this art, wherever produced, was quite different from that of medieval art. The latter attempted to portray concretely the collective belief of a community—the Christian community. It subordinated the individual and the particular to the group and the generic. Despite much technical innovation, medieval art was conservative and evolutionary in its spirit.

Renaissance art, in contrast, was intended to show the artist's mastery of technique and his newfound freedoms. It was experimental: New ideas were tried in all directions, and old ideas were put into new forms or media. The huge bronze doors of the Florentine cathedral cast by Ghiberti were something quite new; nothing like that had been attempted previously. With their twelve reliefs depicting the life of Christ, the doors were a brilliant success. Similarly, the enormous architecturally unprecedented domes of the Florentine cathedral and St. Peter's in Rome were meant as a demonstration of what might be done by the bold human imagination, unfettered from its previous restrictions.

In painting, great talents such as Titian, da Vinci, Michelangelo, Botticelli, and Giotto led the way to an abundance of innovative compositions. All of them opened their studios to teach others, so a wave of experimentation in the visual art forms swept across Italy and northward

into Europe beyond the Alps. One of their great achievements was the mastery of perspective, which Giotto first accomplished in the early fourteenth century. He also led the way to a new realism in portraits.

In sculpture, the universal genius of Michelangelo was accompanied by Donatello, Cellini, and Bernini, to mention only some of the better-known names. Both Renaissance sculpture and painting broke sharply from their medieval forerunners. Artists now saw the human figure as a thing of superb animal beauty quite apart from its spiritual considerations or destiny.

Michelangelo was a leader in architecture as well. He designed much of the vast new St. Peter's Cathedral for one of the popes. Other leading architects included Bramante, da Vinci, and Brunelleschi. The basic architectural style of the Renaissance was an adaptation of the classical temple, with its balanced columns, magisterial domes, and lofty, symmetrical facades. The Gothic style was now dismissed as primitive and superstition ridden in its striving toward a distant heaven.

The artist's position as a respected, powerful member of society was also a Renaissance novelty. Several of the leading figures of the art world were well rewarded in money and prestige. Leonardo da Vinci, for example, was one of the richest men of his time and lived accordingly. So did Michelangelo and Raphael, both of whom enjoyed papal esteem and commissions for the Vatican palaces and libraries.

Art was unashamedly used to display the wealth of the individual or group who had commissioned it, rather than their piety (as in medieval times). Artistic patronage was limited to a smaller group than had been true earlier. The princes and the oligarchies around them were a tiny fraction of Italian society, but they provided most of the artists' commissions. Only rarely would an artist work without a specific commission in the hope of finding a buyer later.

Artists dealt with their patrons as equals. It was not at all unusual for a secure artist to refuse a lucrative commission because of a disagreement, and patrons respected talent and allowed the artists to execute their work much as they pleased. The idea of artistic genius came into currency at this time. Artists were thought to possess a "divine spark" or other quality that ordinary souls lacked, and therefore should be allowed to develop their talents without too much restriction.

FAMILY LIFE AND THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

Our knowledge of family life in the Renaissance comes largely from the upper classes, as is usual for premodern history. Men continued to marry quite late, in their thirties and forties, after securing their inheritances. Women were normally much younger at marriage, so there were many middle-aged widows. Marriage to a rich or moderately well off widow who was still young enough to bear children was perceived as a desirable step for a man. Dowries were expected



Vatican Museums and Galleries, Vatican City, Italy/The Bridgeman Art Library

MICHELANGELO'S CREATION OF ADAM. This fresco was among many that the artist created for the Sistine Chapel in Rome between 1508 and 1512.

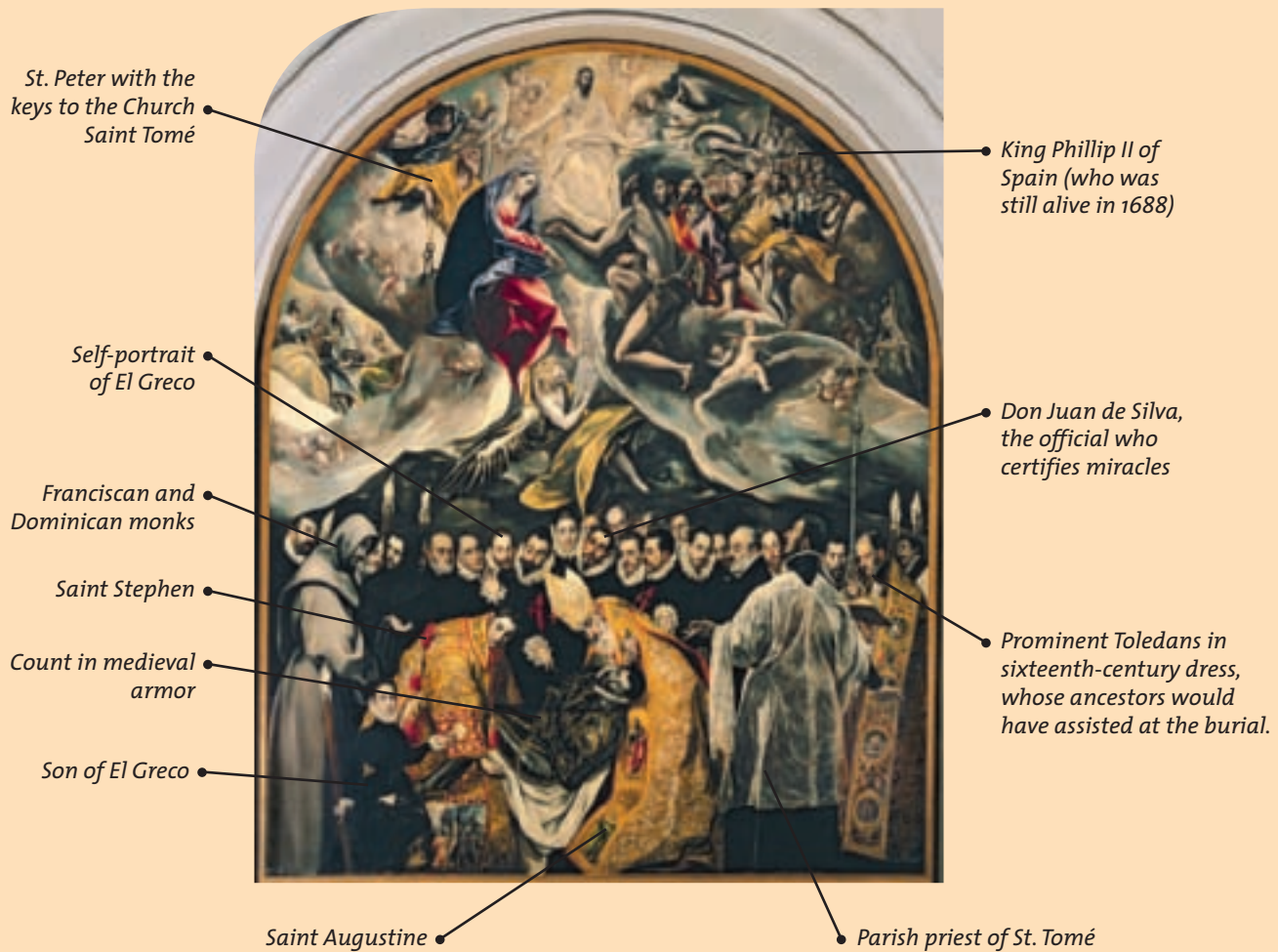
IMAGES OF HISTORY

RENAISSANCE SECULARISM

The *Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, finished in 1588, is the masterpiece of the Renaissance artist known as El Greco (The Greek). He was born in Greece, studied painting in Venice and Rome, and eventually found appreciative patrons in Toledo, Spain. There, he settled, married, and painted his greatest works. This painting fills one wall of a chapel in the Church of Saint Tomé, El Greco's parish. It depicts the burial in 1312 of the Count of Orgaz, a virtuous knight who

gave money to enlarge the church. Medieval belief was that two saints had miraculously descended to lower the knight into his tomb. Centuries later, the parish priest of Saint Tomé decided to renovate the Count's burial chapel. As part of this project, the priest commissioned El Greco to paint the burial scene and required the inclusion of portraits of Toledo's living elite. In the painting's earthly realm, El Greco portrayed the parish priest of Saint Tomé

and several of Toledo's notable citizens (who were also patrons of the grateful artist). Saints, martyrs, apostles, and other biblical figures appear in the heavenly realm. This painting shows how Renaissance art continued to depict medieval religious themes, but with changes. The main difference was that, due to the Renaissance emphasis on individualism, patrons now wanted their portraits included in the paintings.



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in every case, even among the poor in the countryside. A girl without a suitable dowry was practically unmarriageable.

Families were often large, especially among the well-to-do. The household might include children from a prior marriage, spinster sisters or elderly widows, servants, and perhaps the husband's illegitimate offspring. We know from surviving records that an Italian merchant's household

might easily include as many as twenty persons, including servants. Wealthy households were of a similar size throughout most of the rest of Europe. (See the box on Margherita Datini in Chapter 20.)

The woman of such a house was expected to run this establishment with vigor and economy. If her husband was away (a business trip might last six months or longer), she

was often entrusted with full authority. A woman had to be literate to handle these tasks, and all wealthy families had private tutors for their daughters as well as their sons. In general, however, women did not fare well as a social group during the Renaissance. In fact, the position of upper-class women actually seems to have declined. They no longer enjoyed the political and economic liberties afforded to upper-class women during the Middle Age. Middle-class women, on the other hand, probably had greater responsibility for the management of household and business affairs and played a role almost equal to that of their husbands.

As in the medieval period, the wives of artisans and merchants were often essential partners of the males, whose work could not be performed without their wives. Of working-class women, we as usual know relatively little, but we can assume that the male-dominated patriarchal society went on without essential change. A particular crisis was the Europe-wide obsession with witchcraft, which appeared in the sixteenth century and took most of its victims from among the female population (see the Society and Economy box).

In both town and country, women had to do hard physical work as a matter of course. Spinning and weaving were

the particular domain of the female, as was care of rural livestock. In the towns, records show that women performed just about every task that men did: butchering, baking, metalwork, dyeing cloth, and performing all of the handwork trades that they had been doing throughout the medieval period. The separation of work by gender had not yet begun.

Education varied for the sexes, as had long been customary. In the towns, men were educated for an active career in commerce or a craft. Beginning at about age seven, they might attend a boarding school for a few years and then were apprenticed to an appropriate firm or craftsman. Literacy was common by this time among the urban population but still uncommon in the countryside, where most people lived. The peasant's son who received any education at all was still the exception, and the peasant bride who could spell out her name was a rare catch.

For girls of the upper and middle classes, education usually meant some study in the home under the supervision of a live-in or outside tutor, usually a seminary student who was trying to keep body and soul together until ordination. Their education focused on literacy in the vernacular with perhaps a bit of Latin, music making, and the domestic

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

WITCHCRAFT

A special example of the relative decline in the social status of females during the Renaissance and early modern eras is the witchcraft mania that raged throughout Europe in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although witches could be of either sex, women were by far the more commonly accused of evil deeds. The following are excerpts from seventeenth-century German sources.

The woman either hates or loves; there is no third way. When she cries, be careful. There's two kinds of feminine tears: one sort for true pain, the other for deceitfulness. . . . There are three other reasons for the fact that more women than men are superstitious: the first is that women are easily swayed, and the Devil seeks them out because he wishes to destroy their faith . . . the second is because Nature has created them from less stable material, and so they are more susceptible to the implantation of evil thoughts and diversions. The third reason is that their tongues are loose, and so when they have learned how to make evil have to share it with others of their own ilk, and attempt to gain revenge by witchcraft, as they don't have the strength of men.

Women's physical weakness was already indicated by her creation from a bent rib [of Adam], thus an imperfect creature from the start.

It is a fact that woman has only a weaker faith [in God], as the very etymology of her name states: the word *femina* comes from *fe* and *minus* (*fe* = fides, faith; *minus* = less; therefore *femina* = one with less faith) . . . Therefore, the female is evil by Nature, because she is more prone to doubts, and loses her faith more easily, which are the main requisites for witchcraft.

This view of the female nature had bloody consequences: Near the German town of Thann, a witch hunt commenced in 1572 that went on at intervals until 1629. In that period, 152 witches were put to death—generally by hanging, sometimes by burning. Of that number, only eight were males. Sometimes, five to eight women were put to death at one time. Three hundred six persons, mostly women, were executed as witches in only six years in villages near Trier. In two of the villages, only two women were left alive.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Where do you think the argument that women “are more easily swayed” originated, in a male view? Does this reflect your own view of female nature? Are women also of “less stable material”?

Source: Cited in *Frauen in der Geschichte*, vol. 2, eds. Annette Kuhn and Jorn Rusen (Dusseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, 1982), 114 and 122.



arts. Marriage was taken for granted as the fate of most young women. The alternative was a convent, which had little appeal, or spinsterhood, which had less. Intellectual women now had many more opportunities to express themselves in written forms, including history, poetry, religious tracts, and other formats, but their gender was still a severe obstacle to being taken seriously.

How were the earliest years passed? The treatment of young children was slowly changing among the upper classes, but not yet among the lower. Any family that could afford to do so—a minority, certainly—would send a newborn baby to a peasant wet nurse. She would keep the child until he or she was past the nursing stage—about two years (at times longer, and sometimes without any contact with the parents!). When the children returned to their parents' house, they were put under the exclusive care of the mother for the next several years. In wealthy homes, the father rarely had much to do with his children until they reached the “age of reason” (age seven), when he would take charge of their education.

The usual attitude among the upper classes was that very young children were of interest to adults only because they represented the continuation of the family line. After reaching age seven or so, they became more worthy of attention, not only because they had survived the most dangerous age but also because they were now becoming people with recognizable traits and personalities. By the Renaissance epoch, beating and other severe punishments were applied less often than in earlier centuries but were still common enough, as we know from many diaries.

We know less for certain about the lower classes because of the usual absence of sources. Probably, babies and very young children continued to get little love and cherishing by modern standards for the sensible reason that the parents could expect that about half of their offspring would die before reaching their seventh year. After that age, they were treated somewhat better, if only because they represented potential labor and “social security” for the aged parent.

SUMMARY

A REBIRTH OF SECULAR LEARNING derived from classical authors began in fourteenth-century Italy and spread north across the Alps in the ensuing years. Significant differences in mood and aims often existed between the two areas. The Renaissance produced the foundations of the modern state. That those foundations were laid along the lines of Machiavelli's *The Prince* rather than those of the northern Christian humanist tracts would prove fateful.

After the crisis of the Hundred Years' War had been surmounted, the fifteenth century saw a significant rise in monarchic powers and prestige. English and French kings

fashioned effective controls over their unruly nobles. The Russian tsar also emerged as a strong ruler, but in Germany and Italy no progress was made in the consolidation of central government.

Individualism and secularism made strong advances among the educated, whereas the moral prestige of the clergy—and particularly the Roman papacy—continued to sink. The arts flourished under the stimuli of new wealth in the cities and a governing class that placed great store on patronage and fame. Painting and architecture witnessed notable experiments and successful new talents.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

guilds
Habsburg Dynasty
humanism
Jacquerie
Principality of Kiev

Renaissance
secularism
Third Rome
Utopia
Wars of the Roses

For Further Reflection

1. What important changes occurred in European society between 1000 and 1500? In what ways did the Renaissance reflect those changes?
2. Briefly review the principal features of the Renaissance. Why did it begin in Italy? Why not in France? In England? In the Netherlands? Why did it later spread to these other parts of Europe?
3. What major developments occurred in the arts during the Renaissance? Was art the sole means by which the new Renaissance spirit was expressed? In what other ways did it manifest itself?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- During the fifteenth century, the territory now called Italy was
 - under the firm control of the Holy Roman Emperor.
 - broken into several political units centered on cities.
 - finally brought under the monopolistic control of the papacy.
 - split in allegiance between Rome and Florence.
 - mostly agricultural, with few people residing in urban areas.
- Which of the following attributes least fits the Renaissance worldview?
 - Ambition
 - Arrogance
 - Confidence
 - Caution
 - Worldliness
- Which of the following statements about Renaissance secularism is false?
 - It was vigorously opposed by Roman church leaders.
 - It was partially a by-product of a changing economy.
 - Most persons held to the basic tenets of Christian teaching.
 - It encouraged the acquisition of material things.
 - The upper class became more interested in worldly than spiritual matters.
- The Renaissance in northern Europe differed from that of Italy by being
 - less secular.
 - more artistic.
 - less serious.
 - inferior in quality.
 - less intellectually stimulating.
- The basic message of More's *Utopia* is that
 - personal wealth is the only sure path to social reforms.
 - education cannot reduce human sinfulness.
 - social institutions, not individuals, must be reformed first.
 - people are inherently evil and cannot really be changed.
 - to be happy, individuals must do what is best for their personal situations.
- A new element in Renaissance city-state politics was
 - the preference for using fear rather than piety as a basis of government.
 - a professional army of mercenaries.
 - an absolute monarchy.
 - the organization of a taxation agency.
 - the concept of a secular state that existed independently of both ruler and ruled.
- One of the peculiar features of Russian Orthodoxy was the belief that
 - Russians would be the political masters of all Europe.
 - all Russians would be saved eternally.
 - Moscow was destined to be the Third Rome.
 - the state was nonexistent.
 - the church should function independently of the state.
- Titian and Van Eyck were both Renaissance
 - architects.
 - artists.
 - political theorists.
 - churchmen.
 - writers.
- Which of the following was not a cause for scandal in the Christian church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?
 - Illiteracy
 - Immorality
 - Thievery
 - Unconcern
 - Greed
- The household of a wealthy sixteenth-century Italian could best be described as one in which
 - women had no control over everyday affairs.
 - husbands refused to travel outside the country because they did not trust their wives to run the households.
 - widowed women were relegated to an inferior, almost superfluous existence.
 - large numbers of variously related people sometimes resided together in one home.
 - women, though deemed important to the running of the household, remained illiterate.



Go to the History CourseMate website for primary source links, study tools, and review materials
www.cengagebrain.com

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

1. Looking again at the major centers in which civilization developed during the classical era as “communities of discourse,” what changes did those of Western, Central, and Eastern Asia, as well as Europe undergo from about 600 to 1500 CE?
2. Did Africa and America see the formation of a community of discourse or common civilization? Were there any features, besides perhaps religious ones, that Africans shared? What, if anything, were features common to Native American civilizations? What role
3. did religion play in the formation of a new community of discourse in Africa during this period?
4. Was there an Eastern Asian community of discourse which of which Japan played a part? How and why did Japan improvise on these features?
5. What role did religion play in the formation of a new community of discourse in Europe during this period?
6. Looking at the changes of this era, how did these communities of discourse expand? What effects did these expansions have on other centers of civilization?

CROSS CULTURAL CONNECTIONS

Trade and Exchange Networks

Europe: Germans create the Hanseatic League network throughout Baltic region, Northwestern Russia, and Britain. Venice and Genoa establish near-total control over the Mediterranean end of trade with Asia and Africa. Portugal explores and establishes limited control over gold and pepper trade of West Africa; small-scale slave trade begun; all-water route to India discovered in 1497–1499. Spain explores and begins colonization of parts of the Caribbean. English King Henry VII sends Cabot to explore east coast of North America. **Asia:** Silk Road and Indian Ocean networks link most of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Africa: Persians, Arabs, Berbers, and Indians (Banyan) establish trade with parts of East and West Africa, making it part of westernmost extension of the Sahara and Indian Ocean networks.

America: North American network extends from American Southwest to Colombia. South American network extends from Peru and Ecuador throughout Western Andes and Amazon River basin.

Migrations

Europeans: Norse migration and settlement in Britain, Ireland, Normandy, Russia, Iceland, Greenland, and Newfoundland. Magyar migrations into Eastern Europe. Migrations of Europeans throughout globe in Age of Discovery.

Asians: Turkish migrations into northern China, western Asia, and southern Russia. Mongolian conquests and migrations into China, western Asia, Eastern Europe, and Russia.

Africans: Africans migrate or taken as slaves to southern and western Asia, the Mediterranean, Europe, and parts of the Americas (Brazil, Caribbean, and colonies in eastern America).

Americans: Migrations of Chichimec, Toltecs, and Aztecs from northern Mexico into Central Valley of Mexico. Puebloans abandon Four Corners area and migrate to Rio Grande region. Many Native American tribes migrate westward into Dakota Badlands and onto Great Plains.

Spread of Ideas and Technologies

Europe: Europeans invent basic elements of modern capitalism: double entry accounting, modern banking, and corporate business entities (e.g., chartered companies).

Asia: Islamic civilization translates, preserves, and passes many works of classical Greece and Rome to Western Europe. Also invents and exports to Europe modern university as well as new tastes in cuisine, etiquette, and fashion; also new ideas about hunting (hawking), hydrography (windmills and watermills), horticulture, mathematics (place-value and algebra); and sailing (lateen sails and the astrolabe). Exports camel to North Africa. Central Asians export warhorses to China. Southeast Asians export spices and outrigger to Indian Ocean communities. India exports dyed cotton cloth and peppers; invents and exports place-value numeration to Islamic civilization and Europe. Koreans invent and export moveable type. China invents and exports gunpowder, paper, printing, stirrup, silk weaving, ship rudder, magnetism, and compass to Western Asia and Europe.

Africa: Early Iron Age spread of iron-making skills throughout subequatorial Africa. Methods for making high carbon iron developed; manufactured on East coast and exported to India, Persian Gulf, and Red Sea regions. Sheep and cattle introduced into southern Africa; some Khoisan-speakers adopt pastoral ways of life. Christianity briefly spreads through much of North and Northeast Africa. Islam enters North Africa in seventh century, then spreads into Sudanic belt after eleventh century; enters East Africa and spreads along the coast; spreads up Zambezi Valley into Mwenemutapa in fifteenth century.

America: Knowledge of metallurgy transmitted from South American civilizations to Central America; maize culture spreads from Mexico to Peru.

WORLDVIEW THREE



LAW AND GOVERNMENT

- > Long struggle occurs between papacy and monarchs for supremacy within new kingdoms emerging from the imperial collapse.
- > Law degenerates badly in early period, but begins comeback in medieval centuries.
- > Beginnings of the modern state and rule by bureaucracy appear at end of period in western European kingdoms.



SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

- > By the end of period, town-dwelling bourgeoisie significant in western Europe and challenging traditional noble–landlord social order.
- > Feudal serfdom in West diminishes and becomes almost extinct after Black Death but is rejuvenated in the eastern countries.
- > Long-distance trade resumes following establishment of stable governments in the West. Europeans seek new trade opportunities via ocean routes to eastern entrepôts as the fifteenth century ends.
- > Capitalism is promoted by developments in credit facilities for business and in new mobility of wealth and wealth producing production.

EUROPEANS

- > Thousand-year-long golden age for China commences, which recovers in the late 500s from second period of disintegration and prospers during ensuing Tang and Song periods.
- > Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century interrupts Chinese “mandate of heaven” monarchy, which resumes under vigorous Ming Dynasty in 1300s.
- > Law and mandarin government operate to good effect for peace and stability, particularly in South, where nomads cannot reach.
- > Japan emulates Chinese system, but imperial court never exerts control over nation in a like fashion to China; feudal nobility resists bureaucratic system and negates it in later part of this period by erecting shogunate as true locus of government powers.

- > Farming continues in both China and Japan as livelihood for huge majority, but in China cities’ growth during Tang and Song eras is impressive.
- > Towns with populations of more than 1 million are known.
- > Trade in every type of good is active, but limited contacts are made with Western foreigners until arrival of Europeans in the 1500s.
- > Travel and commerce over Silk Road stimulated by Mongol hegemony in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; Chinese–Central Asian contacts multiply.
- > Rise and fall of Chinese maritime expeditions in the fifteenth century demonstrate powers of government versus interests of mercantile class.

EAST ASIANS

- > Written law is still exceptional in this oral civilization.
- > Government exercised by minority of high caste warriors and confirmed by brahmin priests.
- > Villages govern themselves with little contact with central or regional authorities except via taxation.
- > Effective government is exception because of frequent nomadic invasions from north. Toward the end of period, invasions create ruling Muslim minority within Hindu mass.

- > Fieldwork as free or bonded laborers is norm throughout Indian history for majority.
- > Domestic and external trade with Southeast Asia and Muslims to the west important in the cities.
- > Colonial outreach to Southeast Asia and Pacific islanders strong in South India.
- > Cotton cloth, spices, and precious metals exported.

HINDUS

- > Law based on Qur’an as interpreted by ulama. Government also derived directly from doctrines of the Prophet and hadith tradition.
- > Caliph is head of state and religion, as well as commander-in-chief, although the sultans supplant caliphs as de facto heads of state after tenth century.
- > No separation between religion and state.
- > Only Muslims full citizens; others usually excluded from office holding but not oppressed.

- > Mixed economy based on both urban and rural institutions.
- > High levels of sophistication attained in trade and finance.
- > Mercantile activity strongly developed, built on previous Eastern civilizations and extensive trading contacts.
- > Agriculture organized along feudal lines.
- > Wealth is open to all, Muslim and infidel, although non-Muslims required to pay additional taxes
- > Enormous variations in relative prosperity of Muslim groups, dependent on previous history and regional economy.

MUSLIMS

THE POST-CLASSICAL ERA, 800–1400 CE



PATTERNS OF BELIEF

- > Eastern Europe and Russia brought into Orthodox orbit in 800s to 1000s.
- > Political-religious divisions between East and West reach climax with schism between Constantinople and Rome in 1054.
- > Eastern Orthodoxy closely associated with state and falls under royal or imperial domination, especially Russia.
- > Roman clergy often in conflict with Western kings after reform of the papacy in tenth and eleventh centuries.
- > Clerical reform comes and goes throughout late medieval age as Christian church accumulates wealth and temptation for misuse.



ARTS AND CULTURE

- > Gothic architectural style spreads rapidly in twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
- > In Italian Renaissance, Gothic style supplanted by neoclassical style.
- > Vernacular languages replace Latin after 1300s in popular literature. Painting, sculpture, architecture, and metalwork profit from novel techniques and ideas.
- > Secularism and individualism permeate Renaissance art and civic culture of ruling class.



SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

- > After universities founded in 1200s, advances in humanities occur, but little in science.
- > Technology attracts interest, especially after the Black Death and reduction of labor force. Few breakthroughs occur except in agriculture: three-field system, horse collar, use of animal manure, and better plows follow.
- > New energy sources developed with introduction of windmills and watermills in northwestern Europe.

- > In China, Buddhism rivals and then blends with Confucian tenets among educated.
- > Peasantry continues ancestor worship and Daoism.
- > In Japan, Buddhism enters from Korea in sixth century, subdivides into several noncompetitive sects, and strongly affects Shinto religion.
- > Neither country produces clergy or much theology; ethics derived from non-supernatural sources in both.
- > Philosophy Buddhist-based in both and focuses on questions of daily life rather than abstract ideas.
- > Warrior creeds increasingly dominant in Japan.
- > Zen Buddhism particularly popular in Japan after 1100s.

- > Landscape painting, porcelain, bronzes, inlay work, silk weaving, and several forms of literature highly developed in China and Japan.
- > Upper-class life allows more artistic freedom to Japanese women than to counterparts in wholly patriarchal China.

- > Technology highly developed in China throughout period. Many inventions produced, including gunpowder, printing with movable type, paper made from wood pulp, navigational aids, water pump, and ship's rudder.
- > Japanese are not so active and depend on Chinese importations but produce exceptional metal work.

- > Vedic Hinduism transformed in response to Buddhist challenge and recaptures almost all of Indians' allegiance.
- > Both religions accept multiple nature of truth, in contrast with Christians and Muslims.
- > Strong ethical tone dominates, as exemplified in the Upanishads, teachings of Mahavira among Jains, and Eightfold Path of Buddha.
- > Near end of period, Muslim Turks establish rule in North India and dominate northern two-thirds of region via Delhi Sultanate.
- > Muslim persecution accelerates Buddhist decline.

- > Art forms emphasize mutual dependency of gods and humans.
- > Much art lost as result of climate and repeated invasions.
- > Buddhist cave shrines and paintings are major repositories of extant art from early part of the period.
- > Much sculpture created in stone and metal of high quality; history and literature almost nonexistent.
- > Indian artistic influence throughout Southeast Asian mainland and Indonesia.

- > Selective scientific advances made in Math (e.g., zero concept, decimal system, much algebra).
- > Pharmacy and medicine well-developed.
- > Excellent metalwork.
- > Technology dormant.

- > Religious affiliation basic organizing principle of public life.
- > Islam strongly exclusive and monopolistic in regard to truth.
- > No formal priesthood, but ulama advise caliph and popularly regarded as principal experts on holy law.
- > Split between Sunni and Shi'a destroys Islamic unity and accentuates power struggles.

- > Art strongly influenced by Qur'anic prohibition of human portrayal.
- > Architecture, interior decor, and landscaping strong points in plastic arts, as are poetry, storytelling, and history in literature.
- > Respect for ancient achievements of Greeks in sciences and philosophy.
- > Society strongly patriarchal.

- > Sciences initially and for a long time are promoted by Arab willingness to learn from Greeks and Persians.
- > Major advances are made in math, chemistry, astronomy, and medicine, but by 1300, science is languishing in comparison with the West.
- > Technology is selectively introduced, especially in maritime affairs and, for a time, in war.
- > Muslims are frequently the first alien beneficiaries of earlier Hindu and Chinese breakthroughs.

WORLDVIEW THREE

AFRICANS



LAW AND GOVERNMENT

- > Law almost always oral and customary until arrival of Muslim traders/ conquerors in North and East.
- > Government based on ethnic affiliations, ranging from monarchs with cadres of officials to practically clan-level autonomy from all external authority.
- > Large areas below Sahara never organize formal governments but remain stateless societies in which oral tradition and custom determine social behavior.



SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

- > Lifestyles depend on changing climate and terrain. Nomadism prevalent among desert Berbers; agriculture important in rain forest zone, savanna grasslands, and coastal plains; additional livestock breeding in all regions except rain forest.
- > Local trade in foodstuffs, salt, pottery, and metals.
- > Long-distance trade across desert supports large-scale governments, beginning in Ghana of first millennium CE; gold, salt, copper, iron, slaves, and animal by-products major trade items.
- > Commerce occurs in collaboration with Arabs and Indians across Indian Ocean to Arabia and points east beginning in late first millennium CE.

AMERICANS

- > General absence of writing means reliance on customary law.
- > Where states exist, government generally a divine monarchy of limited powers, with group of royal kin sharing in prestige and income from tribute.
- > Priesthood always powerful, sometimes dominant.
- > Conquest of neighbors the usual means of constructing imperial control over large areas.
- > Causes of decline of states seldom known, although warfare, environmental degradation, and climatic change the most likely explanations.

- > These are the only ancient civilizations not located in river plains or valleys.
- > Mesoamerican and Peruvian centers depend on surplus generated by new crops.
- > Most subjects are farmers, but a few urban areas (Tenochtitlán, Teotihuacan, Cuzco) appear in time.
- > North of Rio Grande River, smaller-scale civilizations develop in Southwest (Puebloan) and east of Mississippi River (Cahokia and Iroquois).
- > Considerable internal trade, but no contact made with extra-American civilizations.

THE POST-CLASSICAL ERA, 800–1400 CE



PATTERNS OF BELIEF

- > Belief held in the power of nature and family spirits.
- > Arrival of Muslims after about 700, and sub-Saharan peoples slowly converted, although veneration of spirits continues to be common even among Muslims.
- > Christianity isolated in Nubia and Ethiopia after seventh century.

- > Religious belief unknown in detail, but gods are often fearful, demonic rulers of the afterworld.
- > Faith strongly resembles aspects of Mesopotamia, with human sacrifice in some of the ruling groups (Aztec, Maya).
- > No apparent connections exist between religion and ethics.



ARTS AND CULTURE

- > Art devoted to religion or quasi-religious purposes.
- > Fine bronzes and carvings in parts of sub-Saharan West and Southeast; Nok terra cotta work the oldest surviving art (seventh century).
- > Oral culture produced no written literature, although extensive oral traditions preserved rich traditions of history and verbal art.

- > Much pre-Columbian plastic and pictorial artwork survives but little literature.
- > Art serves theology and cosmology.
- > Relief sculpture produced in Central America.
- > Architecture highly developed in both Peru and Mexico.



SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

- > Science stultified in contrast with other parts of the globe.
- > Farm-based societies have complex systems of astronomy and astrology.
- > Advanced methods of iron making and metals extraction.
- > Extensive systems of irrigation used in some locations.

- > Technology highly developed in engineering of large stone masses in buildings and fortifications.
- > Mastery of hydraulics at Tenochtitlán, massive stone structures in Mayan cities, and Incan road building over difficult mountain terrain demanded extensive science knowledge.

Part IV



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EXPANDING WEBS OF INTERACTION, 1400–1700 CE

WITHIN FIFTY YEARS ON EITHER side of 1500 CE, a host of events or processes contributed to an atmosphere of rising confidence in the power of governments and their supportive institutions. In the political and military realm, the Mongol yoke in Russia was lifted; the Ottoman Turks, victorious at Constantinople, failed in an attempt to seize Vienna and central Europe;

the Hundred Years' War had ended and the French recovery commenced. The civilizations of Eurasia and Africa finally recovered from the ravages of the Black Death, and maritime trade increased significantly, as did the sophistication of commercial and financial instruments.

But aside from these general developments, the centuries that came between about 1400 and 1700 are usually heralded as the beginning of the modern era because of two specific complexes of events: the questioning of traditional authority in the West, manifested in the Protestant Reformation, and voyages of discovery that revealed the possibilities of the globe to the imaginations of some Europeans and Asians. Both of these contributed, in very different ways, to the expansion of Europe's reach and authority that took place in this 300-year time span, until Europeans began to claim a prerogative to decide the fates of others as almost a God-given right. This tendency was particularly striking in the American colonies, where the native Amerindians were either obliterated or virtually enslaved by their overlords. But it was also the case—although in a much more limited way—in eastern and southern Asia, the coast of Africa, and the island or Arctic peripheries of a world, which was larger and more varied than anyone had formerly supposed.

The difference between 1500 and 1850 in this regard might well be illustrated by comparing the Aztecs' Tenochtitlán, which amazed the envious Cortés, with the sleepy, dusty villages to which Mexico's Indians were later confined. Similarly, one might compare the army of the Persian Safavid rulers of the early sixteenth century that reduced the mighty Mughals to supplicants for peace with

the raggedy mob that attempted—in vain—to stop a handful of British from installing themselves on the Khyber Pass three centuries later. The West, whether represented by Spanish freebooters or Oxford-educated British bureaucrats, seemed destined to surpass or be invincible against what one unrepentant imperialist called the “lesser breeds.” Part Four examines the massive changes that were slowly evincing themselves during these three centuries of heightening interactions. The European voyages of discovery of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the opening of maritime commerce across the Indian and Atlantic oceans, and the resultant Columbian Exchange and the slave trade are the subjects of Chapter 22. Chapter 23 considers in detail the successful challenges to the authority of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and their permanent effects on Western sensibilities. Challenges to religious authority inevitably led to other confrontations. This chapter also briefly examines the ideas of absolutism and constitutionalism, as well as their expressions in religious warfare and the desire for stability, which became the cornerstones of modern governments. Chapter 24 briefly shifts the focus to Asia, where the rise and fall of the great Muslim empires of central Asia and India are discussed. Chapter 25 focuses on the continuities and changes that Africa experienced in this era of global expansion and the slave trade. China's centuries of glory following the ejection of the Mongols through the early Qing Dynasty are analyzed in Chapter 26. The history of Japan and South-east Asia before 1700 follows in Chapter 27. Finally, the Iberian colonies of America and their struggle for independent existence are outlined in Chapter 28.



A Larger World Opens

MARITIME EXPLORATION IN THE 1400S

OVERSEAS EMPIRES AND THEIR EFFECTS

Portuguese Pioneers

The Spanish Empire in the Americas

The African Slave Trade Opens

Dutch and English Merchant-Adventurers

MERCANTILISM

THE COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE

EUROPEAN IMPACTS AND VICE VERSA

The Fate of the Amerindians

Racism's Beginnings

THE UNPARALLELED OVERSEAS EXPANSION of Europe in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries opened a new era of intercontinental contacts. What were the motives for the rapid series of adventuresome voyages? They ranged from Christian missionary impulses to the common desire to get rich. Backed to varying degrees by their royal governments, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and English seafarers opened the world to European commerce, settlement, and eventual dominion. Through the **Columbian Exchange** initiated in 1492, the New World entered European consciousness and was radically and permanently changed by European settlers. In most of the world, however, the presence of a relative handful of foreigners in coastal “factories” (as trading stations were called) or as occasional traders meant little change to traditional activities and attitudes. Not until the later eighteenth century was the European presence a threat to the continuation of accustomed African, Asian, and Polynesian lifestyles.

MARITIME EXPLORATION IN THE 1400S

The Vikings in their graceful longboats had made voyages across the North Atlantic from Scandinavia to Greenland and on to North America as early as 1000 CE, but the northern voyages were too risky to serve as the channel for permanent European expansion, and Scandinavia’s population base was too small. Four hundred years later, major advances in technology had transformed maritime commerce. The import of new sail rigging, the magnetic compass, and the astrolabe (an instrument used to determine the altitude of the sun or other celestial bodies) from Asia; a new hull design; and systematic navigational

I have come to believe that this is a mighty continent which was hitherto unknown.

—Christopher Columbus

Mid-1400s	Portuguese begin voyages of exploration
1492	Christopher Columbus reaches Americas
1498	Vasco da Gama arrives in India
Early 1500s	Transatlantic slave trade begins
1519–1540	Spanish conquer Aztecs and Incans
1522	First circumnavigation of globe completed
1602	Dutch East India Company founded

charts enabled Western seamen, led by the Portuguese, to conquer the world's oceans. Firearms of all sizes backed up their claims to dominion over their newly discovered territories. By the end of the fifteenth century, the map of the Eastern Hemisphere was gradually becoming familiar to Europeans.

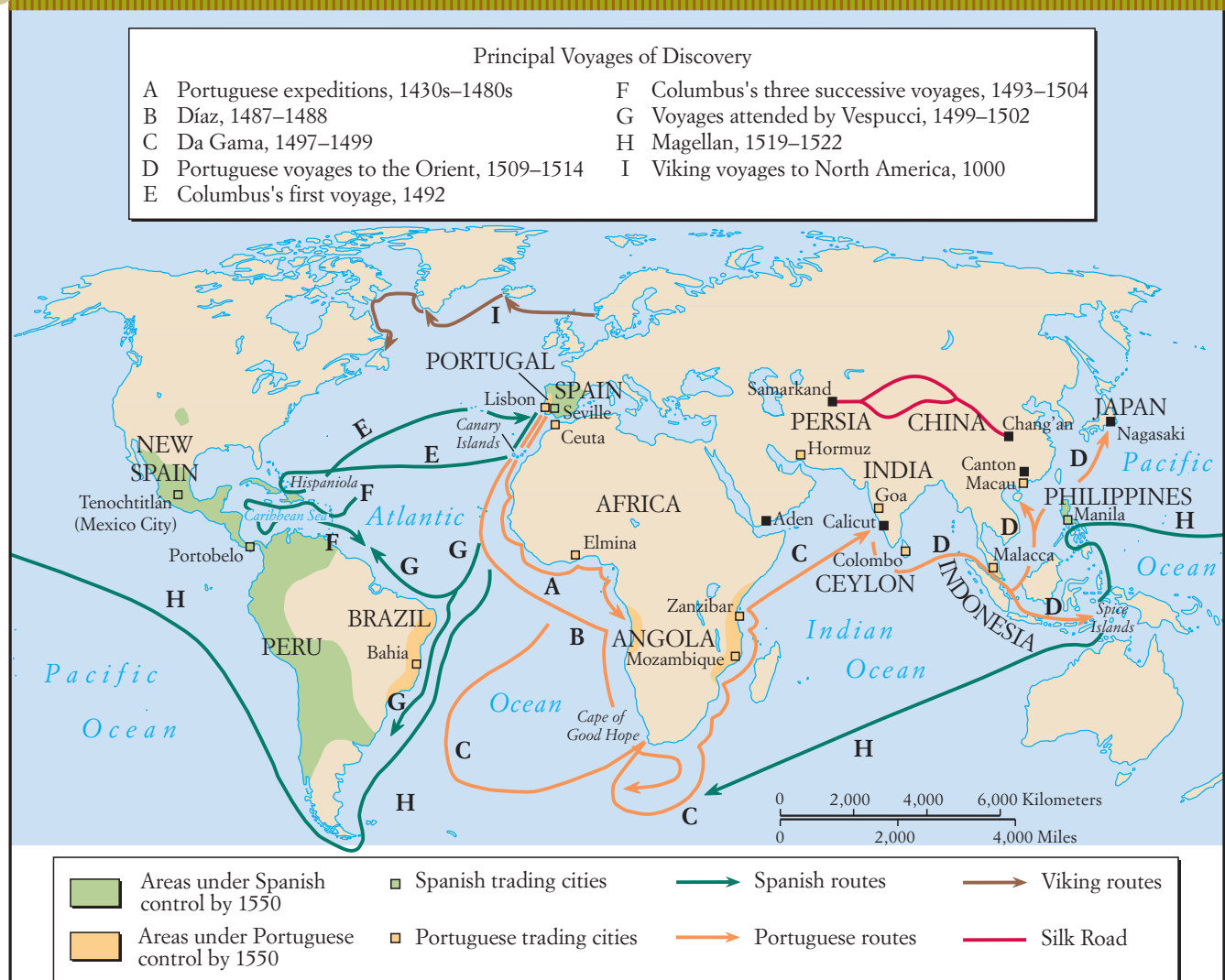
Knowledge of the high cultures of Asia was current by the early 1400s. Muslim traders had long before established an active commerce with southern and eastern Asia—by their command of the Indian Ocean routes and the famous

Silk Road through central Asia—and had served as intermediaries to Europe (Chapter 16). Marco Polo's great adventure was well known even earlier, after the appearance of his book about his many years of service to Kubilai Khan.

Most of Europe's luxury imports had long come from Africa, China and India, while the Spice Islands (as they were called by Europeans) of Southeast Asia had been the source of the most valuable items in international exchange (see Map 22.1). In the fourteenth century, this trade was disrupted, first by the Ottoman Turkish conquest of the



WORLDVIEW MAP 22.1 SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE VOYAGES IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES



The shaded areas indicate the portions of the newly explored regions that were mapped and settled. Unshaded areas indicate those that remained unexplored and relatively unknown.

MAP QUESTIONS

Using this map, can you trace the stages of the expansion of global trade, from the earliest ones that linked southern and

southwestern Asia to the beginnings of a world system? What does this map suggest about what might have prevented a truly global system of travel and trade in the early Age of Discovery (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries)?



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

eastern Mediterranean and then by the breakup of the Mongol Empire, which had formed a single unit reaching from China to western Russia.

Security of transit across Asia was threatened, as was the Europeans' long-established and profitable interchange of goods with the Arabs and Persians. In 1453, the great depot of Eastern wares, Constantinople, fell into the hands of the Ottomans. With direct access to this old gateway to the East now lost, Europeans became more interested than ever in finding a direct sea route to the East by circumnavigating Africa and so making it possible to bypass the hostile Ottomans.

OVERSEAS EMPIRES AND THEIR EFFECTS

First the Portuguese and the Spanish and then the Dutch, English, and French created overseas empires that had far-reaching effects both at home and abroad.

Portuguese Pioneers

In the middle of the 1400s and under the guidance of the visionary **Prince Henry the Navigator** (1394–1460), tiny and impoverished Portugal sponsored a series of exploratory voyages down the west coast of Africa and out into the ocean as far as the Azores (about one-third the distance to the Caribbean) in a search of African gold and pepper. In 1488, the Portuguese captain Bartolomeo Díaz made a crucial advance by successfully rounding the Cape of Good Hope. Some years later, **Vasco da Gama** (VAHS-coh duh GAH-mah) sailed across the Indian Ocean to the west coast of India. (For a closer look at da Gama's exploits, see Science and Technology.) Trying to follow a new route around the southern tip of Africa that took him far to the west, Pedro Alvarez Cabral got blown all the way across the Atlantic, making landfall in Brazil, which he promptly claimed for Portugal. By 1510, Portuguese flags were flying over Goa in India and Macão on the coast of China (see Map 22.1). In 1511, the extraordinary admiral Afonso da Albuquerque seized the great port-depot of Malacca at the

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

VASCO DA GAMA'S FIRST CONTACTS IN EAST AFRICA

One of the most daring of all the explorers sailing in the name of Portugal or Spain was Vasco da Gama, the first to round the tip of Africa and sail on to India. Da Gama made landfall on the Indian coast in 1498 before returning safely to Lisbon the following year. He kept a detailed diary of his epoch-making voyage, from which the following comments on the non-Muslim peoples of the East African littoral are taken.

These people are black, and the men are of good physique, they go about naked except that they wear small pieces of cotton cloth with which they cover their genitals, and the Senhores [chiefs] of the land wear larger cloths. The young women in this land look good; they have their lips pierced in three places and they wear some pieces of twisted tin. These people were very much at ease with us, and brought out to us in the vessels what they had, in dugout canoes. . . .

After we had been here two or three days there came out two Senhores of this land to see us, they were so haughty that they did not value anything which was given to them. One of them was wearing a cap on his head with piping worked in silk, and the other a furry cap of green satin. There came in their company a youth who, we gathered from gestures, came from another far country, and said that he had already seen great vessels like those that carried us. With these signs we rejoiced greatly, because it seemed to us that we were going to reach where we wanted to go. . . .

This land, it seemed to us, is densely populated. There are in it many villages and towns. The women seemed to be more numerous than men, because when there came 20 men there came 40 women. . . . The arms of these people are very large bows and arrows, and assagais [short stabbing spears] of iron. In this land there seemed to be much copper, which they wore on their legs and arms and in their kinky hair. Equally used is tin, which they place on the hilts of daggers, the sheaths are of iron. The people greatly prize linen cloth, and they gave us as much of this copper for as many shirts as we cared to give.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What seems to have been the attitude of the East Africans toward these European strangers? To what do you attribute this view? From where do you suppose the previously seen "vessels" had come? To what kinds of material technology does it appear the Africans had access? Where do you think they got it?

Source: Harry Stephan, ed. *The Diary of Vasco da Gama (Travels Through African Waters 1497–1499)* (Sydney: Phillips, 1998), 32–33.



tip of the Malay Peninsula. With the capital of their Indian Ocean empire in Goa, the Portuguese became the controllers of the most profitable sea trade in the world.

The Portuguese empire was really only a string of fortified stations called “factories,” from which the Portuguese brought back shiploads of the much-sought-after spices, gold, porcelain, and silk obtained from their trading partners in East Africa and the Southeast Asian mainland and islands. They paid for these imports initially with metal wares, cloth, and trinkets, and later with firearms and liquor. The Lisbon government was the initiator and main beneficiary of this trade, because Portugal’s small upper and middle classes were unable to pay sufficiently to outfit ships for the expeditions.

The era of Portuguese leadership was brief. The country was too poor and its population too small to maintain this lucrative but thinly spread empire. By the late 1500s, the aggressively expanding Dutch merchants had already forced Portugal out of some of its overseas stations. Previously independent Portugal was incorporated into Catholic Spain in 1580, which gave the Dutch and English Protestants an excuse to attack the Portuguese everywhere. Eventually, by the end of the seventeenth century, Portugal was left with only Angola and the Kongo kingdom in West Africa, plus Mozambique, Macão, Goa, Brazil, and a few additional enclaves and scattered trading posts around the Indian Ocean rim.

How did a relative handful of European intruders establish themselves as regionally dominant authorities in these distant corners of the globe? In the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia, the patterns established by

the Portuguese were followed by all of their successors. The European outreach was seaborne, and control of the sea was the crucial element. Local populations that tried to resist quickly learned that it was not profitable to confront the European ships with arms, because the Europeans would generally win. Their naval cannon, more advanced methods of rigging, more maneuverable hulls, better battle discipline, and higher levels of training assured them of success in almost all engagements. The intruders avoided land warfare unless and until mastery of the surrounding seas was assured, and in that case, land warfare was rarely necessary.

After an initial display of martial strength, the newcomers were usually content to deal with and through established local leaders in securing the spices, cotton cloth, silk, and other luxuries they sought. In the normal course of events, the Europeans made treaties with paramount regional rulers that assured them a secure place in the export market. A kind of partnership thus evolved between the local chieftains and the new arrivals, in which both had sufficient reasons to maintain the status quo against those who might challenge it.

The Portuguese frequently made the mistake of alienating the local population by their brutality and their attempts to exclude all competition, but the Dutch and, later, the British were more circumspect. Unlike the Portuguese, they made no attempt until the nineteenth century to bring Africans and Asians to Christianity. As a general rule, after the sixteenth-century, Portuguese missionary efforts had subsided, and the Europeans interfered little with existing laws, religion, and customs unless they felt compelled to do so to gain commercial ends. Such interference was rare in both Asia and Africa. There, the European goal was to derive the maximum profit from trade, and they avoided anything that would threaten the smooth execution of that trade. The Spanish and Portuguese empires in the Americas were a different proposition, however.

The Spanish Empire in the Americas

By the dawn of the sixteenth century, a newly unified Spanish kingdom was close behind, and in some areas competing with, Portugal in the



Service Historique de la Marine, Vincennes, France/Lauros/Graudon/Bridgeman Art Library

A PORTUGUESE GALLEON. In what kind of vessel did the early explorers set sail? Ships such as these opened the trade routes to the East and to Brazil and the Caribbean for the Lisbon government in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Later on, two or three rows of cannons gave them heavy firepower as well as cargo space.

race for a world empire. A larger domestic resource base and extraordinary finds of precious metals enabled Spain to achieve more permanent success than its neighbor. The Italian visionary Christopher Columbus was able to persuade King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella to support his dream of a shortcut to the “Indies” by heading west over the Atlantic, which he thought was only a few hundred miles wide. The first of Columbus’s Spanish-financed voyages resulted in his discovery of the American continents. He made three more voyages before his death and was still convinced that China lay just over the horizon of the Caribbean Sea.

By then, the Spanish crown had engaged a series of other voyagers, including Amerigo Vespucci, who eventually gave his name to the New World that Columbus and others were exploring. In 1519–1521, the formidable Hernán Cortés conquered the Aztec Empire in Mexico. Soon, Spanish explorers had penetrated north into what is now Florida, California, and Arizona. By the 1540s, Spain controlled most of northern South America as well as all of Central America, the larger Caribbean islands, and the South and Southwest of what is now the United States.

Perhaps the greatest of these ventures was the fantastic voyage of **Ferdinand Magellan**. Starting from Spain in 1519, his ships were the first to circumnavigate the world. A few survivors (not including the unlucky Magellan) limped back into Seville in 1522 and reported that the world was indeed round, as most educated people already thought.

Like the Portuguese, the Spaniards’ motives for exploration were mixed between a desire to convert non-Christians to the Roman Catholic Church and thus gain a strong advantage against the burgeoning Protestants (see Chapter 23) and the desire for wealth and social respectability. Land, too, was increasingly in short supply in Europe, especially for the younger offspring of the nobility and the landed gentry. Gold, God, glory, and acquiring land were the motives most frequently in play. By whatever motivation, however, the middle of the 1500s saw the Spanish adventurers creating an empire that reached as far as the Philippine Islands. In the terms of the royal charters granted to Columbus and his successors, the Spanish crown claimed the lion’s share of treasures found by the explorers. Indian gold and silver (*bullion*) thus poured into the royal treasury in Madrid. Those metals, in turn, allowed Spain to become the most powerful European state in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Unlike the Portuguese, the Spanish frequently came to stay at their overseas posts. Whereas the Portuguese were primarily interested in quick profits from the trade in luxury items from the East, the Spanish noble explorers were accompanied by priests, who set up missions among the Indians, and by a number of lowborn men (later women also), who were prepared to get rich more slowly. They did so by taking land and workers from among the native population.

Finding that *El Dorado* and the much-dreamed-of cities of gold and silver were mirages, the Spanish immigrants gradually created agricultural colonies in much of Middle and South America, using first Amerindian and then African slave labor. The Spanish colonies thus saw the growth of a multiracial society—Africans, Amerindians, and Europeans—in which the Europeans held the dominant political and social positions from the outset. The dominance of the whites was to assume increasing importance for the societies and economies of these lands both during their 300 years as colonies and later as independent states.

The African Slave Trade Opens

The European export of slaves from Africa commenced in the fifteenth century. When the Portuguese ventured down the West African coast, they quickly discovered that selling black house slaves to the European nobility could be a lucrative business, but the slave trade remained small in scale through the 1490s and began to grow only when slaves started to be shipped across the Atlantic. By the mid-1530s, Portugal had shipped moderate numbers of slaves to the Spanish Caribbean and to its own colony of Brazil, and the trans-Atlantic trade remained almost a Portuguese monopoly until into the next century. At that time, Dutch, French, and then English traders moved into the business and dominated it throughout its great expansion in the eighteenth century until its gradual abolition.

Few European women traveled to the Americas in the early years of colonization, so the Spaniards often married Amerindian or African women or kept them as concubines. As a result, *mestizos* (the offspring of Amerindians and whites) and *mulattos* (the children of Africans and whites) soon outnumbered Caucasians in many colonies. The same thing happened in Portuguese Brazil, where over time a huge number of African slaves were imported to till the sugarcane fields that provided that colony with its chief export. Here, the populace was commonly the offspring of Portuguese and African unions, rather than the Spanish-Indian mixture found to the north.

Dutch and English Merchant-Adventurers

Holland. When Portugal’s grip on its Indian Ocean trade began to falter, the Dutch Protestant merchants combined a fine eye for profit with religious zeal to fill the vacuum. In the late sixteenth century, the Netherlands gained independence from Spain. Controlling their own affairs after that, the bourgeois ship owners and merchants of the Dutch and Flemish towns quickly moved into the forefront of the race for trade. By the opening of the seventeenth century, Amsterdam and Antwerp were the major

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST



DAZZLED BY THE AZTEC CAPITAL, TENOCHTITLÁN

Bernal Díaz del Castillo joined the expedition of the *conquistador* Hernán Cortés in 1519 to search for gold on the Mexican mainland. After the conquest of the great Aztec Empire in 1521, he remained in Mexico, dying in Guatemala in 1581. Near the end, he wrote *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, an account of the conquest that included descriptions of the Aztec capitol of Tenochtitlán and its great king, Montezuma (or Moctezuma). The following are selections describing some of the wonders of the great island capital, which Díaz compared favorably with Venice, Italy.

EARLY next day . . . We proceeded along the Causeway which is here eight paces in width and runs so straight to the City of Mexico that it does not seem to me to turn either much or little, but, broad as it is, it was so crowded with people that there was hardly room for them all, some of them going to and others returning from Mexico, besides those who had come out to see us, so that we were hardly able to pass by the crowds of them that came; and the towers and [temples] were full of people as well as the canoes from all parts of the lake . . .

Gazing on such wonderful sights, we did not know what to say, or whether what appeared before us was real, for on one side, on the land, there were great cities, and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the Causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we did not even number four hundred soldiers!

Let us go on and speak of the skilled workmen he [Montezuma] employed in every craft that was practised among them. We will begin with lapidaries and workers in gold and silver and all the hollow work, which even the great goldsmiths in Spain were forced to admire, and of these there were a great number of the best in a town named Atzacapotzalco, a league from Mexico. Then for working precious stones and chalchihuites, which are like emeralds, there were other great artists. Let us go on to the great craftsmen in feather work, and painters and sculptors who were most refined; from what we see of their work to-day we can form a judgment of what they did then, for there are three Indians to-day in the City of Mexico named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz and El Crespillo, so skilful in their work as sculptors and painters, that had they lived in the days of the ancient and famous Apelles, or of [Michelangelo], in our times, they would be placed in the same company. Let us go on to the Indian women who did the weaving and the washing, who made such an immense quantity of fine fabrics with wonderful feather work designs; the greater part of it was brought daily from some towns of the province on the north coast near Vera Cruz called Cotaxtla, close by San Juan de Ulua, where we disembarked when we came with Cortés.

Further into the narrative, Díaz describes Montezuma's palaces:

. . . We must not forget the gardens of flowers and sweet-scented trees, and the many kinds that there were of them, and the arrangement of them and the walks, and the ponds and tanks of fresh water where the water entered at one end and flowed out at the other; and the baths which he had there, and the variety of small birds that nested in the branches, and the medicinal and useful herbs that were in the gardens. It was a wonder to see, and to take care of it there were many gardeners. Everything was made in masonry and well cemented, baths and walks and closets, and apartments like summer houses where they danced and sang. There was as much to be seen in these gardens as there was everywhere else . . .

. . . But today all that I then saw is overthrown and destroyed; nothing is left standing.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What about Tenochtitlán seems to have impressed Díaz the most? Why do you suppose that he was so surprised by what he witnessed?

Source: A. P. Maudslay, trans., Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*. (New York, 1956).



THE SLAVE SHIP. This engraving shows the usual arrangements for transport of black slaves in the Atlantic trade. Packed in close together with few or no sanitary facilities, death was common among the weakest. Occasionally, entire human cargoes were lost to outbreaks of contagious diseases.

Michael Graham-Stewart/The Bridgeman Art Library

destinations of Far Eastern shippers, and Lisbon had fallen into a secondary position.

Dutch interest in the eastern seas was straightforward and hard edged. They wanted to accumulate wealth by creating a monopoly of demand, buying shiploads of Southeast Asian luxury goods at low prices and selling the goods at high prices in Europe. Many of the Asian suppliers were Muslims, and their relationship with the Catholic Portuguese had been strained or hostile. They preferred to deal with the Dutch Protestants, who were simply businessmen with no desire to be missionaries. If the suppliers were for one or another reason reluctant to sell, the Dutch persuaded them by various means, usually involving Dutch superiority in naval gunnery.

The Dutch focused on the East Indies spice and luxury trade, but they also established settler colonies at Cape Town in South Africa, in New Amsterdam across the Atlantic, and on several islands in the Caribbean. These colonies were less attractive to the Dutch than trade and eventually surrendered to other powers, such as England. New Amsterdam became New York at the close of the first of two naval wars in the seventeenth century that made England the premier colonial power along the East Coast of the future United States.

How did such a small nation (Holland did not possess more than 2.5 million people at this juncture) carry out this vast overseas enterprise while it was struggling to free itself from its Spanish overlords? A chief reason for the Dutch success was the **Dutch East India Company**: A private firm chartered by the government in 1602, the company had a monopoly on Dutch trading in the Pacific. The company eventually took over the Portuguese spice and luxury trade in the East, which proved to be an enormous bonanza for its stockholders. A partnership would

be set up for one or more voyages, with both costs and profits split among the shareholders, while minimizing risks for all. The traders hired captains and crews who would be most likely to succeed in filling the ship's hold at minimal cost, whatever the means or consequences. Later in the seventeenth century, the focus of attention shifted from importing spices and luxury goods to the alluring profits to be made in the trans-Atlantic trade in African slaves.

England. The English colonial venture was slow in getting started. When the Portuguese and Spaniards were dividing up the newly discovered continent of America and the Far Eastern trade, England was just emerging from a lengthy struggle for dynastic power called the War of the Roses (see Chapter 21). Starting in the 1530s, the country was then preoccupied for a generation with the split from Rome under Henry VIII and its consequences (see Chapter 23). Then came the disappointing failure of Sir Walter Raleigh's "Lost Colony" on the Carolina coast in the 1580s and a war with Spain.

Only in the early 1600s did the English begin to enter the discovery and colonizing business in any systematic way. Like the Dutch, the English efforts were organized by private parties or groups and were not under the direction of the royal government. The London East India Company (often called the British East India Company), founded in 1600, is a good example. Similar to its Dutch counterpart, it was a private enterprise with wide political as well as commercial powers in dealing with foreigners and with its own military resources.

After two victorious wars against the Dutch in the 1650s and 1660s, the English were the world's leading naval power. The East Asian colonial trade was not important to them, however, and they soon gave up their attempts to penetrate the Dutch monopoly in East Indian luxuries, choosing to concentrate on India. (The only important English station in Southeast Asia was the great fortress port of Singapore, which was not acquired until the nineteenth century.)

English colonies in the seventeenth century were concentrated in North America and the Caribbean, and an odd mixture they were. The northern colonies were filled

with Protestant dissidents who could not abide the Anglican Church regime: Puritans, Congregationalists, and Quakers. Maryland was a refuge for persecuted Catholics. Virginia and the Carolinas began as real-estate speculations. They were essentially get-rich-quick schemes devised by nobles or wealthy commoners who thought they could sell off their American holdings to individual settlers at a fat profit. Georgia began as a noble experiment by a group of philanthropists who sought to give convicts a second chance.

Elsewhere, the English were less inclined to settle new lands than to make their fortunes pirating Spanish galleons or competing with the Dutch in the slave trade. What the Dutch had taken from the Portuguese, the English seized in part from the Dutch. This was equally true in the New World, where the English and French superseded the Dutch challenge to Portuguese and Spanish hegemony in the Caribbean in the eighteenth century.

France. The colonial empire of France parallels that of England. While they were relatively late in entering the race, the French sought overseas possessions and/or trade factories throughout the world to support their prospering domestic economy. From Canada (as early as 1608) to the west coast of Africa (as early as 1639) and India (in the early eighteenth century), the servants of the Bourbon kings contested both their Catholic coreligionists (Portugal, Spain) and their Protestant rivals (Holland, Britain) for mercantile advantage and the extension of royal powers. Thus, the French, too, reflected the seventeenth-century trend of allowing state policies to be dictated more by secular interests than by religious adherences.

MERCANTILISM

During this epoch, governments attempted to control their economies through a process later termed **mercantilism**. Under mercantilism, the chief goal of economic policy was a favorable balance of trade, with the value of a country's exports exceeding the cost of its imports. To achieve this goal, the royal government constantly intervened in the market and attempted to secure advantage for itself and the population at large by carefully supervising every aspect of commerce and investment. The practice reached its highest development in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, but it was subscribed to almost everywhere.

As for colonial policy, mercantilism held that only goods and services that originated in the home country could be (legally) exported to the colonies and that the colonies' exports must go to the home country for use there or reexport. Thus, the colonies' most essential functions were to serve as captive markets for home-country producers and to provide raw materials at low cost for home-country importers.

THE COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE

The coming of the Europeans to the New World resulted in important changes in the resources, habits, and values of both the Amerindians and the whites. Scholars call this the Columbian Exchange. Among the well-known introductions by the Europeans to the Western Hemisphere were horses, pigs, cattle, sheep, and goats; iron; firearms; sailing ships; and, less tangibly, the entire system of economics we call capitalism.

But the Columbian Exchange had another side: a reverse flow of products and influences from the Americas to Europe and through Europe to the other continents. Educated Europeans after about 1520 became aware of how huge and relatively unknown the Earth was and how varied the peoples inhabiting it were. This knowledge came as a surprise to many Europeans, and they were eager to learn more. The literature of discovery and exploration became extraordinarily popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

From this literature, Europeans learned, among other things, that the Christian moral code was but one of several; that the natural sciences were not of overwhelming interest or importance to most of humanity; that an effective education could take myriad forms and have myriad goals; and that viewpoints formed by tradition and habit are not necessarily correct, useful, or the only conceivable ones. Initially just curious about the Earth's other inhabitants, upper-class Europeans gradually began to develop a certain tolerance for other peoples' views and habits. This tolerance slowly deepened in the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth century as Europe emerged from its religious wars. The previously favored view that unknown peoples were probably *anthropophagi* (man eaters) began giving way to the concept of the "noble savage," whose unspoiled morality might put the sophisticated European to shame.

Contacts with the Americas also led to changes in Europe. Some crops such as sugarcane and coffee that were already known in Europe but could not be grown profitably there were found to prosper in the New World. Their cultivation formed the basis for the earliest plantations in the Caribbean basin and the introduction of slavery into the New World. In addition, a series of new crops were introduced to the European, Asian, and African diets. Tobacco, several varieties of beans and peas, potatoes, squashes, rice, maize, bananas, manioc, and other agricultural products stemmed originally from American or Far Eastern lands. First regarded as novelties—much like the occasional Indian or African visitor—these crops came to be used as food and fodder.

The most important for Europe was the white (or Irish) potato, an Andean native, which was initially considered fit only for cattle and pigs but was gradually adopted by northern Europeans in the eighteenth century. By the end of that

century, the potato had become the most important part of the peasants' diet in several countries. The potato was the chief reason European farms were able to feed the spectacular increase in population that started in the later 1700s.

So much additional coinage was put into circulation in Europe from the Mexican and Peruvian silver mines that it generated massive inflation. In the seventeenth century, the Spanish court used the silver to pay army suppliers, shipyards, and soldiers; and from their hands, it went on into the general economy. Spain suffered most in the long run from the inflation its bullion imports caused. Moreover, with its tiny middle class and ideological opposition to the new sciences, Spain resisted technological innovation and industrialization. So when the rest of Europe began industrializing, Spanish gold and silver went into the pockets of foreign suppliers, carriers, and artisans rather than into domestic investments or business. This situation would prove fateful in the next century.

In a period of inflation, when money becomes cheap and goods or services become dear, people who can convert their wealth quickly to goods and services are in an enviable position. Those whose wealth is illiquid and cannot be easily converted are at a disadvantage. As a result, the landholders—many of whom were nobles who thought it beneath them to pay attention to money matters—lost economic strength. The middle classes, who could sell their services and expertise at rising rates, did well. Best off were the merchants, who could buy cheap and sell at higher prices. But even the unskilled or skilled workers in the towns were in a relatively better position than the landlords: Wages rose about as fast as prices in this century.

In many feudal-remnant areas, where serfs paid token rents in return for small parcels of arable land, the landlord was dealt a heavy blow. Prices rose for everything the noble landlords needed and wanted, while their rents, sanctioned by centuries of custom, remained about the same. Many of them had been living beyond their means for generations, borrowing money wherever they could with land as security. Unaware of the reasons for the economic changes and unable to anticipate the results, many landlords faced disaster during the later sixteenth century and could not avoid bankruptcy when their long-established mortgages were called. Much land changed hands at this time, from impoverished nobles to peasants or to the newly rich from the towns. Serfdom in the traditional pattern became impractical or unprofitable. Already weakened by long-term changes in European society, serfdom was abolished in most of western Europe.

EUROPEAN IMPACTS ON THE WORLD AND VICE VERSA

How strong was the European impact on the Amerindian cultures of the Western Hemisphere and on the peoples of the Far East, sub-Saharan Africa, and the Pacific Rim? His-

torians agree that it was enormous in some areas but much less so in others. The trading factories of the Portuguese and others on the African and Asian coasts had minimal impacts on the lives of the peoples of the interior. Only in exceptional circumstances was the presence of the Europeans a prominent factor in local people's consciousness. Even in the areas most directly affected by slaving such as Senegambia, the Nigerian delta, and Angola, the consensus of recent scholarly opinion holds that there was considerable variation, largely depending on local traditions, demography, and political circumstances. In many cases, the slave trade undermined social and political structures and destroyed entire civilizations, such as Kongo and Ngola. In other locations like Dahomey and the tiny states of the Niger Delta, new societies were created that depended on the trade. Almost everywhere, however, the commerce in human beings took away the youngest and most productive members of African societies, raised the frequency and level of violent conflict, and destroyed local craft production.

Spain's American settler colonies and Brazil were quite different in these respects. Here the intruders quickly and radically terminated existing Amerindian authority structures, replacing them with Spanish/Portuguese models. In this economy, the *encomienda* estates on which Amerindians were forced to live and toil replaced the villages with their free labor. Although the *encomiendas* were soon abolished, Spanish and Portuguese exploitation of helpless Amerindians and Africans continued on tobacco and sugar plantations, which replaced gold and silver mines.

As with the exchanges in agricultural products, the stream of external influences was not simply one way—from Europe to the rest of the world. In the Americas, a noticeable degree of change was wrought in the Spanish and Portuguese culture by prolonged exposure to Amerindian and African habits and attitudes. An example would be the adoption of maize culture by the mestizo and Spanish populations in Mexico. Another would be the incorporation of Amerindian irrigation techniques.

In another part of the early imperial world created by the voyages of discovery, the architecture of the Dutch colonial town of Batavia (Jakarta) was soon converted from the trim and tight homes and warehouses of blustery Amsterdam to the different demands of the Javanese climate.

Perhaps it is most accurate to say that in the settler colonies of the Western Hemisphere and South Africa, the local peoples were extensively and sometimes disastrously affected by the arrival of the whites, but in the rest of the world, including most of sub-Saharan Africa, the Asian mainland, and the South Pacific islands, the Europeans were less disruptive to the existing state of affairs. Sometimes local peoples even succeeded in manipulating the Europeans to their own advantage, as in West Africa and Mughal India. This would remain true until the nineteenth century. Promoted by industrialization at that time, the European impacts multiplied, became more profound,

and changed in nature so as to subordinate the indigenous peoples in every sense.

The Fate of the Amerindians

By far the worst human consequences of the European expansion were the tragic fates imposed on the native Amerindians of the Caribbean and Hispanic America in the first century of Spanish conquest (see Evidence of the Past box). Although the Spanish crown imposed several regulatory measures to protect the Indians after 1540, little could be done to inhibit the spread of epidemic disease (measles and influenza, as well as the major killer, smallpox) in the Amerindian villages. As a general rule, because they had not been exposed to childhood diseases like measles and smallpox, the immune systems of the Amerindians were unable to cope with the diseases brought by the newcomers, whereas the Spaniards were much less affected by the Amerindian maladies. (Which ethnic group is responsible for the appearance of syphilis is much argued.)

Smallpox was a particular curse. The population of Mexico, which was perhaps as high as 20 million at the coming of Cortés, was reduced to 2 million only sixty years later, largely as a result of smallpox epidemics. On the Caribbean islands, few Amerindians survived into the seventeenth century in Cuba and the smaller islands. The same story repeated itself in the viceroyalty of Peru, where as many as 80 percent of the native population died in the sixteenth century. Only in modern times have the Amerindians recovered from this unprecedented disaster.

Racism's Beginnings

Africans came into European society for the first time in appreciable numbers during the fifteenth century. At that time, the first faint signs of white racism appeared. The first slaves from Africa were introduced to Europe through Muslim channels. Their rich owners mostly regarded them as novelties, and they were kept as tokens of wealth or artistic taste. Some free black people lived in Mediterranean Europe, where they worked as sailors, musicians, and actors, but they were not numerous enough for the average European to have any firsthand contact.

Many Europeans thought of black people in terms dictated either by the Bible or by Muslim prejudices imbibed unconsciously over time. The biblical references were generally negative: Black was the color of the sinful, the opposite of light in the world. “Black hearted,” “a black scoundrel,” and “black intentions” are a few examples of the mental connection that was made between the color black and everything evil and contemptible. The Arab slave traders in both West and East Africa who supplied some of the European as well as the Asiatic markets were another source of prejudice. They were contemptuous of non-Muslim Africans of western Sudan or the East

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African coast in whose flesh they had dealt for centuries before the European trade began. These merchants' point of view was easily transferred to their Italian and Portuguese partners. However, once the European slave trade became big business in the seventeenth century, white racism became the mental cornerstone of a pervasive and viciously exploitative slave-based economy in many parts of the Western Hemisphere.



AZTEC SMALLPOX EPIDEMIC. When Europeans arrived in the Western Hemisphere, they introduced diseases to which they were immune but to which Native Americans had no natural defenses. This sixteenth-century illustration depicts Aztecs dying of smallpox following the arrival of Hernán Cortés and his Spanish army in 1519.

SUMMARY

THE EXPLOSIVE WIDENING OF EUROPE'S horizons in the sixteenth century, in both the geographic sense and the psychological sense, was one side of the Columbian Exchange. First the Portuguese and the Spanish created their colonial empires—then the Dutch, the English, and the French after them. The original objective of the government-funded explorers was to find new, more secure trade routes to the East, but soon their motives changed to a mixture of enrichment, missionary activity, and prestige: gold, God, and glory.

The import of great quantities of precious metals created severe inflation and promoted the rise of the business/commercial classes. The discovery of customs and values that were different from those of Europeans gradually

induced Europeans to adopt new attitudes of tolerance. The overseas expansion also added important new foods to the European diet.

For the non-Western hosts, this colonial and commercial outreach had mainly negative consequences, although circumstances varied from place to place. The most devastating effects were certainly in Spain's American colonies, where the indigenous peoples were almost wiped out by disease and oppression. In West Africa, East Africa, and the Asian mainland, the European trading presence had little overall effect on ordinary life at this time. Racism's beginnings, however, can be traced to its roots in the African slave trade commencing in this era.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Columbian Exchange
Dutch East India Company
Ferdinand Magellan

mercantilism
Prince Henry the Navigator
Vasco da Gama

For Further Reflection

1. Considering the technological advantages that Asian civilizations had over those of Europe, what reasons might explain why it was Europeans and not Asians

who embarked on world-girdling voyages of discovery? In fact, is there any evidence that Asians did attempt such voyages? What became of them?

2. Once Europeans “discovered” the Americas, what did they hope to find? Why did they not have expectations of discovering great mineral resources in Asia? What about Africa?
3. On what parts of the world did European expansion have fewer effects than it did on others? Why do you think this was the case?
4. Was there, or had there ever been, a “Columbian-like Exchange” among the civilizations of Eurasia and Africa? In thinking about other or previous movements of people, ideas, and resources, what, if anything, was different about the Columbian Exchange?
5. Why did African contact with Europeans not cause plagues among them as it did among Native Americans?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century voyages of exploration were stimulated mainly by
 - a. European curiosity about other peoples.
 - b. the determination to obtain more farming land for a growing population.
 - c. the individual explorers' hopes of enrichment.
 - d. the discovery that the Earth was in fact a sphere without “ends.”
 - e. new technology.
2. Which of the following was not proved by Magellan's epic voyage?
 - a. The globe was more compact than had been believed.
 - b. The globe was indeed spherical.
 - c. A sea passage existed south of the tip of South America.
 - d. The islands called “Spice Lands” could be reached from the East.
 - e. The journey was a long and difficult one.
3. Which of the following nations was most persistently committed to converting the natives of the newly discovered regions to Christianity?
 - a. Spain
 - b. Holland
 - c. England
 - d. Portugal
 - e. France
4. What is the correct sequence of explorer-traders in the Far East?
 - a. Spanish, English, French
 - b. Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch
 - c. Dutch, English, Spanish
 - d. Portuguese, Dutch, English
 - e. Spanish, Portuguese, English
5. The first to engage in the slave trade were the
 - a. Dutch.
 - b. Portuguese.
 - c. Danes.
 - d. English.
 - e. Spanish.
6. Which of the following reasons was least likely to be the motive for a Dutch captain's voyage of discovery?
 - a. A desire to deal the Roman Church a blow
 - b. A search for personal enrichment
 - c. A quest to find another lifestyle for himself in a foreign land
 - d. The intention of establishing trade relations with a new partner
 - e. The desire to serve as a middleman between East Asia and Europe
7. Mercantilism aimed first of all at
 - a. securing financial rewards for the entrepreneurs.
 - b. allowing the impoverished a chance of rising in society.
 - c. bringing maximum income to the royal throne.
 - d. securing a favorable balance of foreign trade.
 - e. developing a wide range of products for export.
8. Which proved to be the most important of the various new foods introduced into European diets by the voyages of discovery?
 - a. Tomatoes
 - b. Rice
 - c. Potatoes
 - d. Coffee
 - e. Wheat
9. The sixteenth-century inflation affected which group most negatively?
 - a. Landholding nobles
 - b. Urban merchants
 - c. Wage laborers
 - d. Skilled white-collar workers
 - e. Church officials
10. The most devastating effects on the native population brought about by European discovery occurred in
 - a. India.
 - b. Latin America.
 - c. West Africa.
 - d. Southeast Asia.
 - e. North America.



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Religious Division and Political Consolidation in Europe

LUTHER AND THE GERMAN NATIONAL CHURCH

Luther's Beliefs

CALVIN AND INTERNATIONAL PROTESTANTISM

OTHER EARLY PROTESTANT FAITHS

The Church of England

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

RELIGIOUS WARS AND THEIR OUTCOMES TO 1600

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The Spanish Netherlands

THE LEGACY OF THE REFORMATION

THE BIRTH OF THE NATION-STATE

The Thirty Years' War

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ROYAL ABSOLUTISM

French Government Under Louis XIV

Strengths and Weaknesses of French Absolutism

REVOLT AGAINST ROYAL ABSOLUTISM:

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Civil War: Cromwell's Commonwealth

Restoration and the Glorious Revolution of 1688

POLITICAL THEORY: HOBBS AND LOCKE

ABSOLUTISM EAST OF THE ELBE

Prussia's Rise

The Habsburg Domains

RUSSIA UNDER THE TSARS

I have often been resolved to live uprightly, and to lead a true godly life, and to set everything aside that would hinder this, but it was far from being put in execution. I am not able to effect that good which I intend.

—Martin Luther

1517	Posting of the Ninety-five Theses
1534	Act of Supremacy (England)
1540s	Calvinism spreads through much of Europe
1588	English defeat Spanish Armada
1593	Henry IV restores peace in France
1618–1648	Thirty Years' War; Treaty of Westphalia
1649–1651	Civil War in England
1653–1658	England under Oliver Cromwell's Commonwealth
1660	Restoration of Charles II in England
1661–1715	Reign of Louis XIV in France
1688–1689	Glorious Revolution; William and Mary
1533–1584	Ivan IV, the Terrible (Russia)
1640–1688	Frederick William, the Great Elector (Prussia)
1682–1724	Peter I, the Great (Russia)
1713–1740	Frederick William I (Prussia)
1740–1786	Frederick II, the Great (Prussia)
1740–1748	War of the Austrian Succession
1740–1780	Maria Theresa (Austria)
1756–1763	Seven Years' War

THE SPLIT IN CHRISTIAN BELIEF and church organization that is termed the Protestant **Reformation** brought enormous consequences in its wake. Its beginning coincided with the high point of the Era of Discovery by Europeans. Taken together, these developments provide the basis for dividing Western civilization's history into the premodern and modern eras around 1500.

LUTHER AND THE GERMAN NATIONAL CHURCH

The upheaval called the Reformation of the early sixteenth century had its roots in political and social developments as much as in religious disputes. The longstanding arguments within the Christian community had already led to rebellions against the Roman Catholic Church on several occasions. In the major instances in thirteenth-century France, fourteenth-century England, and fifteenth-century Bohemia, religious rebels (the official term is *heretics*, or “wrong thinkers”) had battled the papal church. Eventually, all of them had been suppressed or driven underground. But now, in sixteenth-century Germany, **Martin Luther** (1483–1546) found an enthusiastic reception for his challenges to Rome among the majority of his fellow Germans.

Why was the church in the German lands particularly susceptible to the call for reform? The disintegration of the German medieval kingdom had been followed by the birth of dozens of separate little principalities and city-states, such as Hamburg and Frankfurt, that could not well resist the encroachments of the powerful papacy in their internal affairs. Many of the German rulers were angry at seeing the tax funds they needed sometimes used for goals they did not support. These rulers were eagerly searching for some popular basis to challenge Rome. They found it in the teachings of Martin Luther.

In 1517, a major indulgence sales campaign opened in Germany under even more scandalous pretexts than usual. Much of the money raised was destined to be used to pay off a debt incurred by an ambitious noble churchman, rather than for any ecclesiastical purpose. Observing what was happening, on October 31, 1517, the chaplain at Wittenberg University's church, Martin Luther, announced his discontent by posting the famous **Ninety-five Theses** on his church door. In these questions, Luther raised objections to papal indulgences and to the whole doctrine of papal supremacy.

Luther's Beliefs

Luther's youth had been a long struggle against the conviction that he was damned to hell. Intensive study of the Bible eventually convinced him that only through the freely given grace of a merciful God might he, or any person, reach immortal salvation.



Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy/Bridgeman Art Library

MARTIN LUTHER. This contemporary portrait by Lucas V. Cranach is generally considered to be an accurate rendition of the great German church reformer in midlife. Both the strengths and weaknesses of Luther's peasant character are revealed.

The Catholic Church, on the other hand, taught that humans must manifest their Christian faith by doing good works and leading good lives. If they did so, they might be considered to have earned a heavenly future. Martin Luther believed that faith alone was the factor through which Christians might reach bliss in the afterlife. It is this doctrine of **justification by faith** that most clearly distinguishes Lutheranism from the papal teachings.

As the meaning of Luther's statements penetrated into the clerical hierarchy, he was implored, then commanded, to cease. Instead, his confidence rose, and in a series of brilliantly forceful pamphlets written in the German vernacular, he explained his views to a rapidly increasing audience. By 1520, he was becoming a household word among educated people and even among the peasantry.

He was excommunicated in 1521 by the pope for refusing to recant, and in the same year, Emperor Charles V declared him an outlaw.

Threatened by the imperial and papal officials, Luther found the protection of the ruler of Saxony, as well as much of the German princely class. With this protection and encouragement, Luther's teachings spread rapidly, aided by the newly invented printing press and by the power and conviction of his sermons and writings. By the mid-1520s, Lutheran congregations, rejecting the papal authority, had sprung up throughout most of Germany and Scandinavia.

CALVIN AND INTERNATIONAL PROTESTANTISM

It was not Luther, the German miner's son, but **John Calvin** (1509–1564), the French lawyer, who made the Protestant movement an international theological



Collection of Albert Rilliet, Geneva, Switzerland/Lauros/Graudon/Bridgeman Art Library

JOHN CALVIN. This Swiss portrait of the “pope of Geneva” in his younger days depicts Calvin in a fur neckpiece. This bit of bourgeois indulgence probably would not have been worn by an older Calvin.

rebellion against Rome. Luther always saw himself as a specifically German patriot, as well as a pious Christian. Calvin, on the contrary, detached himself from national feeling and saw himself as the emissary and servant of a God who ruled all nations. Luther wanted the German Christian body to be cleansed of papal corruption; Calvin wanted the entire Christian community to be made over into the image of what he thought God intended.

Calvin believed that the papal church was hopelessly distorted. It must be obliterated, and new forms and practices (which were supposedly a return to the practices of early Christianity) must be introduced. In *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), Calvin set out his beliefs and doctrines with the precision and clarity of a lawyer. His most dramatic change from Rome and Luther was his insistence that God predestined souls. That is, a soul was meant either for heaven or hell for all eternity. Calvin believed that humanity had been eternally stained by Adam's sin and that most souls were destined for hellfire. Those who were not were God's **Elect**.

Despite its doctrinal fierceness, Calvin's message found a response throughout Europe. By the 1540s, Calvinists were appearing in Germany, the Netherlands, Scotland, England, and France, as well as Switzerland. Geneva had become the Protestant Rome, with Calvin serving as its priestly ruler until his death in 1564.

More than Lutherans, the Calvinists thought of the entire community, lay and clerical alike, as equal members of the church on Earth. Calvinists also insisted on the power of the congregation to select and discharge pastors at will, inspired by God's word. They never established a hierarchy of clerics. There were no Calvinist bishops but only presbyters, or elected elders, who spoke for their fellow parishioners in regional or national assemblies. The government of the church thus included both clerical and lay leaders. The combination gave the church's pronouncements great political as well as moral force.

By around 1570, Calvin's followers had gained control of the Christian community in several places: the Dutch-speaking Netherlands, Scotland, western France, and parts of northern Germany and Poland. In the rest of France, as well as Austria, Hungary, and England, they were still a minority, but a growing one. Whereas Lutheranism was confined to the German-speaking countries and Scandinavia and did not spread much after 1550 or so, Calvinism was an international faith that appealed to all nations and identified with none. Carried on the ships of the Dutch and English explorers and emigrants of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it continued to spread throughout the modern world.



THE CALVINIST CHURCH. This painting is by a Dutch sixteenth-century master, Hendrik van Steenwyck, who portrays the “purified” interior of the Antwerp cathedral after it was taken over by Calvinists.

the pope than as good English patriots. As we have seen, a group called the Lollards had already rebelled in the 1300s against the clerical claims to sole authority in interpreting the word of God and papal supremacy. The movement had been put down, but its memory persisted in many parts of England.

But it was the peculiar marital problems of **King Henry VIII** (1490–1547) that finally brought the church in England into conflict with Rome. Henry needed a male successor, but his elderly

Spanish wife Catherine had failed to produce one. Therefore, he wanted to have the marriage annulled by the pope (who alone had that power) so that he could marry some young Englishwoman who might produce the desired heir.

The pope refused the annulment because he did not wish to impair the close alliance of the Catholic Church with the Spanish monarchy. Between 1532 and 1534, Henry took the matter into his own hands. He intimidated Parliament into declaring him the “only supreme head of the church in England”—the **Act of Supremacy of 1534**. Now, as head of the **Anglican** (English Protestant) **Church**, Henry proceeded to put away his unwanted wife and marry the tragic Anne Boleyn. Much other legislation followed that asserted that the monarch, and not the Roman pope, was the determiner of what the church could and could not do in England. Henry went on to marry and divorce several more times before his death in 1547, but he did secure a son, the future King Edward VI, from one of these unhappy alliances. Two daughters also survived: the half-sisters Mary and Elizabeth.

Henry’s Successors. Henry’s actions changed English religious beliefs very little, although the Calvinist reformation was gaining ground in both England and Scotland. But under the sickly boy-king Edward (ruling 1547–1553), Protestant views became dominant among the English governing group, and the powerful oratory of John Knox led the Scots into Calvinism (the Presbyterian Church).

At Edward’s death in 1553, popular support for Mary (ruling 1553–1558), the Catholic daughter of Henry VIII’s first, Spanish Catholic wife, was too strong to be

OTHER EARLY PROTESTANT FAITHS

The followers of a radical sect called **Anabaptists** (“rebaptizers”) were briefly a threat to both Catholics and Lutherans, but both groups put them down with extreme cruelty. The Anabaptists originated in Switzerland and spread rapidly throughout German Europe. They believed in adult baptism, a priesthood of all believers, and a primitive communism that included sharing of worldly possessions. After their efforts to establish a republic in the Rhineland city of Münster were bloodily suppressed, the Anabaptists were driven underground. Their beliefs continued to evolve, and they emerged much later in the New World as Mennonites, Amish, and similar groups.

Yet another Protestant creed emerged early in Switzerland. Founded by **Ulrich Zwingli** (1484–1531), it was generally similar to Lutheran belief. The inability of Zwingli’s adherents and the Lutherans to cooperate left Zwingli’s stronghold in Zurich open to attack by the Catholic Swiss. This use of bloody force to settle religious strife was an ominous note. It was to become increasingly common as Protestant beliefs spread and undermined the traditional religious structures.

The Church of England

The reform movement in England had its origins in the widespread popular resentment against Rome and the higher clergy, who were viewed as more the tools of

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A PROTESTANT VIEW OF THE POPE. Clothed in hellish splendor and hung about with the horrible symbols of Satan, the Roman pope is revealed for all to see in this sixteenth-century cartoon.

overridden by the Protestant party at court. Mary proved to be a single-minded adherent of the papal church, and she restored Catholicism to its official status during her brief reign. Protestant conspirators were put to death—hence, she is called “Bloody Mary” by English Protestants.

Finally, the confused state of the English official religion was gradually cleared by the political skills of Mary’s successor, Elizabeth I (ruling 1558–1603). She ruled for half a century with great success. She arrived at a compromise between the Roman and Protestant doctrines, which was accepted by a steadily increasing majority and came to be termed the *Church of England*. It retained the bishops, rituals, and sacraments of the Roman Church, but its head was the English monarch, who appointed the bishops and their chief, the archbishop of Canterbury. However, the strict Calvinists, called **Puritans**, were not happy with this arrangement and wished to “purify” the church by removing all remnants of popery.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

Belatedly realizing what a momentous challenge was being mounted, the papacy finally came to grips with the problem of Protestantism in a positive fashion during the 1540s. Pope Paul III (serving 1534–1549) moved to counter some of the excesses that had given the Roman authorities a bad name and set up a high-level commission to see what might be done to “clean up” the clergy. Eventually, the church decided to pursue two major lines of counterattack against the Protestants: a thorough examination of doctrines and practices—such as had not been attempted for more than 1,000 years—combined with an entirely novel emphasis on instruction of the young and education of all Christians in the precepts of their religion. These measures together are known as the **Counter-Reformation**.

The *Council of Trent* (1545–1563) was the first general attempt to examine the church’s basic doctrines and goals since the days of the Roman Empire. Meeting for three lengthy sessions, the bishops and theologians decided that Protestant attacks could be met by clearly defining what Catholics believed. But the council’s work had an unintended negative effect on the desired reunification of Christianity: The doctrinal lines separating Catholic and Protestant were now firmly drawn, and they could not be ignored or blurred by the many individuals in both camps who had been trying to arrange a compromise.

The founding of the **Jesuit Order** was the most striking example of the second aspect of the Counter-Reformation. In 1540, Pope Paul III accorded to the Spanish nobleman **Ignatius of Loyola** (1491–1556) the right to organize an entirely new religious group, which he termed the *Society of Jesus*, or *Jesuits*. Their mission was to win, or win back, the minds and hearts of humanity for the Catholic Church through patient, careful instruction that would bring to everyone the word of God and of his deputy on Earth, the pope. Furthermore, the *Index* of forbidden books was created and the Inquisition was revived to ensure that no Catholic deviated from that doctrine (Chapter 20). These institutions greatly expanded the church’s powers to censor the writings and supervise the beliefs of its adherents. Both became steadily more important in Catholic countries during the next century.

RELIGIOUS WARS AND THEIR OUTCOMES TO 1600

The Counter-Reformation stiffened the Catholics’ will to resist Protestants’ attacks, which had almost overwhelmed the unprepared Roman authorities. By 1555, the **Peace of Augsburg** had concluded a ten-year civil war by dividing Germany into Catholic and Lutheran parcels, but it made no allowances for the growing number of Calvinists or other Protestants.

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

ELIZABETH I OF ENGLAND (1533–1603)

In the late sixteenth century, England became for the first time a power to be reckoned with in world affairs. What had been an island kingdom with little direct influence on any other country except its immediate neighbors across the Channel gradually reached equality with the other major Western military and naval powers: France and Spain. But England's achievement was not just in military affairs. It also experienced a magnificent flowering of the arts and a solid advance in the economy, which finally lifted the nation out of the long depression that had followed the fourteenth-century plague and the long, losing war with France.

The guiding spirit for this comeback was Elizabeth I, queen of England from 1558 until her death in 1603. The daughter of Henry VIII and his second wife, the ill-fated Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth emerged from a heavily shadowed girlhood to become one of the most beloved of British lawgivers. Elizabeth was an intelligent, well-educated woman with gifts in several domains. One of her most remarkable achievements was that she managed to retain her powers without a husband, son, or father in the still very-male-oriented world in which she moved.

Born in 1533, she was only three years old when her mother was executed. She was declared illegitimate by order of the disappointed Henry, who had wished for a son. But after her father's death, Parliament established her as third in line to the throne, behind her half-brother, Edward, and her Catholic half-sister, Mary. During Mary's reign (1553–1558), Elizabeth was imprisoned for a time, but she was careful to stay clear of the hectic Protestant-Catholic struggles of the day. By so doing, she managed to stay alive until she could become ruler in her own right.

Her rule began amid many internal dangers. The Catholic party in England opposed her as a suspected Protestant. The Calvinists opposed her as being too much like her father Henry, who never accepted Protestant theology. The Scots were becoming rabid Calvinists who despised the English's halfway measures in religious affairs. On top of this, the government was deeply in debt.

Elizabeth showed great insight in selecting her officials and maintained good relations with Parliament. She conducted

diplomatic affairs with farsightedness and found she could use her status as an unmarried queen to definite advantage.

Philip of Spain, widower of her half-sister, Mary, made several proposals of marriage and political unity that Elizabeth cleverly held off without ever quite saying no. She kept England out of the religious wars that were raging in various parts of Europe for most of her reign, but in one of these wars, against her ex-suitor Philip, the Virgin Queen led her people most memorably.

In 1588, after long negotiations failed, Philip sent the Spanish Armada to punish England for aiding the rebellious Dutch Calvinists across the Channel. The queen rallied her sailors in a stirring visit before the battle. The resulting defeat of the Armada not only signaled England's rise to naval equality with Spain but also made Elizabeth the most popular monarch England had ever seen.

A golden age of English literature coincided with Elizabeth's rule, thanks in some part to her active support of all the arts. Her well-known vanity induced her to spend large sums to ensure the splendor of her court despite her equally well-known miserliness. The Elizabethan Age produced Shakespeare, Marlowe, Spenser, and Bacon. By the end of the sixteenth century, English literature for the first time could hold a place of honor in any assembly of national arts.

Elizabeth's version of Protestant belief—the Church of England—proved acceptable to most of her subjects and finally settled the stormy

waves of sixteenth-century English church affairs. By the end of her long reign, “Good Queen Bess” had become a stock phrase that most people believed in, from barons to peasants.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Given that an unmarried queen was considered a political risk, what reasons of state could have impelled Elizabeth to remain “the Virgin Queen”? What political capital did she make out of creating the hybrid Church of England that otherwise would have been denied her?



ELIZABETH I OF ENGLAND. The Armada Portrait, perhaps the most famous, was painted by an anonymous artist in the late sixteenth century. Elizabeth was vain, despite being no beauty, and was always receptive to flattery, without in the least being influenced by it in matters of state.

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MAP 23.1 Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox Christians in Europe by 1550

The radical sects included Unitarians in eastern Europe, Anabaptists in Bohemia and Germany, and Waldensians in France. All of these rejected the idea of a privileged clergy and a priestly hierarchy, and all were vigorously persecuted by the authorities. Find the Ottoman Empire on the map.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What was the official religion in this part of Europe? According to the map, what other faith was important in the part shown? Why do you suppose this was true?



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

In the rest of Europe, the picture was mixed by the late 1500s (see Map 23.1). England went through several changes of religious leadership, but it eventually emerged with a special sort of Protestant belief as its official religion. Scandinavia became Lutheran in its entirety, almost without violence. Austria, Hungary, and Poland remained mostly Catholic, but with large minorities of Calvinists and Lutherans. Spain and Italy had successfully repelled the Protestant challenge. Russia and southeastern Europe remained almost unaffected, being either hostile to both varieties of Western Christianity (Russia) or under the political control of Muslims. In two countries, however, the issue of religious affiliation was in hot dispute and caused much bloodshed in the later 1500s.

France

France remained officially Catholic but developed a large Calvinist minority among the nobility and the urbanites. For a brief time, the Catholic monarchs and the Calvinists attempted to live with one another, but costly religious wars began in the 1570s that threatened to wreck the country.

After some years, the Calvinists found a politician of genius, Henry of Navarre, who profited from the assassination of his Catholic rival to become King Henry IV of France. In 1593, he agreed to accept Catholicism to win the support of most French. He became the most popular king in French history. His Protestant upbringing inspired the Calvinist minority to trust him, and he did not disappoint them.

In 1598, Henry made the first significant European attempt at religious toleration by issuing the **Edict of Nantes**. It gave the million-or-so French Calvinists—the Huguenots—freedom to worship, to hold office, and to fortify their towns. The Edict held for the better part of a century, during which France rose to become the premier power in Europe.

The Spanish Netherlands

The Spanish Netherlands (modern Holland and Belgium) were ruled from Madrid by the powerful King Philip II. He had inherited an empire that included Spain, much of Italy, and the Low Countries in Europe, plus the enormous Spanish overseas empire begun by the voyages of Columbus. Philip was a man with a mission, or rather two

missions: the reestablishment of Catholicism among Protestants and the defeat of the Ottomans. These missions imposed heavy demands on Spanish resources, which even the flow of gold and silver out of the American colonies could not fully cover. Generally successful in his wars against the Ottomans, Philip could not handle a revolt in the Netherlands that broke out in the 1560s. The Netherlands were a hotbed of both Lutheran and Calvinist doctrines, and its large middle class was much disturbed at the Spanish aliens' attempt to enforce on them the Counter-Reformation and papal supremacy.

Thanks to Spanish overextension, the revolt held Philip's feared professional army at bay. While Philip saw himself as the agent of legitimacy and the Counter-Reformation, the English aided the Dutch rebels militarily and financially. The English support was partly based on religious affinity, but even more on their fear of Spanish wealth and power.

In the mid-1580s, the friction came to a head. Philip became incensed at the execution of the Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots, by order of Elizabeth, who had imprisoned this rival for England's throne. With the reluctant support of the pope, Philip prepared the vast Armada of 1588 to invade England and reconquer that country for the "True Church."

The devastating defeat of the Armada gave a great boost to the Protestant cause everywhere: It relieved the pressure on the Huguenots to accept Catholic overlordship in France, it saved the Dutch Calvinists until they could gain full independence some decades later, and it marked the emergence of England as a major power. Spain remained the premier military power long after the Armada disaster, but the country in a sense never recovered from this event. Henceforth, the other powers were able to keep Spain in check until its inherent economic weaknesses reduced it to a second-line nation by the end of the seventeenth century.

THE LEGACY OF THE REFORMATION

The Protestant movement made a deep impression on the general course of history in Europe for centuries. It is one of the chief reasons European history is conventionally divided into "modern" versus "medieval" around 1500. The religious unity of all western Europe under the Roman pope was irrevocably shattered, and with the end of such unity inevitably came political and cultural conflicts. For a century and a half after Luther's defiance of the papal command to be silent, much of Europe was engaged in internal acrimony that wracked the continent from the Netherlands to Hungary.

Some of the other long-term cultural changes that resulted from the Reformation included the following:

1. *Higher literacy and the beginning of mass education.* In much of Protestant Europe in particular, the exhortation to learn and obey Scripture provided an incentive to read that the common folk had never

had before. The rapid spread of printing after 1520 accelerated this change even more.

2. *Emphasis on individual moral responsibility.* Rejecting the Catholic assurance that the clergy knew best what was necessary and proper in the conduct of life, the Protestants underlined the responsibility of individual believers to determine what they must do to attain salvation.
3. *Increase in conflicts and intolerance.* Much of Europe fell into civil wars that were initially set off by religious disputes. These wars were often bloody and produced much needless destruction by both sides in the name of theological truth. Religious affiliation greatly exacerbated dynastic and emergent national conflicts.

THE BIRTH OF THE NATION-STATE

Europe during the seventeenth century saw the birth of the modern state as distinct from the domain of a ruling monarch. The powers attached to a governing office began to be separated from the person of the occupant of the office. This separation allowed the creation over time of a group of professional servants of the state, or bureaucrats—people who exercised authority not because of who they were, but because of the offices they held. Religious conflict between Protestant and Catholic continued but gave way to political-economic issues in state-to-state relations. The maritime countries of northwestern Europe became steadily more important thanks to overseas commerce, while the central and eastern European states suffered heavy reverses from wars, the Turkish menace, and commercial and technological stagnation.

The Thirty Years' War

The Thirty Years' War, which wrecked the German states and was the most destructive conflict Europe had seen for centuries, arose from religious intolerance, but it quickly became a struggle for territory and worldly power on the part of the multiple contestants. It began in 1618, when the Habsburg (HABS-berg) Holy Roman Emperor attempted to check the spread of Protestant sentiments in part of his empire. By 1635, the war had become an international struggle beyond consideration of religion. The Protestant kings of Scandinavia and the Catholic French monarchy supported the Protestants, whereas the Spanish cousins of the Habsburgs assaulted the French.

For thirteen more years, France, Holland, Sweden, and the German Protestant states fought on against the Holy Roman Emperor and Spain. Most of the fighting was in Germany. But finally, a peace, through the **Treaty of Westphalia**, was worked out in 1648 after five years of haggling. The big winners were France and Sweden, while the losers were Spain and, to a lesser degree, the Austrian-based Habsburgs. From 1648 on, Germany ceased to exist



MAP 23.2 Europe in the Seventeenth Century

After the Thirty Years' War, the Holy Roman Empire was an empty phrase, with an emperor whose powers were nonexistent in the Protestant lands. The Catholic Habsburg emperors were consistently opposed by the equally Catholic French Bourbons, whose country lay between those of the Habsburgs and their Spanish cousins.

MAP QUESTIONS

Why did the Catholic kings of France oppose the Catholic Habsburgs?



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

as a political concept and broke up into dozens, then hundreds of small kingdoms and principalities (see Map 23.2).

The Treaty of Westphalia was the first modern state treaty. From start to finish, its clauses underlined the decisive importance of the sovereign state, rather than the dynasty that ruled it or the religion its population professed. Theological uniformity was replaced by secular control of territory, and population as the supreme goal of the rival powers. For Spain, the ultimate results were almost as painful, although the war was not fought on Spanish territory. The Dutch Protestants gained full independence from Madrid, and the tremendous military and naval advantages that Spain's government had once

possessed had all been used up; it was now condemned to second rank in European and world affairs.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ROYAL ABSOLUTISM

The theory of royal absolutism existed in the Middle Age, but the upheavals caused by the Hundred Years' War and the Black Death in the fourteenth century (see Chapter 20), followed by the wars of religion, had weakened the powers of the monarchies. Now, in the seventeenth century, they got back to the business of asserting their sacred rights.

The outstanding theorist of absolutism was a French lawyer, Jean Bodin (zhahn boh-DAN), who stated that “sovereignty consists in giving laws to the people without their consent.” Sovereignty cannot be divided; it must remain in the hands of a single individual or institution. Bodin insisted that the French monarch had “absolute power” over his people. Another Frenchman, Bishop Bossuet (bos-SWAY), even claimed that kings received their august powers from God Himself. Bodin found his most potent and effective adherent in **Cardinal Richelieu** (rish-LYOU; 1585–1642), the prime minister for the young King Louis (LOO-ee) XIII in the 1620s and 1630s.

Richelieu was the real founder of absolute monarchy in France and, despite being a prince of the church, Richelieu believed wholeheartedly in the primacy of the state over any other earthly institution. *Raison d'état* (ray-ZOHN day-TAH; reason of state) was sufficient to justify almost any action by government, he thought. The state represented order, the rule of law, and security for the citizenry. If it weakened or collapsed, general suffering would result. The cardinal set up a cadre of officials (**intendants**: ahn-tahn-DAHNTS) who kept a sharp eye on what was happening in the provinces and reported to the king's ministers. The cardinal-minister used them to check the independence of the provincial nobles, particularly the Calvinist Huguenots. He used armed force on several occasions and executed rebels. Before his death in 1641, Richelieu had handpicked as his successor as chief minister Cardinal Mazarin (mah-zah-REHN), who had the same values as his master. The new king, **Louis XIV** (ruling 1643–1715), was just five years old, so the government remained in Mazarin's hands for many years. The young Louis was brought up to believe that kingship was the highest calling on earth and that its powers were limited only by God.

French Government Under Louis XIV

The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the Age of France or, more precisely, the Age of Louis XIV. Not only in government, but also in the arts, the lifestyle of the wealthy and the highborn, military affairs, and language and literature, France set the pace. What Florence had been to the Renaissance, Paris was to the European cultural and political world of the eighteenth century. Louis XIV was the incarnation of absolute monarchy, believing in divine right, which said that the monarchy's powers flowed from God. He allegedly once said, “I am the state,” a statement he truly believed. He saw himself as not just a human being with immense powers and prestige but as the very embodiment of France. He took kingship very seriously, working twelve hours a day trying to govern a country that was notoriously difficult. In this task he was greatly aided by a series of first-rate ministerial helpers—Jean-Baptiste Colbert (cohl-BAYR) and others—each of whom made major contributions to the theory and practice of his chosen field.



Louvre, Paris/France/Giraudon/Bridgeman Art Library

LOUIS XIV. This masterful portrait by the court painter Rigaud shows Louis as he would have liked to appear to his subjects. The “well-turned leg” was considered to be an absolute essential for royal figures. Louis's wig and ermine cape were also necessities for a king.

To govern as he believed he should, Louis had to nullify the independent powers of the aristocrats in the provinces. He did this by forcing them to come to Versailles (vayr-SIGH), his magnificent palace outside Paris, where they vied for his favor and he could keep them under a watchful eye. By his death, the previously potent nobles had been reduced to a decorative, parasitic fringe group, with few real powers.

Although Louis kept the peace for the first thirty-five years of his reign, his overpowering thirst for glory led him to provoke four conflicts with England, Holland, and most of the German states in the last twenty years. The most important was the final one, the War of the Spanish Succession (1700–1713), in which France tried to seize control of much-weakened Spain and its empire but was checked by a coalition led by England. The war bankrupted France and was extremely unpopular. The signing of the **Treaty of Utrecht** in 1713 ended the hostilities. France succeeded only in placing a member of the Bourbon (boor-BOHN) family (the French dynasty) on the



VERSAILLES. The views from the garden side, with the Grand Fountain in the foreground. The palace lies a few miles outside Paris and is now one of the most visited tourist centers in Europe.

Giraudon/Bridgeman Art Library

Spanish throne, but under the condition that Spain and France would never be joined together. England emerged as the chief winner, having gained control of part of French Canada and the key to the Mediterranean, Gibraltar. England's biggest prize, however, was Spain's concession of the rights to trade with her possessions in the Caribbean. The war began the worldwide struggle between England and France for mastery of Europe, but the Treaty of Utrecht helped vault England into a position that enabled her to become the world's greatest imperial and industrial power over the next 200 years.

Strengths and Weaknesses of French Absolutism

Louis XIV gave all of Europe a model of what could be accomplished by a strong king and a wealthy country. With the help of his officials, the king kept a constant watch on the country as a whole. Anything that happened in the provinces was soon known at the Palace of Versailles and received a royal response. The palace was awe-inspiring, serving to reinforce Louis's prestige and power in visible fashion. Originally a mere hunting lodge, Louis reconstructed it into the largest and most impressive secular structure in Europe. It was surrounded by hundreds of acres of manicured gardens and was large enough to house the immense court.

But problems also persisted. Finance was always the sore point for aspiring kings, and Louis and his successors spent huge amounts of cash in their quest for military and civil glory. A helter-skelter system of concessions for tax collection in the provinces did not work well. Worse, with the government legally prevented from taxing the Church and the nobility, Louis's common subjects were forced to bear the entire burden of his and his successors'

REVOLT AGAINST ROYAL ABSOLUTISM: SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

At the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, the English crown passed to Elizabeth's nearest male Protestant relative, the Stuart king James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England (ruling 1603–1625). James was a great believer in absolutism and the divine right of kings and quickly alienated the English Parliament with his insistence that the Crown should have sole control over taxes and the budget. This plus his lack of respect for English customs made him highly unpopular by the end of his reign.

The England that James ruled, however, was rapidly developing into a society in which the commercial and professional classes were becoming used to exercising power. The merchants and municipal officials who were represented by Parliament's House of Commons insisted on their rights to have final input on taxation and much else in national policy. They were armed with a four-century-old tradition of parliamentary government.

Another topic of debate between the king and his subjects was the proper course in religious affairs. James had been brought up as a Calvinist but had agreed to adopt Anglicanism as king of England. In truth, many people believed that he sympathized with Rome, which made the Anglicans nervous and appalled the Puritans.

James died in 1625 and was succeeded by his son, Charles I (1625–1649). The son turned out to be as difficult as his father. When the Commons attempted to impose limits on his taxing powers, he refused to honor the ancient custom of calling a Parliament at least every third year. He appointed an archbishop of Canterbury who many people believed was a sympathizer with popery. Finding that Parliament would not cooperate with

him, he sent it home in 1629 and ruled without its advice and consent.

Charles's marriage to a French Catholic princess had stirred up much resentment, and his high-handed attitude toward the Calvinist clergy finally offended his Scot subjects so badly that in 1640, they rose in revolt. Charles needed money—lots of it—to raise an army against them. That meant that he had to impose new taxes, which in turn meant that he had to summon Parliament. When the representatives came together, they passed a series of restrictive laws on the royal powers. When the increasingly radical Parliament insisted on direct control of military affairs, Charles raised an army of royalist supporters, and this action led to the beginning of civil war in 1642.

Civil War: Cromwell's Commonwealth

Britain divided about evenly between supporters of the king and supporters of Parliament. After several years of intermittent struggle, the war ended with Charles's defeat. Parliament then tried the king for treason. After a parliamentary trial, he was found guilty and beheaded in 1649.

After the king's execution, Parliament debated at length the question of where sovereignty lay, and it concluded by declaring that England was a commonwealth—that is, a republic with no monarch. Its executive was the chief organizer of the triumphant Puritan army, Oliver Cromwell, who had gained a deserved reputation as a man of iron will and fierce rectitude. For five years, he ruled and imposed his stern Calvinist Protestantism as Lord Protector (1653–1658). When he died, few people wanted to hear more about Puritan government. Cromwell's rule had also become unpopular because of the high taxes he levied to put down rebellions against English rule in Catholic Ireland and Calvinist Scotland. A maritime war with Holland in the 1650s brought England far along the road to control of the seven seas and also conferred the rich prize of the former Dutch colony of New Amsterdam in North America.

When Cromwell's weak son attempted in vain to fill his father's shoes, parliamentary negotiations with the exiled son of Charles I were begun. After eighteen months, the **Restoration** was completed with the return of King Charles II (ruling 1660–1685) to his native land.

Restoration and the Glorious Revolution of 1688

The pendulum of power in British government had swung decisively toward the House of Commons during the revolutionary era, and Charles made his peace with the Commons by establishing the beginnings of the ministerial system. The king appointed several of his trusted friends to carry out policy, but these men had to answer to parliamentary questioning. Gradually, this informal arrangement became a fundamental part of government and was formalized when the party system got under way in the

eighteenth century. From it came the modern British cabinet, with its collective responsibility for policy and its reliance on parliamentary votes of confidence to continue its authority as a government.

Charles cared little about religion, but when it became clear that the aging and childless Charles would be succeeded by his Catholic younger brother, James, the English viewed their new king with a great deal of suspicion. James II (ruling 1685–1688) made things worse by flinging insult after insult at the Protestants in and out of Parliament. So long as the king had no Catholic children to succeed him, the English could grit their teeth and wait for the elderly man's death. But in 1688, his young second wife unexpectedly produced a healthy baby son who would be raised a Catholic and would presumably rule Britain for many years.

Practically all of England rebelled against James in the **Glorious Revolution of 1688** that ended the Stuart male line on the English throne. James again went into French exile, while parliamentary committees stepped into the vacuum. After brief negotiations, William of Orange, the husband of James's daughter, Mary, was invited to rule England jointly with his wife as William and Mary (1689–1702).

Significance of the Glorious Revolution. The revolution against James Stuart had been political and constitutional, not military or economic. Sovereignty shifted from the monarch to his or her subjects, as represented by their elected Parliament. From now on, England was a constitutional state. The king or queen was the partner of Parliament in matters of high policy, both domestic and foreign.

The most concrete result of the Glorious Revolution was the **Bill of Rights**, which was adopted by Parliament in 1689. Its most important provisions spelled out the rights and powers of Parliament versus the Crown:

- ◆ Law was to be made only by Parliament and could not be suspended by the king.
- ◆ Members of Parliament were immune from prosecution when acting in their official capacities.
- ◆ The king could not impose taxes or raise an army without prior approval by Parliament.

In addition, the Bill of Rights ensured the independence of the judiciary from royal pressures, prohibited standing armies in peacetime, extended freedom of worship to non-Anglican Protestants, and stipulated that the throne should always be held by a Protestant.

Mary's younger sister, Anne, succeeded William and Mary on the English throne. Like William and Mary, she died without surviving children. Parliament exercised its new powers by inviting the Duke of Hanover, a distant German relative of King James I and the nearest male Protestant relation to the deceased queen, to become King George I (ruling 1714–1727). George thus introduced the **Hanoverian Dynasty** to Great Britain.

POLITICAL THEORY: HOBBS AND LOCKE

Two British political philosophers formed the basis of public debate on the nature of government during the tumultuous seventeenth century. In his book, *Leviathan*, Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) thought that the pregovernmental “state of nature” had been a riotous anarchy. Recognizing the need to restrain violence, early societies soon gave birth to the idea of the state and to the state’s living embodiment, the monarch. Most significant, however, was that Hobbes implied that the state and the monarch derived their sovereignty from the people, rather than from God.

Hobbes’s uncompromising pessimism about human nature was countered at the end of the seventeenth century by the writings of John Locke (1632–1704). In his most famous work, the *Two Treatises of Civil Government*, Locke said that all men possess certain natural rights. Some of those rights were voluntarily given up to form a government that would protect and enhance the remaining ones: the rights to life, liberty, and property. No princes could interfere with such rights or claim to have one-sided powers to define the citizenry’s welfare. When they did, they surrendered all claims to citizens’ support, and they could righteously form a new government.

ABSOLUTISM EAST OF THE ELBE

East of Germany’s Elbe River, absolute monarchy was able to develop more completely, largely because of the rural, farm-based economies that lingered there longer than in western Europe. Monoculture estates lasted much longer than in France, England, and Sweden. The social cleavage between lord and peasant was perpetuated by the rising profits the landlords were able to wring from their large estates. The struggle between noble landowners and the royal government was resolved in eastern Europe when the monarchs surrendered control over the peasants to the landlords in return for the landlords’ loyalty and service to the Crown. As time passed, the once-weak monarchs steadily gained power through control of the armed forces.

Moreover, no effective middle-class voice was ever heard in constitutional affairs east of the Elbe. Why? The towns were too few and too impoverished, and the small urban populations never gained self-government and economic freedom as in the West. Accordingly, the royal dynasts were gradually able to subordinate all classes and interests to themselves.

Prussia’s Rise

As we have seen, after the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), much of Germany was in a state of economic decay and political confusion. The 300-odd German states and statelets

were divided along religious lines: About half were Catholic and half Protestant. Neither accepted the other, and distrust and animosities were always present. Notwithstanding these issues, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Frederick William, the **Great Elector** (ruling 1640–1688), a man of iron will and great talent, succeeded in uniting Prussia, Brandenburg, and some small areas in western Germany into a single government that was known thereafter simply as Prussia. The Great Elector tripled the government’s revenues and then spent much of the increase on his prize: a new professional army. In return for the nobles’ agreement to allow him control over national affairs and their agreement to serve in the powerful new army that Frederick William was creating, he handed the peasants over to the noble landlords. He never allowed the Prussian middle classes to play the crucial role they had in western Europe. They could not strike a “deal” with either king or nobles to guarantee their own rights. They had to pay the taxes from which the nobles’ lands were exempt, and their social and political status remained much lower than that of the Prussian nobility, the *Junkers*.

After Frederick William’s death, his grandson, Frederick William I (ruling 1713–1740), was even more intent than his grandfather on building the finest army in Europe. During his reign, Prussia was aptly called “an army with a country.” The series of notable Hohenzollern monarchs culminated in the eighteenth century with Frederick II, the Great (ruling 1740–1786), who is generally seen as one of the most talented kings in modern history. Frederick II cleverly associated the Prussian monarchy with a reviving German sense of national unity. With him began the “German dualism,” the century-long contest between Austria and Prussia for leadership of the German-speaking people—the most numerous in Europe.

The Habsburg Domains

Prussia’s rival for eventual political supremacy over the fragmented Germans was Habsburg Austria. Based in Vienna, the **Habsburg Dynasty** (HABS-berg) ruled over three quite different areas: Austria proper, Bohemia (the present-day Czech Republic), and Hungary (see Map 23.3). The dynasty had acquired Hungary and Bohemia through lucky marriages in the sixteenth century. However, against its southern and eastern flanks, the Ottoman Turks were still a menacing foe, and they mounted an invasion that reached the outskirts of Vienna in 1683. The Ottomans’ attack was beaten off, and the counter attack against the Ottomans went well at first, but the Turks were able to recoup their strength temporarily. The Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 (see Chapter 24) eliminated the threat of a Turkish invasion of central Europe, and Austria became a leading power.

This new power, however, had a flaw that became apparent with time. Ethnically, the empire of Austria was the least integrated of all European countries. It included

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

HOBBS'S *Leviathan*

Thomas Hobbes published *Leviathan* in 1651 to provide a philosophical basis for absolutist monarchy that went beyond the conventional idea of “divine right.” Much influenced by the events of the day in England—the civil war was raging—Hobbes wished to demonstrate that strong control of the body politic by a monarch was a political necessity. Note how he bases all effective lawmaking on people’s fear of punishment by a superior force, and not at all by the action of reason or compassion. He was interested in the establishment of an effective governing authority, and not in the moral and/or reasonable basis for it. He had no illusions about the benign nature of mankind. The following excerpts come from the opening section of the second part of *Leviathan*, where the author summarizes his case:

The final cause, end, or design of men (who naturally love liberty, and dominion over others) in the introduction of that restraint upon themselves . . . is the foresight of their own preservation, and of a more contented life thereby; that is to say, of getting themselves out of that miserable condition of war, when there is no visible power to keep them in awe, and tie them by fear of punishment to the performance of their covenants. For the laws of nature . . . without the terror of some power to cause them to be observed, are contrary to our natural passions. . . . And covenants without the sword are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all And in all places where men have lived in small families, to rob and spoil one another has been a trade, and so far from being reputed against the law of nature, the greater spoils they gained, the greater was their honor And as small families did then; so now do cities and kingdoms, which are but greater families

It is true that certain living creatures, as bees and ants, live sociably with one another . . . and therefore some man may perhaps desire to know, why mankind cannot do the same. To which I answer

First, that men are continually in competition for honor and dignity, which these creatures are not

Secondly, that amongst these creatures, the common good differs not from the private; and being by nature inclined to their private, they procure thereby the common benefit.

Thirdly, that these creatures, having not [as man] the

use of reason, do not see, nor think they see any fault, in the administration of their private business: whereas among men, there are very many that think themselves wiser, and abler to govern the public, better than the rest; and these strive to reform and innovate, one this way, another that way; and thereby bring it into distraction and civil war.

Lastly, the agreement of these creatures is natural; that of men, is by covenant only, which is artificial; and therefore it is no wonder if there be somewhat else required to make their agreement constant and lasting; which is a common power, to keep them in awe, and to direct their action to the common benefit.

The only way to erect such a common power . . . [is] to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or upon one assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices, unto one will . . . as if every man should say to every man, I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner. And he that carries this power is called sovereign, and said to have sovereign power, and everyone besides him is his subject.

The attaining of this sovereign power is by two ways. One, by natural force . . . the other, is when men agree amongst themselves to submit to some man or assembly of men, voluntarily, in confidence to be protected by him against all others. This latter may be called a political Commonwealth.

>>ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Do you believe Hobbes is wrong in his assumption that only fear of superior force keeps people in a more-or-less peaceable community? What might a devout Calvinist have to say about that assumption? How do *Leviathan* and *The Prince* by Machiavelli resemble or contradict one another?

Source: From *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, ed. Thomas Molesworth, vol. 3, chap. 17.



You can read further selections from *Leviathan* online.





MAP 23.3 The Growth of the Austrian Empire, 1536–1795

By an extraordinary stroke of luck, the Vienna-based Habsburg family painlessly acquired the crowns of both Bohemia and Hungary when the last king of both those monarchies fell, childless, on the field of battle against invading Turks in 1526. The surviving widow and heir was a Habsburg princess.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What happened that explains the success of Austria's expansion into the Balkans after 1600?

no fewer than ten different nationalities. As late as the mid-eighteenth century, the Habsburg lands resembled a “salad” of nations and regions that had little in common except rule by the dynasty in Vienna. Maria Theresa (1740–1780) and her son Joseph II (ruling 1780–1790) did much to modernize the Austrian armed forces and civil bureaucracy. She slowly welded the various provinces and kingdoms into a single entity under a centralized government headquartered in the impressive royal city. Much

later, in the mid-nineteenth century, the Austrians turned east and south to realize their version of colonial expansion. By so doing, they encountered the Turks, who had sunk into second-level status. But Europe's diplomats agreed to let the Turks continue to control southeastern Europe (the Balkans), to avoid the inevitable conflicts that would ensue if the Turks were pushed aside and replaced by others. First among those contenders were the newly powerful Russians.



THE BELVEDERE IN VIENNA. This palace was built by and for Prince Eugen of Savoy, greatest of the Habsburg generals in the wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is a perfect example of Austrian baroque architecture.

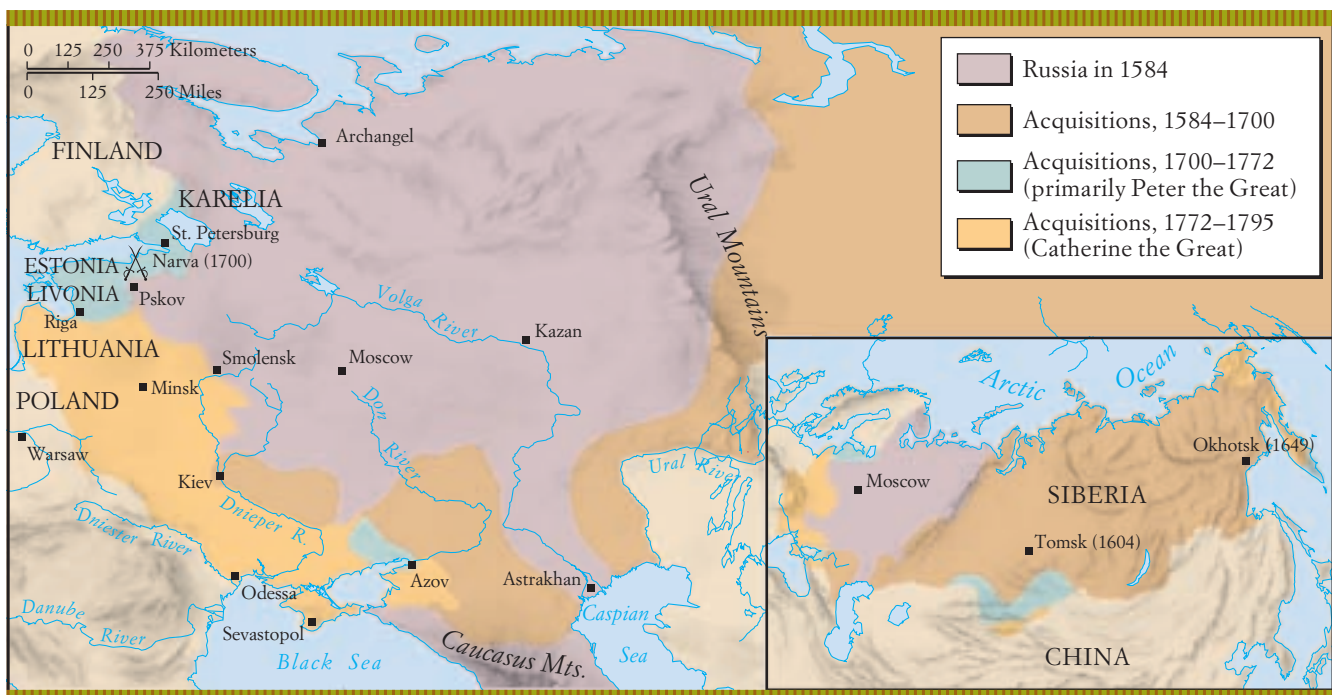
British Library, London, UK/Bridgeman Art Library

RUSSIA UNDER THE TSARS

Russia's government rose from centuries of retardation and near-disintegration to attain great power status in the eighteenth century (see Map 23.4). Until the 1200s, Rus-

sia had been an independent Christian principality based on the impressive city of Kiev (kee-YEV), with extensive trading and cultural contacts with both western and Mediterranean Europe through the Baltic and Black seas. The Russians had been converted to Orthodox Christianity by Greek missionaries in the late 900s and had remained closely attached to Constantinople for the next three centuries.

But in 1241, the fierce Mongols conquered the principality of Kiev and settled down to rule the Russians for



MAP 23.4 From Muscovy to Russia, 1584–1796

The “gathering of the Russian lands” by the Muscovite rulers was facilitated by their acting as the Mongols’ agents for centuries and then defeating them and the aggressive Lithuanians and Poles in the late 1400s. Later acquisitions were based on the alleged rights of Moscow to reclaim what it had once ruled.

MAP QUESTIONS

What changes helped enable the Russians to expand into the Black Sea and Caucasus regions under the Muscovites and the Romanovs?



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

the next 240 years (see Chapter 18). During that period, Russia's formerly numerous contacts with both eastern and western Europe were almost completely severed or neglected, and the Russians retrogressed in many ways. Their governmental institutions also deteriorated. Moscow came through cunning, perseverance, and good luck to overshadow its rivals even during the Mongol era. The *Mongol Yoke*, as the Russians call it, was finally thrown off in a bloodless rebellion led by Moscow in 1480. Trade relations were eventually established with the West, but beyond some raw materials and some exotic items such as ermine skins, there seemed little reason to get involved in trading with this alien society. Militarily and politically, it had nothing to offer the West, and whatever technical and cultural progress was made in Russia during these centuries almost always stemmed from Western sources. The Russians were in any case not inclined to welcome Western ideas and visitors.

The Orthodox Church had been crucially important in keeping alive national identity during the Yoke, and their distrust of Western Christians was strong. Russia experienced almost nothing of the consequences of the Protestant revolt against Rome or the Renaissance. The Renaissance glorification of individuality, examination of the human potential, and the daring to oppose had no impact east of Poland. In religious affairs, the Russians either were ignorant of or rejected the changes Western Christianity had undergone. The Russian clergy had accepted the role of partner of the civil government in maintaining good order on Earth. Unlike the papal or Protestant West, Orthodox clerics saw their role as helper and moral partner of the government in the mutual and interdependent tasks of saving Russian souls and preserving the Russian state.

The expansion of the Muscovite principality into a major state picked up its pace during the sixteenth century. Tsar Ivan IV, or **Ivan the Terrible** (ruling 1533–1584), brushed aside the Mongol remnants in a program of conquest that reached the Pacific shores as early as 1639. Russia was brought into formal contact with China for the first time—and thus began a difficult relationship along the longest land border in the world.

Like the countries of western Europe, Russia adopted a form of divine-right monarchy in the seventeenth century. Already in the previous century, Ivan the Terrible had established a brutal model by persecuting all who dared question his rights. Those who did not flee and who chose to remain often paid with their lives for nonexistent “treason” or “betrayal.” He bullied and terrified the Russian upper classes in a fashion that would have certainly led to revolt in other countries of the age.

The ancient dynasty of Kievan princes died out in the seventeenth century, and various nobles vied with armed force for the vacant throne. Once in power, recovery under the new **Romanov Dynasty** (ROH-mah-noff; 1613–1917)

was fairly rapid. Peter I, the Great (ruling 1682–1724), is the outstanding example of Russian royal absolutism. Like Ivan IV, he was in no way inclined to share power, and the impact of the human whirlwind called Peter on stolid, isolated, and conservative Russia is impossible to categorize. He was the first Russian ruler to recognize how primitive Russia was in comparison with Europe. He brought thousands of foreign specialists, craftsmen, artists, and engineers to Russia on contract to practice their specialties while teaching the Russians. These individuals had inordinate influence on the country's progress in the next century.

Defeating the Swedes and the Poles, Peter established a new capital at St. Petersburg to be Russia's long-sought “window on the West,” through which all sorts of Western ideas and values might flow. He began the slow, state-guided modernization of what had been a backward economy; he built a navy and made Russia a maritime power for the first time; and he also encouraged such cultural breakthroughs as the first newspaper, the first learned journal, the Academy of Sciences, and the first technical schools. But Peter's cruelty bordered on sadism, and his personal life was filled with excess. In any event, he remains the watershed figure of Russia's long history.



Chateau de Versailles, France/Giraudon/Bridgeman Art Library

PETER THE GREAT. The great reformer/modernizer of backward Russia, painted in the early years of his reign.

SUMMARY

AS MUCH AS THE DISCOVERY of the New World, the Protestant movement gave birth to the modern era in the West. The protests of Luther, Calvin, and many others against what they saw as the unrighteous and distorted teachings of the Roman papacy had immense long-term reverberations in Western culture. Among Calvinists, the material welfare of the Elect on Earth was linked to their quality of being saved—a link that would gradually produce what later generations called the “Protestant ethic.” The Catholic response was the Counter-Reformation, which, spearheaded by the Jesuits, eventually reclaimed much of the Protestant territories for the Roman Church. Exceedingly bloody warfare broke out, and Europe entered the Modern Age in a flurry of fierce antagonisms among Christians. From the early seventeenth century on, doctrines of faith took an ever-decreasing role in forming state policy. The Catholic but anti-Habsburg French replaced Spain as the prime force in military and political affairs. Under the guidance of Richelieu and the long-lived Louis XIV, France became the role model for the rest of the aspiring absolutist monarchies on the Continent.

The English Revolution, sparked by the attempts of the Stuart kings to emulate Louis XIV, ended in clear victory for the anti-absolutist side. Led by the Puritan rebels against Charles I, the wealthier, educated segment of the English people successfully asserted their claims to be equal to

the Crown in defining national policies and the rights of citizens. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 cemented these gains. The idea of a society that was contractual rather than authoritarian in its political basis began to emerge. Along with this came the ideal of a state that guaranteed liberty and legal equality for all its subjects.

The eastern European dynasties were able to grow and foil the occasional efforts to restrict their royal powers because neither of the two potential secular counterforces—the limited urban classes and the nobility—could find ways to substitute themselves for the throne. The rise of the Prussian Hohenzollern kingdom began in earnest in the mid-1600s when the Great Elector cleverly made his petty state into a factor in the Thirty Years’ War, which culminated in the reign of his great-grandson Frederick II. The weaknesses of the Habsburg state were partially addressed by the efforts of Empress Maria Theresa, who brought a degree of centralization and uniformity to the government. But Austria’s great problem—its potentially competing nationalities—remained. After an obstacle-filled climb from obscurity under the Mongols, the Muscovite principality “gathered the Russian lands” in the 1500s, and the Russian nobility, once all-powerful, were reduced by the various devices of the tsars to more-or-less willing servants of the imperial throne.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Act of Supremacy of 1534	Edict of Nantes
Anabaptists	Elect
Anglican Church	Glorious Revolution
Bill of Rights	of 1688
John Calvin	The Great Elector
Counter-Reformation	(Frederick William)

Habsburg Dynasty
Hanoverian Dynasty
Henry VIII
Ignatius of Loyola
*The Institutes of the
Christian Religion*
intendants
Ivan the Terrible
Jesuit Order
justification by faith
Louis XIV

Martin Luther
Ninety-five Theses
Peace of Augsburg
Puritans
Reformation
Restoration (English)
Cardinal Richelieu
Romanov Dynasty
Treaty of Utrecht
Treaty of Westphalia
Ulrich Zwingli

For Further Reflection

1. What differences are there between a religious heretic and a religious reformer?
2. Why did the sixteenth-century religious reform movements succeed while earlier attempts at reform failed?
3. Did religious reform then open way to greater tolerance of other people’s values and principles? Be sure to cite specific examples to support your answer.

4. What seem to have been the main differences between royal absolutism as it was practiced in western Europe and as it was practiced in eastern Europe?
5. What theological and historical reasons might there have been behind the Russian clergy's opposition to

Western ideas? Aside from their opposition, what other possible reasons might explain Russian resistance to Western ideas?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The posting of the Ninety-five Theses was immediately caused by
 - a. Luther's outrage over the ignorance of the clergy.
 - b. Luther's conviction that he must challenge papal domination.
 - c. Luther's anger over the sale of indulgences.
 - d. the tyranny of the local Roman Catholic bishop.
 - e. Luther's anger that church tithes were being siphoned out of Germany to Rome.
2. Which of the following practices/beliefs is associated with Calvinism?
 - a. The basic goodness of humans
 - b. Predestination of souls
 - c. Religious freedom for all
 - d. Indulgences
 - e. The rejection of good works as necessary for eternal salvation
3. Henry VIII's reform of English religious organization occurred
 - a. after study in the Holy Land.
 - b. for primarily religious-doctrinal reasons.
 - c. for primarily political-dynastic reasons.
 - d. at the urging of the pope.
 - e. after he experienced a vision of the Archangel Gabriel.
4. The Jesuit Order was founded specifically
 - a. to train Catholic soldiers for battle.
 - b. to oversee the activities of the Inquisition.
 - c. to act as the pope's first-line troops in religious wars.
 - d. to open a new type of monastery.
 - e. to recover fallen-away Catholics through education.
5. The Edict of Nantes
 - a. gave Protestants in France a degree of official toleration.
 - b. expelled all Protestants from Catholic France.
 - c. brought civic and legal equality to Protestants in France.
 - d. ended the war between Catholic France and Protestant England.
 - e. established religious tolerance between Spain and France.
6. The founder of absolute monarchy in France was
 - a. Jean Bodin.
 - b. Louis XIV.
 - c. Cardinal Mazarin.
 - d. Cardinal Richelieu.
 - e. Henry IV.
7. *Raison d'état* is most accurately translated as
 - a. the power of a duly constituted government to do virtually anything to maintain internal order.
 - b. a false reason given by a spokesperson to justify what the government desires.
 - c. a pretext used by a government to justify illegal acts.
 - d. the state's legal power to make war.
 - e. the power of the state to choose its people's religion.
8. The message conveyed by Hobbes's *Leviathan* was, in brief, that
 - a. man would find his way to a better future.
 - b. man could make more progress once religion was abolished.
 - c. man was irredeemably stained by original sin.
 - d. man needed a powerful government to avoid anarchy.
 - e. man by nature would do good if taught to do so.
9. East of the Elbe, the feudal landlords of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries
 - a. maintained or increased their local powers and prestige.
 - b. regularly overthrew the royal governments.
 - c. suffered a general decline economically.
 - d. practically became extinct with the rise of urban life.
 - e. had little to do with the peasants under their control.
10. A great difference between Ivan IV, the Terrible, and Peter I, the Great, is
 - a. the savagery of the first and the subtlety of the second.
 - b. the minimal successes of Ivan and the tremendous ones of Peter.
 - c. the tender consideration shown to the nobles by Peter.
 - d. the degree to which they incorporated Western ideas into their country.
 - e. their views about the concept of absolute rule.



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Asia in the Era of the Gunpowder Empires



THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Ottoman Government

Non-Muslims Under Ottoman Rule

The Zenith of the Ottoman Empire: Suleiman and After

THE MUSLIM EMPIRES IN PERSIA AND INDIA

The Safavid Realm

The Mughal Empire

He who cannot love another human being is ignorant of life's joy.

—Sa'adi

AT THE TIME WHEN Europe slowly began finding its way out of centuries of feudal disintegration to early statehood and East Asian governments experienced challenges from both external and internal rivals, Islamic empires in Asia and Africa were experiencing seemingly endless upheavals. The Islamic world did not have a middle age of governmental evolution and consolidation. Instead, destructive wars that set Muslims against Muslims wracked the world of Islam and contributed much to its slow decline after 1600.

In Chapters 15 and 16, we looked at how Islam expanded rapidly in the tropical zone between Spain and India. Within remarkably few decades, Arab Bedouin armies carried the message of Muhammad the Prophet from Mecca in all directions on the blades of their conquering swords. The civilization that sprang from this message and conquest was a mixture of Arab, Greek, Persian, Egyptian, Spanish, African, and Southeast Asian—the most cosmopolitan civilization in world history.

In the thirteenth century, the capital city of the Abbasid caliphs remained at Baghdad, but by then the Islamic world had become severely fractured into dozens of competing, quarreling states and sects. More devastating still, in that century, the Mongols swept into the Islamic heartland in central and western Asia, destroying every sign of settled life in their path and establishing brief rule over half the world (see Chapter 18). After their disappearance, the Ottoman Turks gave Islam a new forward thrust. By the 1500s, the Ottomans had succeeded in capturing Constantinople and reigned over enormous territories reaching from Gibraltar to Iraq. Farther east and somewhat later, the Safavids in Persia and the Mughals in India established Muslim dynasties that endured into the early modern age.

c. 1250	Osman founds the Ghazi Ottoman state
1300s–1500s	Ottoman Empire expands and flourishes
1453	Mehmed the Conqueror seizes Constantinople/Istanbul
1520–1566	Reign of Suleiman the Magnificent
1500s–1722	Safavid Empire in Persia
1556–1605	Reign of Akbar the Great of India
1587–1629	Reign of Shah Abbas the Great of Persia
1500s–mid-1800s	Mughal Empire in India

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Mongols had smashed the Persian center of Islam in the 1250s, conquered Baghdad in 1258, and left the caliph as one of the corpses of those who had dared oppose them. At that time, the all-conquering intruders intended to wipe

out the rest of the Islamic states that reached as far as Spain. One of these was the Ottoman principality in what is now Turkey, which took full advantage of the Mongols' defeat at Ain Jalut to maintain its independence.

The arrival of the Ottoman Dynasty in Asia Minor and its subsequent rise to the status of most powerful state in the Islamic world was the partial consequence of two developments that had preceded it. The first of these was the Turkification of the caliphate that had begun as early as the ninth century CE. The nomadic Turkish tribes began migrating from their homelands in the steppes of central Asia early in that century, and soon, large numbers of them inhabited the eastern lands of the Abbasid caliphate. Faced with increasing challenges to their authority from Kharijites (KAH-ri-jites) and Shi'ites (SHEE-ites), the Abbasid caliphs were forced to rely on the skills of these fearsome fighters to help quell revolts. Soon, Turkish troops under Turkish commanders were largely staffing the armies of the caliphate, but the real power resided in Baghdad under the Seljuk sultans (see Chapter 16). Once in power in Baghdad, the Seljuks resumed the Muslim offensive against the rejuvenated Byzantine Empire in the eleventh century. In 1071, a crucial Seljuk victory over the Byzantines at the Battle of Manzikert gave the Turks direct access to Asia Minor for the first time. They established the Rum sultanate in eastern Asia Minor and continued their *jihad* against the Christian enemies to the west.

The second important development was the growing importance of the **dervish**, or Sufi (SOO-fee), orders in Islam. As explained in Chapter 16, many Muslims embraced mystical forms of Islam after the death of al-Ghazzali (al-gah-ZAH-lee) in 1111 CE. Many dervishes/sufis formed religious associations or brotherhoods (*tariqas*: tah-REE-kahs). In most cases, these were organized around a central religious figure, or *shaykh* (shake), whom the dervishes believed possessed extraordinary spiritual authority and who was responsible for the spiritual and intellectual direction of his followers. Typically, too, the dervish order was organized into grades, much like a secret society (like the Masons in western Europe), and initiates graduated into higher levels of the order as they were allowed access to secret knowledge known only to members of these higher levels.

The Ottoman Empire began around 1250, when a Turkish chieftain named Osman (AHS-man)—after whom the dynasty was named—and his group of followers entered into the service of the Rum sultans of eastern Asia Minor. Osman was given a small fiefdom in western Asia Minor to wage jihad against the Byzantines. Thus, the empire began as a *ghazi* state—that is, one made up of **ghazis** (GAH-zees), or frontier warriors, whose express purpose was waging holy war against the Christians. Osman's tiny state was initially organized around two dervish orders, and besides being a warlord, the authority of Osman and his early successors appears to have come from their positions as shaykhs of one or both of these dervish orders.

Osman succeeded in becoming independent when the Mongols destroyed the Rum sultanate soon after it overran Baghdad. By the time he died, Osman had established a core Ottoman state that included most of western Asia Minor through continual warfare against both his Muslim and non-Muslim neighbors. His son and successor, Orhan (ruling 1326–1359), continued this policy of expansion, and he began the conquest of what remained of the Byzantine Empire on the Balkan Peninsula.

More important, as the Ottoman ghazi state continued to grow, Orhan reorganized it along feudal lines. Landed estates were parceled out among the commanders of the mounted army. Orhan was also noted for creating the system by which the growing numbers of various nationalities and religious groups were absorbed into the burgeoning Ottoman Empire. Each group was organized as a *millet*—that is, as a separate minority under the leadership of an appointed shaykh, who answered directly to the sultan and his officials. Each millet was allowed a degree of self-regulation under its shaykh, and its rights were protected.

By the 1450s, the empire had grown to include all of Asia Minor and most of the Balkans south of modern-day Hungary. Of the Byzantine Empire, only the great capital of Constantinople remained. After several failed attempts to capture the great fortress city of the Christians on the western side of the narrow waterway separating Europe from Asia, Sultan **Mehmed the Conqueror** (ruling 1451–1481) succeeded in taking this prize. A long siege weakened the Christians' resistance, and the sultan's new bronze cannon destroyed the walls. In 1453, the city finally surrendered. Under the new name of Istanbul, it became the capital of the Ottoman Empire from that time forward. By the reign of **Suleiman** (SOO-lay-man) **the Magnificent** (r. 1520–1566), Hungary, Romania, southern Poland, and southern Russia had been added to the sultan's domain, while in North Africa and the Middle East, all of the Islamic states from Morocco to Persia had accepted his overlordship (see Map 24.1). At this stage, Ottoman military power was unmatched in the world.

Ottoman Government

Ottoman glory reached its apex during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, a sultan whose resources and abilities certainly matched any of his fellow rulers in an age of formidable women and men (Elizabeth I of England, Akbar the Great in India, and Ivan the Terrible in Russia). The government he presided over was divided into a secular bureaucracy, a religious bureaucracy, and a chancery called the **Sublime Porte**—after the gate in the sultan's palace near where it was located. At the head of all three stood the sultan. The officials of the Sublime Porte were what we would call the civil government, and it was composed of many levels of officials from the **grand vizier** (vih-ZEER; prime minister) down to the lowliest copyists.



MAP 24.1 The Ottoman Empire's Growth

At its peak in the late 1500s, the domain of the sultan in Istanbul reached from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

As the Ottoman Empire expanded, what different groups came to be incorporated within it?



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Most members of the secular bureaucracy originally were non-Muslims who had converted to the Muslim faith.

The religious bureaucracy was parallel to the secular one. Its members were collectively the *ulama* (oo-la-MAH), or learned scholars of the law, the *Sharia*, which was derived from the holy book of Islam, the Qur'an. The sultan appointed a high official, called the **Shaykh al-Islam**, as the head of this vast bureaucracy. The religious bureaucracy lent its great moral authority to the work of the Sublime Porte; it was, in effect, a junior partner of the government. In the ordinary course of events, conflict between the two was unthinkable.

The army was an arm of the secular bureaucracy. The Ottoman army was far superior to European militar-

ies by virtue of its professionalism and discipline. At its heart were the well-trained and well-armed **Janissaries**, an elite infantry corps. The Ottomans used a system called the **devshirme** (duv-SHEER-muh) to staff the Janissary units of the army and other high positions within the sultan's administration. Essentially this system was based on seizing Balkan Christian boys at a tender age, converting them to Islam, and giving them unlimited chances to advance themselves in both army and government. The system was designed to create new units for the army and the Sultan's palace, staffed by servants whose only loyalty was to the sultan. Some of the most brilliant leaders of the Ottoman state in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries were these willing



MEHMED THE CONQUEROR. The conqueror of Constantinople is portrayed in this Turkish miniature smelling a rose (symbolizing his cultural interests), as well as gripping a handkerchief (a symbol of his power).

slaves of the sultan (as they proudly termed themselves), recruited from the infidels.

Through the devshirme, the Ottoman state for many years successfully avoided the weakening of the central authority that was inevitable with the kind of feudal system Orhan had created in the fourteenth century. Instead, by the time of Mehmed and Suleiman, the bulk of the standing army was a mobile, permanent corps that could be shifted about throughout the huge empire controlled by Istanbul. Therefore, aside from the cavalry corps, most soldiers came to depend on salaries paid directly to them by the central government. The Janissaries and other new infantry corpsmen remained loyal to the central government alone because of their lack of local connections and the fact that they rarely remained in one place very long.

As long as the Janissaries conformed to this ideal, the Ottoman governmental system operated smoothly and effectively. The provincial authorities obeyed the central government or were soon replaced and punished. But after about 1650, when the professional army was able

to obtain land and develop the connections to purely local affairs that landholding entailed, a lengthy period of decline commenced.

Non-Muslims Under Ottoman Rule

The treatment of non-Muslims varied over time. In the early centuries of Ottoman rule (1300–1600), official treatment of Christians and Jews was generally fair. These “People of the Book” were distinctly limited in what we would call civil rights, could not hold office, could not proselytize for converts or bear arms, and suffered many other disadvantages, but they were not forced to convert to Islam and could run their own civil and cultural affairs on the local and even provincial level. They were taxed, but not excessively. Until the seventeenth century, the public lives of minorities within the millet system seem to have assured them more security than most Jews or Muslims living under Christian rule could expect. On the other hand, the brutality with which the Ottomans treated defeated opponents and the forceful application of the devshirme proved the limits of Ottoman tolerance for the rights of subject populations.

The majority of the Balkan population was Orthodox Christian. Under Turkish rule, the Balkan peasants were almost always decently treated until the seventeenth century. They were allowed to elect their own headmen in their villages; go to Christian services; and otherwise baptize, marry, and bury their dead according to their traditions. Like other non-Muslims, they were more heavily taxed than Muslims, but they were allowed to own land and businesses and to move about freely.

In the course of the seventeenth century, however, the condition of the Balkan Christians deteriorated badly for several reasons, including the central government’s increasing need for tax funds, the increasing hostility toward all infidels at Istanbul, and a moral breakdown in provincial and local government. “The fish stinks from the head,” says an old Turkish proverb, and the bad example of the harem government in the capital was having effects in the villages.

During the eighteenth century, the condition of the Balkan Christians had become sufficiently oppressive that they began looking for liberation by their independent neighbors, Austria and Russia. From now on, the Ottomans had to treat their Christian subjects as potential or actual traitors, which made the tensions between the sultan’s government and his Christian subjects still worse. By the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the treatment of Christian minorities—such as the Greeks, Armenians, and others—at times was about as bad in the Islamic Near East as any people have ever had to endure. Unfortunately for the Balkan states today, these old hatreds that Ottoman rule brought to the region remain the primary source of the ethnic and religious conflicts that continue to plague it.

The Zenith of the Ottoman Empire: Suleiman and After

The Ottoman Empire reached its peak during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent in the sixteenth century. Many consider Suleiman to have been the empire's greatest ruler. Even in a dynasty that had many long-reigning sultans, the length of Suleiman's rule was remarkably long—from 1520 to 1566. His was an outstandingly stable rule in which it seemed that everything the sultan attempted to accomplish succeeded.

Immediately, when Suleiman came to the throne at 26 years of age, he was successful in extending control over all of North Africa. For many years, the Spanish and the Portuguese had attacked and occupied the port cities of Morocco and Algeria. To deal with them, Suleiman formed an alliance with a corsair by the name of Khair ad-Din Barbarossa. The attacks that followed by the combined fleets of Khair ad-Din and the well-armed Ottomans were effective in pushing the Iberians out of Tunis and Algiers. Suleiman also seized the island of Rhodes, which the

Christian Knights of St. John hitherto had defended successfully against the Ottomans for centuries. With these victories, Suleiman came close to rivaling ancient Rome in lands conquered by winning complete control over the entire Mediterranean Sea region. In southeastern Europe, the sultan's huge army seized the cities of Belgrade and Budapest. Suleiman's next—and boldest—move was against the capital of the Austrian Empire, Vienna. After a siege that lasted through the summer in 1529, autumn and colder weather finally obliged Suleiman to make an orderly withdrawal. Although the attack failed, it marked the crest of a long wave of Ottoman expansion in Europe.

As they had stacked conquest on top of conquest, the Ottoman sultans increasingly had come to be regarded by Muslims all over the world as the new caliphs of the Muslim Umma (see Chapter 15). With the golden age of the Abbasids long past, Muslims needed a powerful ruler who could assume the responsibilities of religious leadership that were essential to Islam. Ottomans such as Mehmed and Suleiman filled that need admirably. Besides his attacks on Christian Europe, for example, Suleiman

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

HAREM INTRIGUE IN THE DEATH OF SULEIMAN'S FAVORITE SON

The following is an eyewitness account of a visit with Suleiman by Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, who had been sent as the Austrian ambassador to the court of the sultan near the end of his reign. As can be seen, Busbecq was impressed by the sultan. However, take particular note of the hint of intrigue in the sultan's harem with the account of the scheme of Roxilana, his favorite wife, to have Suleiman's favorite son, Mustapha, put to death.

The Sultan was seated on a rather low sofa, no more than a foot from the ground and spread with many costly coverlets and cushions embroidered with exquisite work. Near him were his bows and arrows. His expression, as I have said, is anything but smiling, and has a sternness which, though sad is full of majesty . . .

. . . He is beginning to feel the weight of years, but his dignity of demeanor and his general physical appearance are worthy of the ruler of so vast an empire. . . . Even in his earlier years he did not indulge in wine or in those unnatural vices to which the Turks are often addicted. Even his bitterest critics can find nothing more serious to allege against him than his undue submission to his wife [Roxilana] and its result in his somewhat [hasty] action in putting Mustapha . . . to death, which is generally [blamed on Roxilana's] employment of love potions and incantations. It is generally agreed that, ever since he promoted her to the rank of his lawful wife, he has possessed no [slave wives], although there is no law to prevent his doing so. He is a strict guardian of his religion and its ceremonies. . . . For his age—he has almost reached his sixtieth year—he enjoys quite good health, though his bad complexion may be due to some hidden malady; and indeed it is generally believed that he has an incurable ulcer or gangrene on his leg. The defect of complexion he remedies by painting his face with a coating of red powder.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What effect did the death of Mustapha seem to have on the great sultan?

Source: From Edward Foster, trans., *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople, 1554–1562* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 58–59, 65–66.



You can read about a visit to one of Suleiman's wives online.



defeated a powerful Safavid Shi'ite state in Iran (see following section) and managed to occupy Iraq. He also took charge of making the crucial arrangements for the annual pilgrimages to Mecca. In addition, he remodeled the Tomb of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina and the famous Dome of the Rock mosque in Jerusalem.

Despite the continued conquests and the unprecedented levels of prestige and influence achieved by the sultanate under this monarch, harbingers of future problems were already surfacing during Suleiman's reign. He introduced new practices that were followed by the sultans who came after him, all of which ultimately proved disadvantageous to the empire. For example, after the demoralizing losses of his favorite grand vizier and his son, Mustapha, to harem intrigues (see Evidence of the Past box), Suleiman showed less and less interest in the day-to-day details of governing than had been the case beforehand. He withdrew from daily meetings of his **divan**, or royal council, allowing his new grand viziers to assume power, if not actual responsibility. The annual jihads and conquests continued, but Suleiman and his successors again deferred to their viziers and other military officials (who were given the title of *pasha*) for their execution.

The remainder of the sixteenth century and most of the seventeenth amounted to a stalemate between the Islamic East and the Christian West. This period saw growing difficulties for the Ottomans and the other great Muslim empires—especially in their dealings with the West. Yet there was little or no actual loss of territory. In 1683, the Ottomans even managed to again muster sufficient resources for a second attack on Vienna. This assault failed, but unlike the failure of the first one in 1529, this one was followed by a disastrous defeat at the hands of a Habsburg army led by Eugen (OY-gun) of Savoy. Finally, in 1699, the Ottomans were forced to sign the **Treaty of Karlowitz**, a momentous document that, after centuries of continuous expansion, forced the Ottoman sultan for the first time to cede territory to his European opponents.

THE MUSLIM EMPIRES IN PERSIA AND INDIA

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Sufi and Shi'ite divisions, which had existed within the theology of Islam for many centuries, became noticeably stronger. The Sufi mystics sought a different path to God than orthodox Muslims (see Chapter 15). Some of the sufis of central Asia adopted the historical views of the Shi'ites, who reject all of Muhammad's successors who were not related directly to him by blood or marriage. In the eighth century, as we saw in Chapter 16, this belief resulted in a major split between the Shi'ite minority and the Sunni majority, who believed that the caliph (or successor to the Prophet) could be anyone qualified by nobility of purpose

and abilities. From that original dispute over succession gradually emerged a series of doctrinal differences. Much of Islamic history can be visualized best within the framework of the rivalry between the Shi'ite and Sunni factions.

The Safavid Realm

Within the Islamic world, the greatest rival of the Ottoman Empire after the sixteenth century was the **Safavid Empire** of Persia. Therefore, it is ironic that they shared similar origins. The embryonic Safavid state began in the region of Tabriz, west of the Caspian Sea, and, like the Ottoman ghazi state, it was organized around a Turkish Sufi association. This brotherhood took its name from its founder, Safi ad-Din (shortened as "Safavid"), who claimed to be a descendant of Muhammad. By the fifteenth century, however, the Safavid state came to differ from the Ottoman orders in one important aspect: It converted to Shi'ite Islam.

The Safavids became a major threat to the Ottomans when they evolved a militant theology that advocated the supremacy of Shi'ism through the force of arms. Spreading their views through propaganda, they converted many Turkish tribes in Iran, Syria, and eastern Asia Minor. These Shi'ites took over much of the Persian Muslim state, and from that base, they waged frequent wars on their Sunni competitors to the west. In the early 1500s, a leader named Ismail, claiming to be a representative of the hidden Shi'a Imam, succeeded in capturing much of Persia and Iraq—including Baghdad—and made himself *shah* (king). With these successes, Ismail proclaimed Shi'ism to be the official cult of the Safavid state. Thus was founded the Safavid Empire, which lasted for two centuries and was a strong competitor to the Ottomans, who were Sunni Muslims (see Map 24.2). This doctrinal opposition to Sunni Islam and political rivalry with the Ottoman Empire became especially sharp by the early seventeenth century, and it reached its height during the reign of Shah Abbas the Great (ruling 1587–1629), the greatest of the Safavid rulers.

The European opponents of the Turks—who were then still established deep in central Europe—aided Shah Abbas in his conflicts with Istanbul. Several foreigners occupied high positions in his government, as Abbas strove to avoid favoring any one group within his multiethnic realm. His beautifully planned new capital at Isfahan was a center of exquisite art and crafts production, notably in textiles, rugs, ceramics, and paintings. The Safavid period is considered the cultural high point of the long history of Persia and the Iranian people. Also, just as in the case of Suleiman the Magnificent, the reign of Abbas represented the high point of Safavid rule in Persia. Following his reign, a gradual decline resulted from encroachments by highly independent Turco-Iranian tribesman. Making things even more complicated were the gradual and caustic influences



MAP 24.2 Safavid and Mughal Empires

The Safavid Empire, shown at its maximal extent around 1625 under Shah Abbas I, was crushed by Ottoman and Afghani attacks in the 1720s after two centuries of independent Shi'ite rule. The Mughal Empire, shown at its maximal extent around 1700, included most of north and central India until the late eighteenth

century, when losses to the Hindu Marathas and the British intensified.

MAP QUESTIONS

Can you locate the capitals of the Safavid and Mughal empires?



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of European imperialists. The empire slowly lost vigor and collapsed altogether in the 1720s under Turkish and Afghani attacks. It is worth noting that, like the European Christians, the various subdivisions within Islam fought as much against each other as against the infidels. A common religion is rarely able to counter the claims of territorial, economic, or military advantage in the choice between war and peace.

The Mughal Empire

When we last looked at the Indian subcontinent in Chapter 12, we commented on the gradual revival of Hindu culture under the Gupta Dynasty in the fourth and fifth centuries CE and the golden age that ensued. Very early in Islam's history, during the late 600s, Arabs and Persians had moved into the Indus Valley and seized the province of Sind at its lower extremity. This was the beginning of a long, ongoing struggle between Hindus and

Muslims in the northwest borderlands. Out of this struggle, 800 years after the province of Sind was captured, a branch of the Turks known as the **Mughals** (MOO-guls) created in northern India one of the most impressive Muslim empires in world history.

The word *Mughal* is a corruption of the name *Mon-gol*, to whom the Turks were distantly related. Muslims from central Asia had raided and attempted to invade northern India since the 900s but had been repulsed by the dominant Hindus. As was seen in Chapter 12, in the early 1200s, the Delhi sultanate was established by a Turkish slave army operating from their base at Ghazni in Afghanistan. Within a century, the sultanate controlled much of the Indian subcontinent, reaching down into the Deccan. Divorced from their Hindu subjects by every aspect of culture, language, and religion, the sultans and their courts attempted at first to convert the Hindus and then, failing that, to humiliate and exploit them.



A CONCUBINE FROM THE PALACE OF SHAH ABBAS I. The most common type of female servitude in Islamic civilizations was sexual slavery, or concubinage. Few women were taught how to read or write, and the fact that this concubine is shown writing suggests that she was a favorite at the palace.

The original dynasty was soon overthrown, but other Central Asian Muslims succeeded it, all of whom fought among themselves for mastery even as they extended their rule southward. Aided by continuing disunity among their Hindu opponents, Mongols, Turks, Persians, and Afghans fought for control of the entire width of the Indian subcontinent from the Indus to the Ganges. At last, a leader, Babur, who was able to persuade his fellow princes to follow him, arose from the Afghan base. Brilliantly successful battle tactics allowed him to conquer much of the territory once ruled by the Delhi sultans. By the time of his death in 1530, he had established the Mughal Muslim Indian Dynasty. This man's grandson and successor was **Akbar the Great** (ruling 1556–1605). Akbar was the most distinguished Indian ruler since Ashoka in the third century BCE. He was perhaps the greatest statesman Asia has ever produced.

Akbar earned his title “the Great” in several different ways. He splendidly fulfilled the usual demands made on a warrior-king to crush his enemies and enlarge his kingdom. Under his guidance and generalship, the Mughal Empire came to control most of the subcontinent—the first time a central government had accomplished this



MOSQUE OF SHAH ABBAS I (1611–1638). Persian architecture of the Safavid period differed significantly from that of the Ottoman. The heavier styles favored by the latter betray a significant Byzantine influence. The Safavid style, on the other hand, was characterized by its relative lightness, intricate surface work, extensive use of blue tiles, *iwans*, and the oversized *qibla*, seen in this mosque built by Shah Abbas the Great at Isfahan.

feat since the days of the Mauryan kings. Second, despite his own youthful illiteracy, he completely reorganized the central government, developed an efficient multinational bureaucracy to run it, and introduced many innovative reforms in society. Third and most strikingly, Akbar practiced a policy of religious and social toleration that was most unusual in the sixteenth century. He was at least formally a Muslim, ruling a Muslim-dominated empire, but he allowed all faiths—including Christianity—to flourish and to compete for converts in his lands.

Because most of his subjects were Hindus, Akbar thought it particularly important to heal the breach between them and the Muslim minority. His initiatives toward creating an ethnically equal society were remarkable. He married a Hindu princess, and Jahangir, one of his sons by a Hindu woman, eventually succeeded him. Hindus were given equal opportunities to obtain all but the highest government posts, and members of the Hindu warrior caste called Rajputs became his willing allies in governance. By repealing the odious poll tax (*jizya*) on non-Muslims, Akbar earned the lasting gratitude of most of his subjects. The sorrow that existed among both Muslims and non-Muslims at Akbar's death was the most sincere tribute to his character.

Midway in his long reign, around 1580, Akbar decided to build an entirely new capital at *Fatehpur Sikri* (FAH-tay-poor SIHK-ree), some distance from the traditional royal cities of Delhi and Agra. This palace-city was soon abandoned and is now a ruin, but its beauty and magnificence were famous throughout the Muslim world. The court library reputedly possessed more than

ARTS AND CULTURE



THE *Rubaiyat* OF OMAR KHAYYAM

Perhaps the most-quoted poem in the English language is a nineteenth-century translation of a twelfth-century Persian philosopher, who may or may not have written the original. The *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam is a collection of four-line verses that became associated with his name long after his death in 1122. Edward Fitzgerald, who had taught himself Persian while passing his days as a Victorian country gentleman, published them in 1859 in a very free translation. Instantly finding a public, the *Rubaiyat* was reprinted several times during Fitzgerald's life and many more since then.

The poem speaks in unforgettably lovely words of our common fate. Morality is all too often a negation of joy. Death comes all too soon; in wine is the only solace. The verse story, of which only a fragment is given here, opens with the poet watching the break of dawn after a night of revelry:

1
Awake! for Morning in the Bowl of Night
Has flung the Stone that puts the Stars to Flight
And lo! the Hunter of the East has caught
The Sultan's Turret in a Noose of Light.

2
Dreaming when Dawn's Left Hand was in the Sky
I heard a Voice within the Tavern cry,
"Awake, my Little ones, and fill the Cup
Before Life's Liquor in its Cup be dry."

7
Come, fill the Cup, and in the Fire of Spring
The winter Garment of Repentance fling
The Bird of Time has but a little way
To fly—and Lo! the Bird is on the Wing.

14
The Worldly Hope men set their Hearts upon
Turns Ashes—or it prospers; and anon,
Like Snow upon the Desert's dusty Face
Lighting a little Hour or two—is gone.

15
And those who husbanded the Golden Grain
And those who flung it to the Winds like Rain
Alike to no such aureate Earth are turn'd*
As, buried once, Men want dug up again.

16
I think that never blows† so red
The Rose as where some buried Caesar bled;
That every Hyacinth the Garden wears
Dropt in its Lap from some once lovely Head.

19
Ah, my Beloved, fill the Cup that clears
Today of past Regrets and future Fears—

Tomorrow?—Why, Tomorrow I may be
Myself with Yesterday's Sev'n
Thousand Years.

20
Lo! some we loved, the loveliest and best
That Time and Fate of all their Vintage prest
Have drunk their Cup a Round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to Rest.

21
And we, that now make merry in the Room
They left, and Summer dresses in new Bloom,
Ourselves must we beneath the Couch of Earth
Descend, ourselves to make a Couch—for whom?

22
Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,
Before we too into the Dust descend;
Dust into Dust, and under Dust, to lie,
Sans Wine, sans Song, sans Singer, and—sans End!

23
Alike for those who for TODAY prepare,
And those that after a TOMORROW stare,
A Muezzin from the Tower of Darkness cries
"Fools! your Reward is neither here nor there!"

24
Why, all the Saints and Sages who discuss'd
Of the Two Worlds so learnedly, are thrust
Like foolish Prophets forth; their
Words to Scorn Are scatter'd, and their Mouths are
stop'd with Dust.

25
Oh, come with old Khayyam, and leave the
Wise To talk; one thing is certain, that Life flies;
One thing is certain, and the Rest is Lies;
The Flower that once has blown for ever dies.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Do you sympathize with the poetic point of view? Why or why not? Would a Sufi mystic or a Christian monk have agreed with it? Given the religious origins and foundation of Islamic societies, how do you suppose such a point of view would have been accommodated?

Source: *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, trans. and ed. Edward Fitzgerald (New York: Dover, 1991).



You can read more of the *Rubaiyat* online.

* "Aureate Earth . . ." means that once buried, the body is no golden treasure.

† The verb "to blow" here means "to bloom."

24,000 volumes, making it easily the largest collection of books in the world at this time. Akbar's love of learning encouraged sages of all religions and all parts of the Asian world to come to his court at his expense as teachers and students. His cultivation of the official Persian language brought new dimensions to Indian literature. The ties with Persian culture enabled by the language contributed substantially to the revival of a sense of national unity among Hindus, which they had lacked since the Gupta era.

Society and Culture. India under the Mughals remained a hodgepodge of different peoples, as well as different religions and languages. Besides those under Mughal rule, there were still many tribal groups, especially in the rain forest regions of the eastern coast, whom neither Hindus nor Muslims considered fully human and often enslaved.

The caste system continued to be refined in constant subdivisions among Hindus. Although the Muslims never acknowledged the caste system, it did serve as a useful wall to minimize frictions between subject and ruler. Despite extensive business and administrative dealings between the two religious communities, social intercourse was unusual at any level. Even among the majority Hindus, culturally based barriers existed that had nothing to do with caste.

A new religion, derived from the doctrines of both Hindu and Muslim, arose in the Far North during the seventeenth century. At first dedicated to finding a middle ground between the two dominant faiths, it eventually became a separate creed, called the religion of the **Sikhs** (seeks). Generally closer to Hindu belief, the Sikhs fought the last Mughal rulers and dominated the northwestern Punjab province. (They currently represent perhaps

IMAGES OF HISTORY

MUGHAL SUCCESSION

Beginning with Jahangir, Akbar's son, every Mughal ruler rebelled and seized power from his father, usually imprisoning him in his palace until his death. To ensure that there would be no danger from rivals, the new emperor also had all his brothers murdered. Nevertheless, care had to be taken to legitimize the succession, so the new ruler sometimes had portraits like this one painted, where the line of succession is represented. This one shows Akbar symbolically passing the crown from his son, Jahangir, to his grandson, Shah Jahan.

Mughal Emperor Akbar (c. 1605) (centre) symbolically passing the crown from his son, Jahangir, to his grandson, Shah Jahan (1627–1658). c.1630 (vellum), Bichtir (fl. 1620).

Shah Jahangir

Shah Akbar

Shah Jahan



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5 percent of the total population of India and still strive for full autonomy on either side of the India-Pakistan border.)

After Emperor Aurangzeb (OR-ahng-zehb; r. 1668–1707), the governing class was almost entirely Muslim again, and aspiring Hindus sometimes imitated their habits of dress and manner. Many foreigners—especially from the Middle East—came into the country to make their fortunes, often at the luxurious and free-spending courts not only of the emperor but also of subsidiary officials. Prevented by imperial decrees from accumulating heritable land and office, the Muslim upper class took much pride in funding institutions of learning and supporting artists of all types.

In the fine arts, the Mughal rulers made a conscious and successful effort to introduce the great traditions of Persian culture into India, where they blended with the native forms in literature, drama, and architecture. The quatrains of Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat* (roo-BUY-yat), which have long been famous throughout the world, held a special appeal for Mughal poets, who attempted to imitate them (see the Patterns of Belief box for an excerpt from the *Rubaiyat*).

The **Taj Mahal** (tahj mah-HAAL), tomb of the much-loved wife of the seventeenth-century emperor Shah Jahan (jah-HAHN), is the most famous example of a Persian-Indian architectural style. But it is only one of many, as exemplified by the ruins of Fatehpur Sikri, the equally imposing Red Fort at Agra, and a whole series of mosques. Much painting of every type and format, from book miniatures to frescos, also survives from this era and shows traces of Arab and Chinese, as well as Persian, influence. By this time, Muslim artists were ignoring the ancient religious prohibition against reproducing the human form. The wonderful variety of portraits, court scenes, gardens, and townscapes is exceeded only by the precision and color sense of the artists.

The Muslims had an extensive system of religious schools (*madrasa*), while the local Brahmins took care of the minimal needs for literacy in the Hindu villages by acting as open-air schoolmasters. Increasingly, the Muslims used the newly created Urdu language (now the official language in Pakistan) rather than the Sanskrit of the Hindus.

Like the Safavid Persians to their west, the Mughals were an exceptionally cosmopolitan dynasty, well aware of cultural affairs in and outside of their own country and anxious to make a good impression in foreign eyes. They welcomed European travelers. Like Marco Polo's reports about Kubilai Khan's China, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tales of visitors to the Great Mughal were only belatedly and grudgingly believed. Such cultivation and display of luxury were still beyond Europeans' experience.

The Mughal Economy. The existing agrarian system was but slightly disturbed by the substitution of Muslim



The Bridgeman Art Library, London

THE TAJ MAHAL. This seventeenth-century tomb was designed in Indo-Persian style as the resting place of the beloved wife of Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. Building commenced in 1632 and was completed eleven years later. Four identical facades surround a central dome 240 feet high. Gardens and the river that flows beside it supplement the whole complex.

for Hindu authority. Beginning with the Delhi sultans, courtiers and officials were awarded a parcel of land apposite to their dignity and sufficient taxes to allow them to maintain a specified number of fighting men and their equipment. This system of rewarding individuals who rendered either civil or military service to the state was called the *mansabdari* (mahn-SAHB-dah-ree). Some *mansabdars* maintained small armies of 5,000 or even 10,000 men. When the sultanate weakened, they established themselves as petty kings, joining the universal fray in northern India for territory and prestige. This system was carried over into the Mughal period. Perhaps half of the mansabdars under Akbar were Hindus, creating a loyalty to the imperial government that continued even under Aurangzeb's determined Islamic regime.

The peasants on the mansabdar's domain were somewhat better off than their contemporary counterparts in Europe or China. Most of them were tenants rather than outright proprietors, but they were not yet haunted by the shortage of agrarian land that would arrive, as it did in China, during the later eighteenth century. Village tradition, the caste system, and government tax collectors restricted their freedoms. The latter were generally no worse than in other places, and their demand for one-third to one-half of the crop was bearable if the harvest was productive.

SUMMARY

THE THREE PRINCIPAL MUSLIM EMPIRES that occupied most of the Asian continent between 1250 and 1800 were able to hold their own militarily and culturally with their Chinese, Hindu, and Christian competitors. Often warring among themselves, they were still able to maintain their borders and prestige for 200 to 600 years. After the terrible destruction rendered by the Mongols, the Muslims of the Middle East absorbed their invaders and rebuilt their cities. Chief and most enduring among their states were those of the Ottoman Turks and the Indian Mughals. The Ottomans profited from the Mongol destruction of Baghdad and the Rum sultanate by erecting their own powerful ghazi state and even eventually took Constantinople (Istanbul) for their capital. Under a series of warrior-sultans, the Ottoman leaders extended their power to the gates of Vienna

before internal weakness drove them back in the 1700s. By the nineteenth century, the Ottomans had become so weak that they were sustained only by the rivalry of the major European powers. Thus, the dreaded sixteenth-century empire of Suleiman had been degraded to “the sick man” of Europe—so called by a British statesman.

For two centuries, the Shi’ite dynasty of the Safavids reclaimed grandeur for Persia and Iraq, where they ruled until they were brought down by the superior power of their Sunni rivals in Istanbul. The Mughals descended on Hindu India in the early sixteenth century and set up one of the few regimes in Indian history that successfully managed to rule most of this intensely varied subcontinent. Under the extraordinary Akbar the Great, the regime reached its apex, only to decline slowly during the following century.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Akbar the Great
dervish

devshirme
divan

ghazis
grand vizier
Janissaries
Mehmed the Conqueror
Mughals
Rubaiyat
Safavid Empire

Shaykh al-Islam
Sikhs
Sublime Porte
Suleiman the Magnificent
Taj Mahal
Treaty of Karlowitz

For Further Reflection

1. What circumstances in the Byzantine and Abbasid empires seem to have enabled the Ottoman Turks to rise to power and to expand their control over the region formerly occupied by the Byzantine Empire?
2. Considering the historical rivalry that existed between Sunni and Shi’ite Islam, how did the rise of the Ottoman and Safavid empires help fix the current boundaries between Shi’ite Iran and the predominantly Sunni regions to the west of it?
3. How do you evaluate Akbar the Great’s policies of tolerance towards other religions in Mughal India? How did they differ from the policies of previous (and later) Muslim rulers of India? How did Akbar demonstrate tolerance? Did he completely solve the conflicts between Muslims and the followers of other Indian religions? Why not?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book’s website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. Taken together at their height, the Ottoman, Mughal, and Safavid empires
 - a. extended from the Atlantic Ocean to Australia.
 - b. included all of Asia except the Japanese islands.
 - c. could be termed a united political territory.
 - d. extended from the Atlantic to the Ganges River valley.
 - e. included such diverse areas as Iraq, India, and Italy.

2. The Ottoman Empire began
 - a. as a Shia dervish order.
 - b. as a ghazi frontier state.
 - c. as a Byzantine state.
 - d. subordinate to the Abbasid caliphs.
 - e. as a combination of three formerly competing dynasties.
3. Which of the following was not accepted by Ottoman statecraft?
 - a. The precepts and prescriptions of the Qur'an
 - b. The function of the sultan as leader of the faithful
 - c. The favored situation of the Muslims over the non-Muslim subjects
 - d. The necessity of having at least one major Christian ally
 - e. A grand vizier who served as the highest civil official
4. The treatment of non-Muslims in the Balkans under Ottoman rule
 - a. deteriorated sharply in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
 - b. improved as the powers of the sultan diminished.
 - c. tended to become better the farther away they were from the capital.
 - d. depended entirely on the whims of the ruling sultan.
 - e. deteriorated for a short time in the seventeenth century, but by 1900 was much improved.
5. Suleiman the Magnificent accomplished all of these except
 - a. driving the Europeans out of North Africa.
 - b. conquering Vienna.
 - c. remodeling several monumental buildings.
 - d. assuming leadership of the Islamic Empire.
 - e. taking charge of the arrangements for the pilgrimage to Mecca.
6. Shi'ite Muslims
 - a. believe the Qur'an is only partly correct.
 - b. make up the largest single group of Islamic people.
 - c. reject the prophetic vocation of Muhammad.
 - d. believe that the leader of Islam must be descended from the Prophet Muhammad.
 - e. refuse to admit Sufis into their sect.
7. The Ottoman and Safavid empires were similar in one respect: They both were
 - a. governed by a sultan and a grand vizier.
 - b. organized in their beginnings around a Sufi order.
 - c. organized to fight as holy warriors against Christian infidels.
 - d. weakened by the demoralizing effects of harem intrigues.
 - e. based on the Sunni sect of Islam.
8. The Muslim rulers of the Safavid Dynasty were
 - a. the conquerors of Constantinople.
 - b. the allies of the Mughals in India.
 - c. a Persian family that converted to Shi'ite Islam.
 - d. the first conquerors of Persia for Islam.
 - e. militant warriors who cared little for the arts.
9. The attitudes and policies of Akbar the Great regarding Hindus were that of
 - a. tolerance.
 - b. religious fanaticism.
 - c. a desire to secularize them if he could not convert them.
 - d. indifference.
 - e. disdain.
10. The most universally revered of the Indian Mughal rulers was
 - a. Aurangzeb.
 - b. Akbar.
 - c. Ashoka.
 - d. Abbas.
 - e. Babur.



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Africa in the Era of Expansion

NEW STATES APPEAR

West African States, Old and New
The Lakes Kingdoms
The Swahili, the Portuguese, and Oman

EUROPEAN IMPRESSIONS

THE ERA OF INFORMAL EMPIRE

The Slave Trade and Its Results

INTENSIFICATION OF EUROPEAN CONTACTS

North Africa
West Africa
South Africa
East Africa

THE CENTURIES THAT FOLLOWED the first appearance of Europeans in Africa were ones of both decline and growth for Africans. These centuries in African history, until about 1880, are often characterized as the era of **Informal Empire**—that is to say, the era when Europeans remained content with limited involvement in Africa. Until then, Europeans were confined to the coastal regions. Conquest and the creation of formal colonies, especially of the continent's vast interior, was something in which European governments were not prepared to invest blood and treasure. Interest remained limited to commerce, and permanent settlement was out of the question for most Europeans. Therefore, Europeans had by far their greatest, and perhaps most destructive, impact on the coastal regions. Africans living there or in the near interior experienced the greatest changes, especially where the effects of the slave trade were felt.

However, describing the history of the entire African continent entirely in terms of the European presence would be a gross misrepresentation of Africans and their history. Many other things were happening in Africa that had little or nothing to do with Europeans. While the European presence in Africa was an important and growing factor in African history during the centuries before 1880, Africans continued to control their own futures and to find continuities with their own rich histories to guide their lives and destinies. One especially noteworthy occurrence was the rise and decline of African states and kingdoms. The era saw the appearance of hundreds of states of all sizes. We cannot review all of them here, but we briefly take note of only a few dozen exceptionally significant ones.

We are people because
of other people.

—*Sotho Proverb*

1340–1591	Songhay Empire
1498–1698	Portuguese domination of East African Swahili states
1650–1870	Height of Atlantic slave trade
1652	Dutch East India Company founds Cape Colony, South Africa
c. 1770–1840	Extensive migrations in South and East Africa
1832	Sayyid Sa'id founds sultanate of Zanzibar
1830s	French begin to assert control over North Africa
1840s	Christian missionaries and explorers begin to move into interior
1850s–1860s	French begin extending their control up the Senegal River

NEW STATES APPEAR

The beginning of the early modern era in world history saw the appearance of the great West African Sudanic empires in Songhay and Bornu, as well as the city-states among the Hausa people of northern Nigeria. The region that includes Lake Victoria and the northern end of Lake Tanganyika also saw new and powerful kingdoms emerge. Around that same time and in the following century, the ancient Swahili city-states of the East coast, as well as Great Zimbabwe, saw significant developments due to external threats from the expanding Europeans and the Omani Arabs.

West African States, Old and New

The Niger River city of Gao was already the focus of central Sudanic trade at the time of Ghana's greatness in the western Sudan. It remained in the shadow of its more powerful western Sudanic neighbors through the centuries of Mali's greatness; and in fact, realizing its importance, Mansa Musa subjugated Gao in 1325. Its dominance of the Niger River trade and most of the major trans-Saharan routes to the east of Timbuktu enabled it to exercise great commercial and military power. This power was realized when its first great king, Sonni Ali (1464–1492), employed a strategy that combined coordinated attacks of a robust cavalry of armored warriors with a sturdy navy of river canoes to extend his conquests for creating the core of what became the kingdom of **Songhay** (song-GEYE). Under Sonni Ali and his successors, Songhay eventually became the mightiest of the great Sudanic states of West Africa.

Askia (ahs-KEE-yah) **Muhammad the Great** (1493–1528) continued his predecessor Ali's expansionist ways. But, as important as his conquests were, Askia Muhammad's most lasting contribution to West African history lay in his support of Islam. Following the example of the great Malian emperors, Mansas Musa, and Sulayman, Muhammad was an enthusiastic Muslim who gave Muslim scholars (*ulama*) important positions in his state apparatus; enforced orthodox practices among his subjects; built mosques; and subsidized book production and scholarship in the intellectual centers of Gao, Timbuktu, and Jenne.

Despite the works of Muhammad and his successors, simultaneous attacks by non-Muslim Mossi peoples from the south and Tuareg (TWAH-rehg) Berbers from the north gravely weakened the Songhay state during the 1500s. Its final overthrow came when Moroccan forces invaded it in 1591.

Other Sudanic states that, like Mali and Songhay, were based on trade and Islam were those of *Futa* (FOO-tah) *Toro*, *Futa Jallon*, Bornu, and the city-states of the Hausa. The first two of these were located in present-day Senegal and Sierra Leone. These small states were sixteenth- and seventeenth-century creations of Fulani (foo-LAH-nee)

and Tukolor (TOO-kuh-lohr) cattle pastoralists that resulted partly from resistance to the spread of Islam and partly as a response to opportunities to establish trade partnerships with the Europeans on the coast.

The roots of the **Bornu** kingdom were in an earlier, more loosely organized state called *Kanem*. Situated to the east of Lake Chad, and like its contemporary and more famous western neighbor Mali, the ancient Kanemi state was a product of the trans-Saharan trade and Islam's march southward from North Africa (Chapter 17). Sometime around the fifteenth century, sultans of the *Sefawa* (SEH-fuh-wah) *Dynasty* of the Kanuri state were replaced by a new dynasty of the *Mai* (rhymes with "eye"). Near the beginning of the fifteenth century, and suffering from repeated attacks from the neighboring Bulala peoples, Mai Daud relocated the capital to the west of Lake Chad. Once there, their reorganized kingdom took the new name of Bornu. Throughout its long history, Kanem-Bornu, as it is sometimes called, grew wealthy from the control of the caravan routes of the central Sahara that went northward to Libya, as well as the northeast and eastern routes to Egypt and the Nile River valley. Its Muslim sultans had reputations for exceptional piety and for promoting Islamic literacy and law among their subjects.

Resembling the Swahili of East Africa, the **Hausa** (HOW-sah) people of the northern region of what is now Nigeria did not organize themselves into a unified state until the nineteenth century. Historically, Hausaland was blessed with good soils, so most Hausa were farmers. From ancient times, they had a reputation as skilled traders and craftsmen who specialized in growing the valuable kola nut and in producing fine textiles and leather goods, all of which they traded throughout West and North Africa. Their largest political entity was the city-state, of which Kano, Katsina, Zaria, Daura, and Gobir were the largest. Ruled by a king called the *Sarki*, each town organized its own defense and marketplace, which was the economic mainstay of the state. Each was an integral part of the international trade that extended through the western and central Sudan, and maintained connections with the forest kingdoms, like Benin and Oyo, to their south.

The Lakes Kingdoms

Soon before or after 1500, Nilo-Saharan-speaking clans (called *Nilotes*: neye-LAHTS) from the southernmost regions bordering the Nile River began a steady drift into areas inhabited mostly by stateless Bantu speakers around Lakes Kivu, Victoria, and Tanganyika. These Nilotes had a religious tradition that included a kind of spiritual leader called the *roth* or *rwoth*, who in some circumstances could wield considerable political powers. Once they settled around the Lakes—and as a result of mixing with the Bantu, a division of labor between farmers and cattle herders, and the greater availability of resources

and trade—a number of large, substantial kingdoms came into existence by the seventeenth century that seem to have originated under the “roth-ship.” **Bunyoro-Kitara** seems to have been the most powerful of these—one that dominated neighboring kingdoms like Karagwe, Burundi, and **Buganda**. By the late eighteenth century, however, Buganda started to eclipse Bunyoro, and by the time the first Europeans arrived, its king, the *Kabaka*, ruled a kingdom that included most of the modern nation of Uganda.

The Swahili, the Portuguese, and Oman

East Africa felt the most direct impact of Arab and Swahili traders, who had long preceded the Europeans in slaving and other commerce in African goods. Swahili towns such as Paté (PAH-tay), Mombasa (Mohm-BAH-sah), Zanzibar, and Kilwa were busy entrepôts in the Indian Ocean trade for centuries before 1500 (see Chapter 17). In these coastal regions, the Swahili-speaking people had developed a highly cosmopolitan lifestyle, with trading networks that extended along a broad stretch of the coast from Mogadishu to Mozambique as well as into the interior. The urban Swahili were Muslims, whereas most of the hinterland peoples continued to follow local religious beliefs and practices. These city-states were commercial in nature, trading across the Indian Ocean as partners of their fellow Muslims in southern and eastern Arabia, Iraq, Iran, and India.

In 1498, Vasco da Gama sailed for the first time around Africa’s southern Cape of Good Hope on his voyage to India (see Chapter 22). In the following decades, the Portuguese attempted to dominate the gold and ivory trade of East Africa. Ultimately they failed, but they built major fortresses at Mozambique and Mombasa, and for nearly two centuries they controlled these major cities, plus other commercial centers at Paté, Lamu, Malindi, Pemba, Zanzibar, and Kilwa.

Except for cooperation from the sultans of Malindi in the 1500s, there was considerable Swahili resistance to this foreign invasion. Much of it was religiously based: Both the Portuguese and the Swahili saw their conflict as one between Catholic Christians and Muslims. With help coming from the Imamate of Oman (in southeastern Arabia), by the 1660s, the Swahili and their Arab allies were able to challenge Portuguese ascendancy in East Africa and the western Indian Ocean. Except for Mozambique, by 1698, the Omani had replaced the Portuguese as the paramount power in East Africa. In the following two centuries, the Swahili and the Arabs—with the help of inland peoples like the Kamba (KAHM-bah), the Nyamwezi (Nyahm-WAY-zee), and the Yao (YAH-oh)—opened new trade routes to the East African interior. Most of this was based on ivory and other animal by-products, but in the eighteenth century, slaves became another of East Africa’s chief exports (see below).

EUROPEAN IMPRESSIONS

Unfortunately for Africans, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Europeans arrived on Africa’s coasts at about the very time that some of the continent’s most powerful kingdoms were in decline or undergoing political changes. As a result, the European explorer-traders perceived the kingdoms of Africa as subservient and backward. This impression was reinforced by the Africans’ relative lack of knowledge in military and technological matters, and later by the readiness of some of the African kings and chieftains to allow the sale of competing or neighboring people into slavery—a practice that had been commonplace in Europe for a thousand years but that Christian and Jewish teaching had by that time effectively forbidden.

The Europeans (largely the Portuguese in the first century of contacts) concluded that the Africans were backward in their sensitivity and degree of civilization and that it would not be wrong to take advantage of them. Africans were perceived as not quite human, so what would have been a despicable sin against God and humanity if it had been done back home in Lisbon was quite forgivable in Africa. This callousness was undoubtedly reinforced by the desperate nature of business enterprise in the first centuries of the colonial era, when it is estimated that Europeans who went to the African coast had a 25 percent mortality rate per year. It was not an affair that encouraged second thoughts on the morality of what one was doing.

Other Europeans who as slavers came into contact with Africans shared the Portuguese attitude. Early attempts to convert the Africans to Christianity were quickly subordinated to business interests by the Portuguese and never attempted at all by their English, Dutch, and French successors until the nineteenth century. The tendency to see Africans as a source of profit rather than as fellow human beings was rationalized by using everything from biblical quotations to Arab and Berber Muslim statements reflecting their own prejudices. The basis of European (and later American) racism directed against dark-skinned peoples is to be found in these earliest contacts and the circumstances in which they were made.

THE ERA OF INFORMAL EMPIRE

Long after the first Europeans had arrived on the coasts of West Africa in the second half of the fifteenth century, they had penetrated very little into the enormous depths of the continent or into the interior life of the people. Aside from the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope and the Portuguese colony of Angola, Europeans in the three centuries after 1480 established no permanent settlements. Instead, trade was often conducted by sailors right on coastal beaches. Fortified trading posts like the famous Elmina (ehl-MEE-nah) Castle on the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana) were

founded at wide intervals. Staffed by a literal handful of European traders and their African employees, these trading stations, or **factories** as they were called, naturally had a strong impact on African life in areas near the coasts. However, the farther one went inland from these European enclaves, the less effect they had. African leaders usually dealt with the white traders on an equal or even advantageous basis, because the whites depended entirely on the African leaders to gather slaves, gold, pepper, and animal by-products that the interior produced for export.

In contrast to the Americas and Asia, most of Africa's interior remained free from outside interventions. The chief reason seems to have been the ability of the early traders to get what they wanted without having to establish permanent settlements or long-term relationships. Of course, what they originally came for was gold and a list of exotic products for which Africa was the only source. In this sense, the early African experience with the Europeans was similar to that of the Southeast Asian peoples: minimal and highly selective contact. Soon, however, slaves took the place of gold as the most profitable and most pursued item of trade. Coastal peoples in mutually profitable fashion delivered both slaves and goods to the Europeans, who saw no persuasive reason to risk the dangers of a long journey into unknown territory to get what African middlemen would deliver—for a price. There was certainly profit enough for all, and the coastal peoples and their rulers possessed sufficient authority and knowledge of trading practices to know how to deal with the newcomers.

The model established in the 1400s by the exploring Portuguese was followed closely by their several successors along the western African coast. The European traders could not and did not simply overwhelm the Africans and seize what they wanted. Europeans did not possess any real military advantage over Africans until the late nineteenth century. Moreover, any such attempt at the use of force would have resulted at the very least in stopping all future trade. And for the entire four centuries of European pre-colonial contact with West Africa, the Portuguese, Dutch, British, French, and others were engaged in commercial competition, which African leaders could at times manipulate to their own advantage.

Also discouraging permanent settlement were the devastating diseases that were endemic. With its tropical climate, Africa was afflicted more than Europe by fevers such as malaria, cholera, sleeping sickness, typhus, and typhoid fever. The western coast in particular had long had the reputation of being a “white man's graveyard.” A recent authority on the question estimates that the mortality rate among white traders and seamen on the West African coast might have surpassed even that of the African slaves shipped across the Atlantic: 25 to 50 percent per year! Adding to such formidable obstacles were the oppressively hot climate and the unknown and difficult terrain. To protect their middleman positions in trading

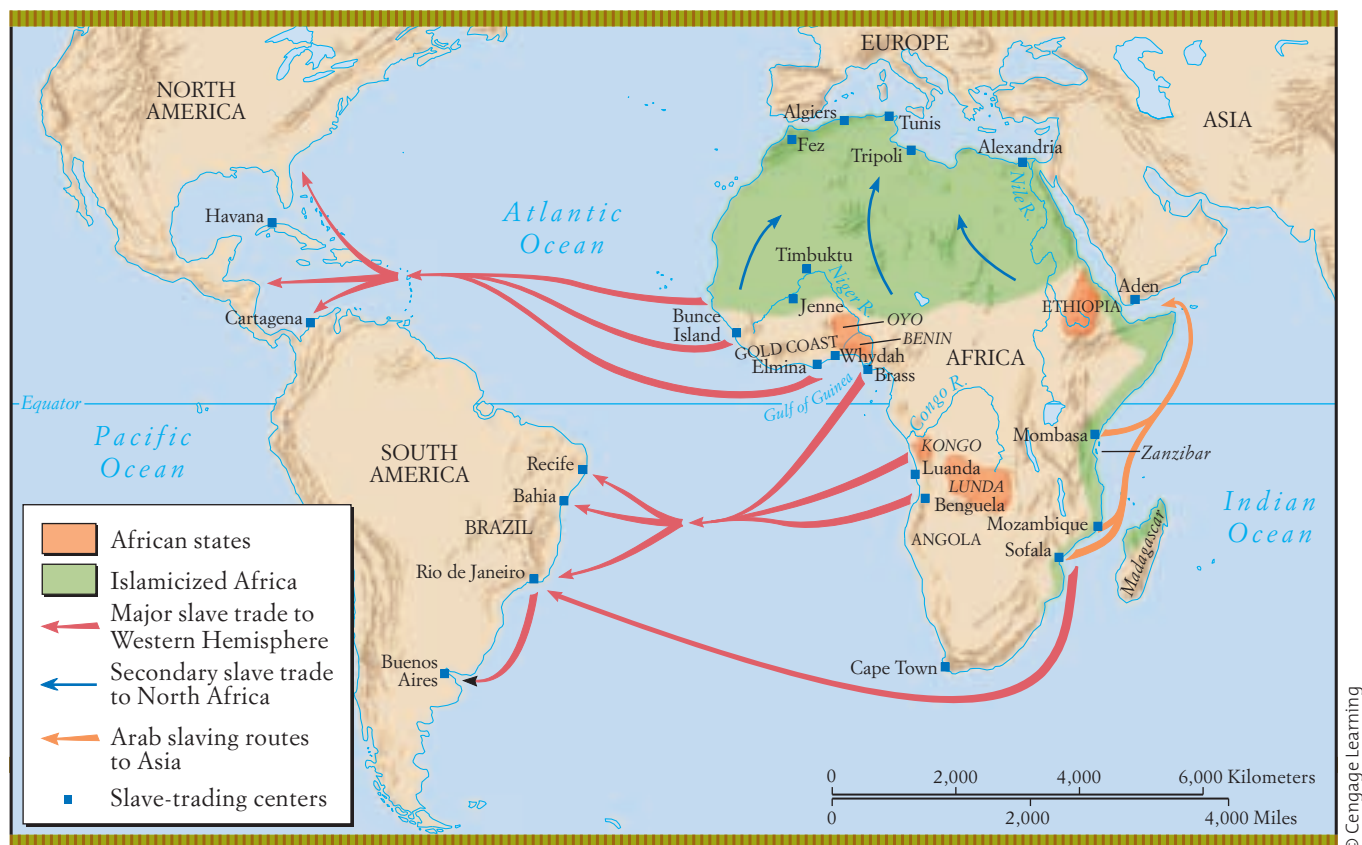
with Europeans—who seemed always to have been willing to think the worst of Africans and their “strange” ways—coastal peoples often gave false accounts of savage peoples inhabiting the interior, who supposedly lay in wait to murder any innocent traveler or explorer who turned up in their midst. Such, then, were the unfortunate origins of the image of Africa as the “Dark Continent,”—an image that was difficult to dispel and that persists to some degree even today among the ignorant.

As noted in Chapter 3, Africa's geography and climate made traveling inward from the coast especially difficult. Thanks to the tsetse fly (the primary carrier of “sleeping sickness”), horses and mules were unable to survive throughout most of the central and southern two-thirds of the continent, and the wheel was unknown in equatorial Africa before Europeans introduced it. All goods of whatever nature depended on human muscle for transport. The interior plateaus drop off sharply to the coastal plains, creating rapids and waterfalls that made long-distance river transport impossible in much of the continent. Only the Nile, the Niger (NEYE-ger) in the west, and the Congo in the central region are sporadically navigable far into the interior. All three of these rivers were controlled by substantial states when the Europeans arrived, and the Nile Valley was in Muslim hands.

The Slave Trade and Its Results

Slavery was an old institution that was found at some time or another among virtually all peoples—even Africans—and it long predated transatlantic trade. In ancient and medieval times, unfortunates of all ethnic backgrounds—including Greeks, Turks, Mongols, Africans, and various Slavic peoples—filled the demand for slaves. War and poverty provided the primary reasons for enslaving human beings, whereas ethnic and racial prejudices had contributed to it only indirectly. Ancient and medieval slavery also took many forms. It was formally recognized in the Qur'an, for example, yet Muslims were encouraged to treat their slaves with compassion and to free those who converted to Islam. Among Africans, slavery was usually closely akin to indentured labor or even a sort of remote kinship.

In Africa, the slave trade existed long before the arrival of Europeans south of the Sahara. Berber and Arab Muslims transported thousands of slaves from that broad region called the Sudan, moving them across the Saharan Desert and the Red Sea, and to a lesser extent from East Africa and across the Indian Ocean. Despite this prior trade, no topic in African history has been as sensitive and controversial as the extent and results of the transatlantic slave trade (see Map 25.1). The European settlement of the Western Hemisphere and its establishment of plantation systems there created the demand for cheap labor. Their first choice to meet that need was Native Americans, but diseases destroyed up to 90 percent of the Native American



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MAP 25.1 The African Slave Trade, c. 1700

During the two centuries of intense slaving (1600–1800), about 10 to 15 million Africans were captured and shipped from West African ports across the Atlantic. The trade across the Sahara and the Indian Ocean was far less intense, but its origins reach far back

into antiquity and probably resulted in additional millions being victimized. It remains a problem even today in parts of the continent.

MAP QUESTIONS

Given the enormous portion of the world that saw trafficking in slaves, who would have to have been its principal participants?

population and forced the Europeans to look elsewhere. Given the prior existence of slavery, it cannot be said that racism, per se, motivated their initial choice of Africans to replace Native Americans; more obvious contributing factors in the beginning were the Africans' ability to survive the harsh transatlantic crossing and to resist disease. However, the brutality of the system of trade and transport and the form of slavery in which slaves were reduced to chattel helped engender racism, and racist assumptions about Africans provided the excuses on which the "system" was based.

The Portuguese were the first to engage in the business of slavery. They purchased the first slaves from the region of the Senegal River around 1448, and the slave trade continued more or less haphazardly until the early 1500s, probably numbering no more than a few hundred slaves per year. By 1520, however, Portuguese immigrants established sugar plantations on the offshore islands of Príncipe (prin-SEE-pay) and São Tomé (SAH-oh TOH-may), to which slaves soon were soon being exported. Until about 1640, relatively few slaves were exported to

the New World, but the demand quickly increased thereafter, and the Dutch replaced the Portuguese for a few decades of the seventeenth century as the principal dealers and transporters of slaves. (A Dutch ship sold the first slaves to the colony of Jamestown, Virginia, when tobacco was first being tried there as a cash crop.) By the end of the seventeenth century, the English, French, Danes, and others began challenging the Dutch near-monopoly. The following century saw the trade at its zenith, and after the founding of the Royal African Company in 1672, the English quickly came to dominate it until 1807, when Parliament finally banned it.

The greatest debates have centered on the statistics of slavery. One problem is the lack of sufficient and uniformly reliable data, and another concerns issues of interpretation. How many slaves were sold and bought? And where? And how did these numbers change over time? Furthermore, what crucial information might one not expect to find in the data, such as census figures and birth and mortality rates? Given these difficulties, refinement is impossible, and one is driven to make only the crudest

approximations of the numbers involved and the impact they had. The lowest estimates that have been made are that 8 million human beings were exported from Africa to the New World in the 220 years between 1650 and 1870, the high point of the trade. Others calculate that the total number of slaves exported might have been as high as 40 million, if one includes in those figures the number of deaths that occurred along the way. Added to these figures are estimates of another 3.5 million who were transported from Africa to the Near East and the Mediterranean in the same period.

Even if one accepts the lowest figures for the number of slaves exported, this does not suggest that slaving had little impact on African populations or that the impact was uniform in all areas. Slaves for the Atlantic trade were gathered primarily in two areas: West Africa (roughly between Senegal and Nigeria) and the coast of what is now West Central Africa. In East Africa, where the trade ran northward by sea to the Muslim countries, the impact was still more narrowly focused on the areas that are now Mozambique, Tanzania, Madagascar, and Malawi. Besides hindering population growth in parts of Africa, the slave trade had other social and economic consequences. However, its precise nature is the subject of much debate, even among Africans.

Some African leaders indisputably reaped considerable advantage for themselves and for at least some of their people from the trade. They accomplished this by becoming active partners with whites in securing new human supplies and by using the proceeds of the trade in ways that increased their material prestige and power. Leaders especially prized firearms, which they then used to enhance their power to gather more slaves. This trade specifically helped create—or at least enhance—the power of several kingdoms of varying size, particularly those of the so-called Slave Coast, which included the littorals of what now are the African nations of Togo, Benin, and Nigeria. African states that benefited particularly from the slave trade in this region included the kingdoms of Dahomey and Oyo, as well as the Niger Delta city-states of Bonny, Brass, Calabar, Nembé, and Warri.

Slaving and the raids or local wars that it generated were also indisputably a major cause of the chaotic bloodshed observed and condemned by nineteenth-century Europeans. Above all, firearms were responsible for this situation. Guns were needed not only to hunt for slaves but also to defend oneself from would-be slave hunters. Africans often found themselves at a considerable disadvantage when confronted by Europeans wanting slaves: Either they had to provide the slaves in return for the firearms, or the firearms were sold to others who were willing to provide the slaves. If people refused to become a part of the system, they could expect to become its victims.

The results were usually catastrophic, as occurred for example in the great kingdom of the Kongo during

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Soon after the Portuguese arrived there, Roman Catholic missionaries succeeded in converting many of the chiefs and elders of the land and its king, whom they renamed King Affonso I (ah-FAHN-soh). Christianity, however, could not save the king and his unfortunate people once the slave traders moved in and were given a free and brutal hand in obtaining human cargoes for shipment. The slaving business resulted in not only massive misery for the captured victims but also the degeneration of a previously large and stable kingdom in West Central Africa. These sad results were described eloquently in a letter the Kongolese king addressed to the king of Portugal, his “brother,” in 1526 (see Law and Government box).

INTENSIFICATION OF EUROPEAN CONTACTS

Not until the nineteenth century did most sub-Saharan Africans experience the heavy hand of foreign domination. Before then, Europeans remained indifferent to the Dark Continent and believed that its people and its lands had little to offer the world in terms of either knowledge worth knowing or wealth worth having. For these reasons, most white men who came to Africa restricted their interest in Africa to trade and their interest in Africans to those peoples of the coastlands who could provide them with the few goods they desired. Except for the French in North Africa, the Portuguese in Angola, and the **Boers** of Dutch descent in South Africa, the Europeans saw no reason to take any interest in, much less disturb, the patchwork of kingdoms that existed mostly in the interior of the continent. The result was that, in 1800, Europeans knew hardly more about the interior than their ancestors had known in the fifth century. Not even the basic geography of the river systems was understood, and the quest for the sources of the Nile, which lasted until the 1860s, was one of the great adventure stories of the Victorian era.

From 1800 onward, this indifference and ignorance changed gradually. Several reasons account for this change. The first of these was humanitarian. After centuries of being steeped in the inhumanity of the slave trade, Europeans—first and especially those who were most involved in it, the English—simply rediscovered their conscience in the 1790s. A movement to end the slave trade and slavery arose out of late-eighteenth-century Christian evangelism. This was particularly true with the appearance of the Wesleyan (Methodist) movement among the new urban poor of Britain’s early Industrial Revolution. Men like John Wesley and Thomas Fowell Buxton led a vigorous **Anti-Slavery Movement**, which soon acquired many supporters in high places. They persuaded the British Parliament in 1807 to officially end the slave trade, the United States in 1808, and other European nations after the Napoleonic Wars.

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

THE LETTER OF KING AFFONSO OF KONGO, 1526

The kingdom of Kongo was the best organized and most extensive of all the African states encountered by the Europeans in their early explorations. Extending many hundreds of miles on either side of the river, Kongo encompassed most of today's Angola and much of the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Portuguese, who sent missionaries to the court of Kongo's powerful and wealthy king at the same time as Columbus's voyages to the Caribbean, were delighted at being able to report the conversion to Catholic Christianity of the ruler they dubbed Affonso I (ruling 1506–1543). Affonso collaborated closely with his Portuguese protectors and business partners in a rapidly expanding slave and luxury goods trade. He also founded the only African dynasty of Christian rulers, which lasted until the final collapse of the Kongo kingdom in the later seventeenth century under the combined weight of the slave trade and rebellion by provincial chiefs, who used firearms and the profits obtained from the slave trade against the king's authority. The letter excerpted here, dated October 18, 1526, from King Affonso to the king of Portugal, explains the predicament into which his kingdom had been reduced by the slave trade.

Moreover, Sir, in our Kingdoms there is another great inconvenience which is of little service to God, and this is that many of our people [naturaes], keenly desirous as they are of the wares and things of your Kingdoms, which are brought here by your people, and in order to satisfy their voracious appetite, seize many of our people ... and very often it happens that they kidnap even noblemen and sons of noblemen, and our relatives, and take them to be sold to the white men who are in our kingdoms....

And as soon as they are taken by the white men they are immediately ironed and branded with fire, and when they are carried to be embarked, if they are caught by

our guards' men the whites allege that they have bought them but they cannot say from whom, so that it is our duty to do justice and to restore to the freemen their freedom, but it cannot be done if your subjects feel offended, as they claim to be.

And to avoid such a great evil we passed a law so that any white man living in our Kingdoms and wanting to purchase goods in any way should first inform three of our noblemen and officials of our court whom we rely upon in this matter, and these are Dom Pedro Manipanza and Dom Manuel Manisaba, our chief usher, and Goncala Pires our chief freighter, who should investigate if the mentioned goods are captives or free men, and if cleared by them there will be no further doubt nor embargo for them to be taken and embarked. But if the white men do not comply with it they will lose the aforementioned goods. And if we do them this favour and concession it is for the part Your Highness has in it, since we know that it is in your service too that these goods are taken from our Kingdom, otherwise we should not consent to this....

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What are the trade “goods” referred to in the document? What does the use of this term suggest about the sixteenth-century attitude toward slaves? What seems to be the nature of the relationship between Affonso and the king of Portugal? Did Affonso and his ministers seem to have control over the situation he describes? What seem to be the reasons why or why not? Why do these Africans all have Portuguese names?

Source: Excerpted from Visconde de Paiva-Manso, *História do Congo (Documentos)* (Lisbon, 1877). Reprinted in Basil Davidson, *African Civilization Revisited* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1991), 224–225.

To enforce these laws, Britain used its powerful Royal Navy to patrol the coastal areas of West and East Africa, where the trade was most active. Colonies were established at Freetown in Sierra Leone (by Britain) and Libreville in what is now Gabon (by France) for slaves who had been freed through these measures. Right behind these reformers came missionaries who were anxious to convert these freed slaves and other Africans for God and Christ. Missionary societies were begun in Europe and America to train men and women to go into the “field” as evangelists to minister to the souls of Africans and as medical missionaries to minister to their bodies.

Another reason for the changed attitudes was simple curiosity: the desire to explore the world's last great unexplored regions. The most noted of the nineteenth-century journeyers into the interior of the Dark Continent were either missionaries such as David Livingstone or explorer-adventurers such as the Frenchman René Caillé (reh-NAY cay-YAY), the German Heinrich Barth, the Englishman Richard Francis Burton, and the Anglo-American Henry Morton Stanley. The sharply competitive search for the source of the Nile River was largely responsible for opening knowledge of the vast interior of East Africa in the 1860s and 1870s to the outside world, while the exploration of



IMAGES OF HISTORY

THE SLAVE TRADE

The slave trade was a part of Africa's history since the time of Pharaonic Egypt. It continued as a small-scale business through the fifteenth century. Only when the Europeans developed plantation-based cash cropping in the islands of the Indian

Ocean and the Americas did the numbers of Africans transported overseas climb to the prodigiously high levels that we associate with the modern trade. Americans and Europeans were the main traffickers, but the viability of the slave trade depended on the involvement of many peoples, including Africans and Arabs.

▼ THE EUROPEAN TRADE



Iron bars were traded for slaves in West Africa

• Large bar used to “buy” an adult male

• Small bar used to “buy” children

▼ THE EAST AFRICAN MUSLIM TRADE



Some captives were made to carry other goods.

Slaves were collared together to prevent escape.

Sick slaves were killed.

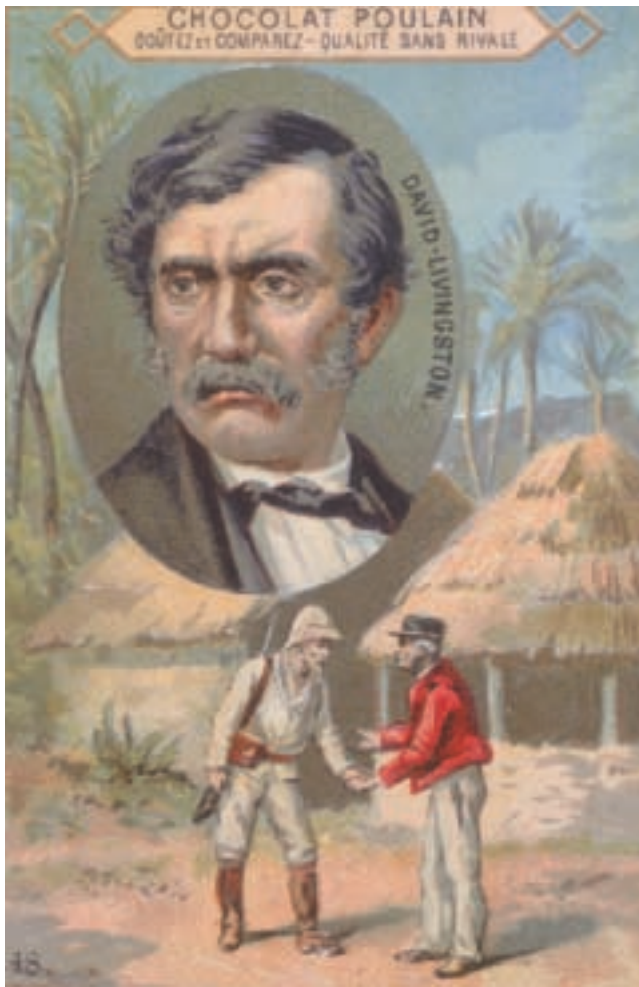
Swahili traders

the Niger and Congo basins did the same for West and Central Africa. Livingstone was the first European to be acknowledged as having crossed the entire African continent east to west, although there is evidence that he was preceded by half a century by a Portuguese explorer. British journalist Stanley, made famous by his well-publicized search for an allegedly lost Livingstone, went on to become a major African explorer in the 1870s and, as an agent of the king of the Belgians, Leopold II, “opened up” the Congo to colonial status.

Finally, there were two other factors that will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter: the profit motive and rising nationalism. Commercial interest in Africa was not new in the nineteenth century, but previously most had believed that Africa possessed little more to offer the world than slaves, gold, and animal by-products such as ivory and skins. That perception changed when the gold and slave trade began winding down and the Industrial Revolution in nineteenth-century Europe and

America created new needs for industrial raw materials and markets for its finished manufactured goods (Chapters 32 and 33). After having witnessed firsthand the effects of the slave trade in East and Central Africa, David Livingstone, perhaps unwittingly, contributed to this new interest in Africa when he observed that if “Christianity and commerce” might be offered, Africans would be weaned away from the slave trade. Trading companies like Britain’s Royal Niger Company and various firms operating out of northern Germany and Marseilles, France, began marking off their respective “spheres of influence” all over Africa, wherein they exercised monopolistic control of trade in highly sought-after local products such as palm oil (the principal lubricant of the First Industrial Revolution).

Gradually, then, as the nineteenth century passed and new forms of interest in Africa developed, the conditions for the sudden late-nineteenth-century competition among the major European powers—called the “Scramble for Africa” (see Chapter 36)—fell into place.



© Private Collection/Archives Charmet/The Bridgeman Art Library

THE EXPLORER DAVID LIVINGSTONE AND HIS MEETING WITH STANLEY. In 1869, the *New York Herald* sent Henry Morton Stanley (left) to search for the famous Scottish missionary-explorer who had not been heard from for several years. In 1871, Stanley found an already-ill Livingstone (inset and right) at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika. Together, they explored the northern part of the lake and some of its rivers. After parting, Livingstone continued his exploration of the regions to the east of the lake and finally succumbed to malaria in 1873.

North Africa

Another factor that motivated Europeans to seek colonies in Africa and other parts of the world was nationalism. As a ploy to shore up a weak and unpopular monarchy, the French government hoped to stir up nationalistic feelings by embarking on a new course of conquest unseen since the days of Napoleon. Beginning in 1830, using the threat of piracy as an excuse, France launched invasions of Morocco and Algeria. Morocco remained theoretically independent under its sultan, who was supervised by a “resident-general” appointed by the French government in Paris. Less heavily populated and less stable, Algeria

was easily seized from a decaying Turkish administration and made into a formal French colony as early as 1847. Eventually, more than a million French immigrants settled on the region of rich soil between the Atlas Mountains and Algeria’s Mediterranean coast. Algeria became the sole African region in which this type of intensive, agriculturally oriented European settlement occurred—until diamonds and gold were discovered in late-nineteenth-century South Africa. Europeans treated the Arabs and indigenous Berbers in Algeria as unwelcome foreigners in their own country, and many were required to work the lands of absentee landlords for meager pay. Nearly the same process occurred later in neighboring Tunisia. Thus, by the later nineteenth century, the whole western half of Africa north of the Sahara was within the French orbit.

The eastern Mediterranean coast of Africa had still been part of the dying Ottoman Empire, but the Turkish regents had been able to exercise little real control over these lands for centuries and could not defend them successfully from European ambitions for long. In 1798, Napoleon invaded Egypt, and once combined Turkish and British arms expelled him, the Ottoman sultan appointed the Albanian Muhammad Ali as the viceroy of Egypt.



© Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

PORTRAIT OF ABD AL-QADIR. The Algerian Abd al-Qadir led the Islamic resistance to French invasion for many years.

In the years afterward, Muhammad Ali succeeded in establishing himself and his successors as a quasi-independent regime. In 1821, he extended Egyptian control into the Sudan. In 1869, during the reign of his son and successor, the Khedive Ismail (keh-DEEV iss-MAH-ihl), the French completed the construction of the Suez Canal. In 1882, fearing Egyptian seizure of this strategically vital asset, the British invaded and added Egypt to their worldwide empire. For their part, the Italians took over the (then) wastelands of Libya in 1911.

In all of these lands, Islam was the religion of the great majority. As both the local leadership and the Turks in Istanbul proved themselves unable to act effectively in the face of aggressive Europeans, Islam underwent a revival in many parts of the Islamic world (see Chapter 35), including Africa. Sometimes this revival took the form of *jihad*s, holy wars to expel Christian “infidels.” In the thousand years since Islam had first been introduced to Africa, it had become fused with local forms of economic and cultural life. Therefore, when Europeans invaded Africa, threatening to impose an alien religion and culture, religion provided a natural foundation for organizing resistance.

Without question, the hardest fought and longest lasting of these struggles was the jihad of Abd al-Qadir (AHB-dal-KAH-deer) in Algeria. Like others who led similarly inspired wars in Africa (see the following West Africa section), Abd al-Qadir was a local leader of a Sufi brotherhood; more specifically, he was a **marabout** (MAH-rah-boot), a

charismatic leader of holy men who inhabited a complex of monastery-like lodges among the desert and mountain Berbers. Abd al-Qadir was able to base his struggle against the French on his personal religious charisma and on effective use of the preexisting network of lodges. The jihad began in 1841, and by 1847, Abd al-Qadir was captured and exiled; however, the jihad continued until 1879 before the French finally prevailed against this “proto-nationalist” struggle, which in many respects presaged the Algerian war of independence in the 1950s (Chapter 52).

West Africa

By the early nineteenth century, the French and the British were the leading European powers operating in West Africa, each having created respective “spheres of influence” in which their merchants carried out business under the protection of their governments. In these areas, the slave trade had been the major occupation of Europeans and their African collaborators for centuries. After slaves were banned by acts of Parliament from British ships in 1807 and from British imperial territory in 1834, the principal slaving centers moved southward into the Portuguese colony of Angola. Here the trade continued to flourish until the American Civil War removed a major destination and the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888 eliminated the most important one. (The U.S. Congress prohibited the importation of slaves in 1808, but they continued to



A MINIATURE HAUSA QU'RAN OF THE SIXTEENTH-TO-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND THE PERIOD BEFORE THE JIHAD OF USMAN DAN FODIO. This design was used for “magical” purposes, such as a form of fortune telling, and indicates the “unorthodox” forms of Islam that developed as Islam penetrated south of the Sahara and against which Usman dan Fodio and al-Hajj Umar fought.

Private Collection/Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY

be smuggled into the southern United States even during the Civil War.)

As the new “legitimate trade” replaced the slave trade, agricultural exports from Africa and imports of European metal, cloth, and manufactured goods became its foundation all over Africa. In their few locations in West Africa, the French and British, as well as the Portuguese, had staked out monopolistic control of local markets along the coast and the banks of the major rivers of the region. The French were largely concentrated along the Senegal River and the British in the lower Niger River basin (Nigeria), the Gold Coast (Ghana), Sierra Leone, and the Gambia. The vast interior remained unaffected for the most part, although events there ultimately became a major influence on the decision of the French to conquer the West African interior.

Beyond the coastal regions, Islam was the dominant religion in West Africa long before the nineteenth century (Chapter 17). The great medieval commercial empires of Mali and Songhay and others had played important roles in this process in West Africa: Mosques were built, Arabic literacy spread, and Muslim traders carried Islam ever farther into the coastal hinterlands. Despite conversions,

however, many African Muslims clung to ancestor veneration, spirit possession, sacrifice, and divination rites that were rooted in their pre- or non-Islamic past. Even rulers of Muslim states allowed practices to persist that were forbidden by Islamic law, such as allowing their own subjects (who were Muslims) to be sold as slaves to Europeans and the collection of illegal taxes.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, the first of a series of holy wars began in the region of Senegal and Guinea in response to these shortcomings. Others followed across the western and central Sudan over the next two centuries, but the most important of these were the jihads of Usman dan Fodio (UHS-mahn dan FOH-dee-oh) and al-Hajj Umar Tal (al-HAJ oo-MAHR TAHL) in the nineteenth century.

The origins of the jihad of Usman dan Fodio began in the 1790s and arose from a dispute between a Muslim holy man and the king of a Hausa city-state called Gobir. The Hausa are a people found in the northern part of modern Nigeria. Like the Swahili of East Africa, they lived in city-states (see Map 25.2). Usman dan Fodio began preaching against the local Habe (HAH-bay) ruler of Gobir (goh-BEER), whom he accused of infidelity. A crisis finally led



MAP 25.2 Africa in the Nineteenth Century

to the declaration of a holy war, and between 1804 and the time of Usman's death in 1817, a series of jihads vanquished not just Gobir but all of the city-states of Hausaland and even the neighboring countries of Nupe (NOO-pay) and Ilorin (ih-LOH-rihn) in northern Yoruba country to the south. With the capital of his new "caliphate" at Sokoto (soh-KOH-toh), the Islamic empire Usman created consisted of several satellite emirates, each of which centered on the major Hausa states and all of which were governed by Islamic law. Although dan Fodio died soon after the completion of his jihad, his son, Muhammad Bello, succeeded him. His competence and long life put his father's accomplishment on a stable foundation, and the Sokoto caliphate endured through the colonial era.

The success of the jihad of Usman dan Fodio inspired similar Islamic revolutions to the west, particularly among the Tukolor (TOO-kuh-lohr) people in the area between the Niger and Senegal rivers. Whereas the earlier holy wars fought by dan Fodio and others were directed against the non-Islamic practices of local rulers, the jihad of al-Hajj Umar Tal followed a more deliberate plan of conquest and Islamic state building. Umar left his native Futa Toro (FOO-tah TOH-roh) in 1826 to set off on the pilgrimage, and after spending several years at the court of Muhammad Bello, he returned to Futa Jallon (FOO-tah JAH-lahn) on the headwaters of the Senegal River. There he set up a school and began building a circle of followers, until, in the 1840s, he launched his jihad against neighboring Islamic states to the east.

By the 1860s, he had managed to extend his conquests as far as the Upper Niger, where he forced many to convert to Islam and established the Islamic Sharia as the backbone of his government. These wars got him into difficulties with the French, who had established themselves on the lower reaches of the Senegal River to the west of Umar's growing empire. Louis Faidherbe (fay-DEHRB), the governor of Senegal, feared Umar's designs on French holdings and used Umar's ambitions as a reason to extend control farther up the river. As we shall see in Chapter 36, with imperial ambitions of their own in this region of West Africa, the French were able to exploit divisions among Umar's sons and resentments against his forced conversions to their considerable advantage in the 1880s and 1890s, and to extend their own colonial empire to include most of West Africa.

South Africa

The Cape Colony in extreme southern Africa was the other large area, along with Algeria, where whites settled in some numbers before the late nineteenth century. Cape Town was founded in 1652 when the **Dutch East India Company** decided to establish a colony in South Africa as a place where company ships making the long voyage to and from the East Indies could take on supplies of fresh meat and vegetables and where their sick could receive

attention. Although the Dutch colonists sent by the company were originally required to provide these services, soon many demanded—and got—the company's permission to settle new farmlands to the east of the Cape. These so-called Boers (BOHRS; Dutch for farmers) founded new western Cape settlements at Stellenbosch and Graf Reinnet (grahf REYE-net) and steadily displaced the indigenous cattle-herding Khoikhoi (KOY-koy) peoples they encountered.

From the beginning, relations with African peoples were almost never conducted on a basis of racial equality. As Boer migrants, or **Trekboers** (TREHK-bohrs), moved ever-farther inland, they swept aside the indigenous peoples and dispossessed them of their lands and livestock. Labor was a perpetual problem in the colony, so slaves were imported from other parts of Africa, Indonesia, India, and Madagascar. Some racial mixing inevitably occurred, producing a new social element in Cape society: the so-called **Coloureds**. Slaves, Africans, and Coloureds either had to accept a permanently subservient role in Boer society or flee, as many did, living on the northern and eastern fringes of Cape Colony and occasionally raiding Boer farmsteads for cattle on the eastern frontier.

Until the recent past, when majority rule was introduced in South Africa, the Boers maintained an old myth that their ancestors had preceded Bantu-speaking Africans in settling South Africa. In fact, archaeological and linguistic evidence indicates that Khoisan (koy-SAHN) peoples had inhabited southern Africa for tens of thousands of years, and Bantu-speaking peoples had been present in South Africa since as early as the fourth century (Chapter 17). Essentially village dwellers, the Bantu-speaking peoples were economically more diversified than the Khoisan and Khoikhoi. They had an iron-based technology and lived as mixed farmers, supplemented by livestock breeding. Gradually, they occupied the eastern Cape and the inland high plateau, where rainfall levels could support their way of life. As for their political organization, available evidence suggests that until the eighteenth century, these Bantu-speaking peoples had lived in loosely organized paramount chieftaincies. The Zulu (ZOO-loo) and closely related peoples, such as the Xhosa (KHOSH-sah), steadily pushed southward along the broad coastal plain, until they finally encountered the Boers around the Fish River in the eighteenth century. What followed was a military stalemate. Neither Africans nor Boers could push the other aside.

In 1815, as part of the Vienna settlement of the Napoleonic wars, Britain occupied the Cape, and the colony became subject to English law and slightly more liberal ideas about racial relations. Having enjoyed substantial self-government, the Boers of the eastern frontier resented British efforts to bring order and more humane treatment of Africans. In particular, they resented British efforts to restrict slavery and cut off much of the supply of free labor on which the Boers depended. Beginning in

1836, in an effort to escape the English, the Boers started a northward migration away from the Cape in what was called the **Great Trek**. Once in the interior, they drove out the local Sotho peoples, fought and defeated the mighty Zulu, and set up independent Boer republics (the Orange Free State and its neighboring Transvaal [TRANS-vawl])

to the north of the Orange and Vaal (vawl) rivers, where they could continue the old ways undisturbed.

Meanwhile, the northern and eastern areas into which the Boers thrust themselves had seen considerable transformations among the Bantu-speaking Africans in the previous century. For reasons that are still being debated,

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

TIPPU TIB AND THE ZANZIBAR SLAVE TRADE

Tippu Tib, whose real name was Hamed bin Mohammed al-Murjibi, was born in Zanzibar sometime in the 1830s, and became one of the most successful clove-plantation owners and caravan traders in East Africa at a time when, although outlawed, the slave trade was at its peak. His mother was an Omani Arab of the ruling class, and his father and grandfather were Swahili who had participated in some of the earliest trading caravans to the distant interior. Consequently, Tippu began his career by working for his father, and by 1865, he went into the caravan business for himself. By that time, much of the elephant herds nearer the coast were hunted out, but he soon found the perfect solution to the collection of ivory and slaves. The answer, of course, was to carry his

business farther inland—west of Lake Tanganyika in the western Congo basin—where ivory was still available in sufficient quantities to make the journey of many months worthwhile. Over and above that, he conquered the local Rua peoples and was able to force tribute to be collected in ivory, thus avoiding the necessity of having to purchase it. Through a policy of warfare and conquest, the problem of transport was resolved by forcing captives into slavery. Once back on the coast, they were sold along with the ivory they had borne on their backs for more than 1,000 miles.

By 1883, Tippu had established himself and about a dozen close clansmen as local rulers throughout the Congo basin. He used the profits from this commercial empire to purchase clove *shambas* (plantations) on Zanzibar. One historian claims that he eventually owned seven plantations and around 10,000 slaves.

During his lifetime, Tippu became a familiar person to many European explorers of that era. Generally, he managed to maintain good relations with them. In 1887, at the height of the European scramble to establish colonies in Africa, and realizing how the balance of power between the Europeans and the sultan of Zanzibar had been shifting, he took on the role of governor of the Stanley Falls area of Belgian King Leopold II's newly created "Congo Free State." (For more about the Scramble for Africa, see Chapter 36.)

Tippu Tib returned to Zanzibar for the last time in 1895, where he retired. He wrote an autobiography in Kiswahili, which was eventually translated and published in Great Britain. In 1905, he died of malaria in Zanzibar Town.

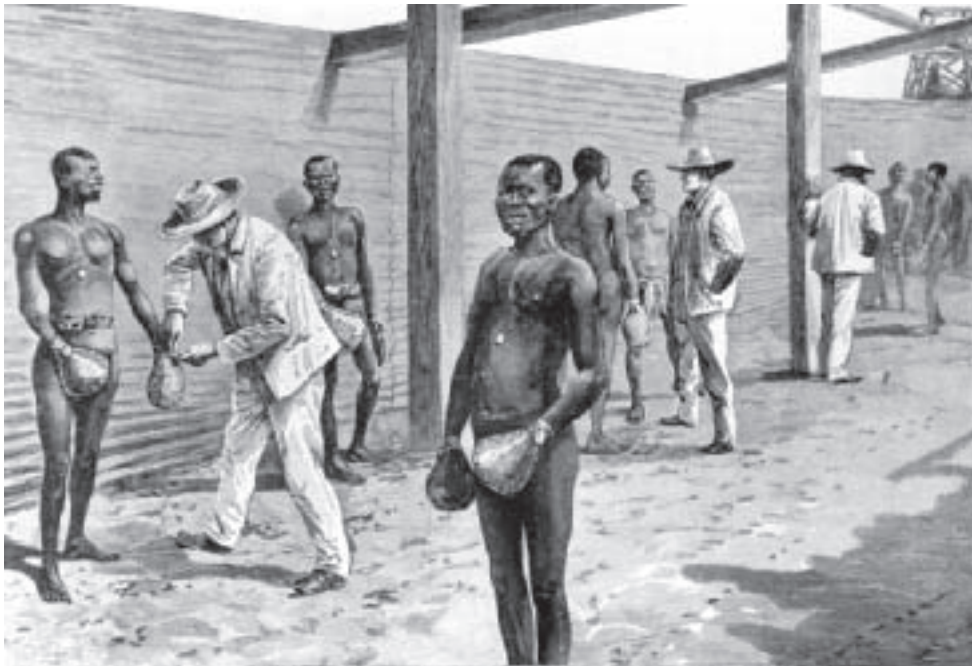
>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Who was primarily responsible for the African slave trade? Were men like Tippu perpetrators of the nefarious business or merely opportunists?

TIPPU TIB. Tippu was only the best known of the East African slave traders. The slave trade from Madagascar, the coast, and its hinterland had existed since the tenth century. However, it reached its apogee in the nineteenth century, with many Arabs and Swahili participating in it.



Bojan Brezic/CORBIS



SHACKLING AFRICAN DIAMOND MINERS. Prospectors in South Africa found the richest diamond-mining district in the world in the 1860s. Massive amounts of hard labor were required to bring the mines into production, leading directly to much harsher working and living conditions for the Africans who supplied this labor.



SULTAN BARGHASH. A proud Arab, Sultan Barghash tried resisting European interference in the slave trade of Zanzibar. In the end, he was forced to submit to ending the slave trade and became dependent on the British for his political survival.

about the time the Trekboers had begun their expansion out of the western Cape, levels of conflict had begun rising among the Bantu-speaking peoples of Southeast Africa. This caused the formation of powerful states that were organized for warfare under formidable leaders such as the famous **Shaka** (SHAH-kah) of the Zulu people, as well as others. Continual raiding by Africans for land, women, and cattle, as well as by Boers and even Coloured groups (the latter two for slaves), caused considerable migration of African populations. Many of these sought the protection of the powerful warlords, whereas other areas became depopulated. To escape the pressures of warfare, some migrated out of South Africa altogether and fled into other regions of southern and East Africa (Map 25.2).

As for Boer–British relations, all went well for a time, because the Boer republics and the British Cape Colony were situated far apart. In 1879, fearing the reputation of the Zulu, the British Army succeeded in eliminating them as a threat to the occupation of Natal by Europeans in what is known as the **Zulu War**. Moreover, in the 1860s, the long-standing European perception that Africa had little value changed permanently when diamonds were discovered at Kimberly. Soon after, in the 1880s, rich veins of gold were also found on the Rand in the Transvaal. The diamond and gold fever suddenly cast Africa in a new light: It was a continent rich in natural wealth waiting to be exploited by anyone or any imperial power bold enough to do whatever it took to seize it.

East Africa

Although slaving had formed a small part of this coastal trade for many centuries, it is unlikely that the volume of the East African trade had ever approached that of the West African business, whether Arab or European. The demand for slaves changed suddenly, however, in the eighteenth century. Almost a century after the **Omani Arabs** (oh-MAH-nee; from Oman, in southeastern Arabia) expelled the Portuguese and occupied all points of the coast north of Mozambique, the French settled the Indian Ocean islands of Mauritius (moh-RIH-shus) and Réunion (ray-YOO-nyohn). Plantation economies in the Persian Gulf and on Mauritius and Réunion created an unprecedented demand for slaves, most of which were obtained from the central African interior and exported through Kilwa Kivinje and Zanzibar.

Further encouragement of the East African trade was provided in 1832 when the Sultan of Oman, **Sayyid Sa'id** bin Sultan al-Busaidi (SAHY-yihd sah-EED bin sool-THAN al-boo-sah-EE-dee), moved the headquarters of

his sultanate to Zanzibar. After developing what came to be known as the **Zanzibar** (ZAN-zi-bahr) **Sultanate**, Sayyid Sa'id and his successors extended their control over the entire Swahili coast of East Africa. However, theirs was a commercial empire above all else. All coastal trade was directed through Zanzibar, where the sultans collected a standard 3 percent duty. Sayyid Sa'id encouraged the creation of a plantation economy in East Africa, so Arabs and Indian immigrants displaced the local Swahili in Zanzibar and large numbers of slaves were employed in cultivating cloves. Inland from many coastal towns, too, Arabs and local Swahili alike turned to plantation farming, where grains were cultivated for export. Under such a growing demand, trade in slaves and ivory soon reached inland beyond the East African lakes region as far as Uganda and the eastern Congo River basin. In 1873, the trade was finally ended when the British convinced Sa'id's son to agree to permanently abolish the export of slaves. However, the practice of slavery continued in East Africa until finally it, too, was ended during the colonial period.

SUMMARY

IN MANY WAYS, AFRICA WAS in transition from the seventeenth through the late nineteenth centuries. Most parts of the interior of the continent remained relatively unaffected by any European efforts to control or alter the lands and lives of its peoples. For one thing, before the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Europe simply did not possess the power to conquer such a vast continent; for another, it lacked any will to do so. European interest in Africa remained entirely commercial, and as long as there were plenty of Africans who were willing—or whom Europeans could persuade—to supply the slaves and exotic tropical products they demanded, there was no reason for Europeans ever to think of wasting money and manpower on conquest. In the one place where Europeans did settle before the nineteenth century, South Africa, the relatively few hunting and pastoralist peoples the Europeans met in the western Cape were easily defeated.

However, in the late eighteenth century, once these white settlers encountered the much-more-numerous and

advanced Bantu-speaking peoples in the northern and eastern parts, their advance was halted. Therefore, European governments showed no official interest in colonizing Africa during the first great Age of Imperialism, when attention was directed primarily to Asia and America. The only exception was the French, who began the conquest of North Africa. There they found that Islam could be a major obstacle to conquest, a fact of which they were to be reminded repeatedly later when they launched the conquest of the Sudan.

All of the reasons Europeans had for official disinterest in Africa changed after about 1880, in what is called the age of the New Imperialism. As will be seen in Chapter 36, all of the major European powers experienced dramatically changed attitudes toward Africa and the potential difficulties and responsibilities that empire building there would entail. All of the major powers, and a couple of minor ones as well, would engage in carving up what one empire builder, King Leopold II of Belgium, called “this magnificent African cake.”

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Anti-Slavery Movement	Bornu
Askia Muhammad the Great	Buganda
Boers	Bunyoro-Kitara

Coloureds	Omani Arabs
Dutch East India Company	Sayyid Sa'id
factories	Shaka
Great Trek	SonghayTrekboers
Hausa	Zanzibar Sultanate
Informal Empire	Zulu War
Marabout	

For Further Reflection

1. Why do you think estimating the number of Africans exported into slavery might be controversial? If you were a scholar trying to make such an estimate, what challenges would you expect to encounter?
2. Why were Europeans, for the most part, so disinterested in Africa for so many centuries? How and why did this begin to change in the nineteenth century?
3. What factors contributed to state building in Africa (see also Chapter 17)? How did the introduction of the slave trade alter this? Why did it destroy some kingdoms and help to create others in their place?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The last of the great Sudanic empires was
 - a. Bornu.
 - b. Buganda.
 - c. Bunyoro-Kitara.
 - d. Zanzibar.
 - e. Songhay.
2. Which of these kingdoms developed out of a previous form of religious leadership?
 - a. The Hausa
 - b. The Swahili
 - c. Bunyoro-Kitara
 - d. Benin
 - e. The Zulu
3. In his letter to the king of Portugal, King Affonso I of the Kongo blamed the rising instability in his kingdom on
 - a. slave traders.
 - b. the Boers.
 - c. the Portuguese-sponsored war against him.
 - d. an Islamic jihad.
 - e. the actions of Christian missionaries.
4. What can be said about the slave trade?
 - a. It had positive effects on some African societies.
 - b. It had negative effects on some Africans.
 - c. The exact numbers who were sold into slavery are uncertain.
 - d. The firearms that were sold to cooperative Africans reduced the amount of violence the slave trade brought.
 - e. answers a, b, and c
5. Before the 1880s, the most widespread, externally introduced religion in Africa was
 - a. Buddhism.
 - b. Protestantism.
 - c. Hinduism.
 - d. Islam.
 - e. Roman Catholicism.
6. One major cause of the West African jihads was
 - a. the practice followed by Muslim rulers of allowing non-Muslims to settle among Muslims.
 - b. continued observance of non-Islamic practices among West African Muslims and their rulers.
 - c. the practice followed by Muslim rulers of allowing non-Muslims to marry Muslim women.
 - d. continued involvement of West Africans in the slave trade despite Islamic injunctions against it.
 - e. slave raiding conducted among Muslims by non-Muslim coastal peoples.

7. The jihadist activities in West Africa were partly
 - a. a reaction to the increased levels of violence caused by the slave trade.
 - b. inspired by an expected return of Muhammad.
 - c. inspired by Islamic revivalism in Arabia and the Islamic heartlands.
 - d. inspired by the resistance of Abd al-Qadir to the French invasion of Algeria.
 - e. a reaction to growing activities by Christian missionaries in Africa.
8. The Dutch who founded the Cape Colony in South Africa in 1652 came there for what purpose?
 - a. To spread Christianity among the Africans
 - b. To create a station where Dutch East India Company ships could take on supplies
 - c. To conquer the local African population and seize their livestock
 - d. To seek freedom of religion
 - e. To trade and seek other new economic opportunities among the African population
9. Who was responsible for the increase in slavery and the slave trade in East Africa after the eighteenth century?
 - a. The French
 - b. Indian merchants
 - c. French and Indian merchants
 - d. The Omani Arabs and the French
 - e. The Omani Arabs
10. The coastal cities of East Africa in the nineteenth century
 - a. already had centuries of trading history by the time they were put under Omani rule.
 - b. were already part of Christian culture.
 - c. had never before experienced foreign contacts.
 - d. were enclaves of Arab colonists.
 - e. exported no slaves.



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China from the Ming Through the Early Qing Dynasty



MING CHINA, 1368–1644

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Urbanization and Technology

THE MING POLITICAL SYSTEM

The Bureaucracy

DEALING WITH FOREIGNERS

THE MANZHOU INVADERS: THE QING DYNASTY

Qing Government

QING CULTURE AND ECONOMY

Progress and Problems

Great wealth is from heaven;
modest wealth is from
diligence.

—Chinese folk tradition

THE AGES OF CHINA do not coincide with those of Europe. China had no Middle Age or Renaissance of the fourteenth century. The outstanding facts in China's development between 1000 CE and 1500 CE were the humiliating conquest by the Mongols and their overthrow by the rebellion that began the **Ming Dynasty**. For more than 200 years, the Ming rulers remained vigorous, providing the Chinese with a degree of stability and prosperity that contemporary Europeans would have envied. But the sustained creative advance in the sciences and basic technologies that had allowed China to overshadow all rivals during the thousand years between the beginning of the Song and the end of the Ming dynasties (600–1600) was slowly drawing to a close. The West was overtaking China in these areas, but as late as the eighteenth century, this was hardly evident to anyone. Possessed of an ancient and marvelous high culture, China was still convinced of its own superiority and was as yet far from being forced to admit its weaknesses.

1368–1644	Ming Dynasty
1400s	Maritime Expeditions
1500s	First contacts with Europeans
1644–1911	Qing Dynasty
1700s	Economic growth; population rises; trade increases

MING CHINA, 1368–1644

The Ming was the last purely Chinese dynasty. It began with the overthrow of the hated Mongols, who had ruled China for 100 years. Founded by the peasant Zhu Yuanzhang (joo yuwen-chahng), who had displayed masterful military talents in leading a motley band of rebel armies, the Ming would last 300 years. Zhu, who

took the imperial title Hongwu (hung-woo; ruling 1368–1398), was an individual of great talents and great cruelty. In many ways, his fierce ruthlessness was reminiscent of the First Emperor. He built the city of Nanjing (Nanking) as his capital near the coast on the Yangtze River. His son and successor, Yongle (yuhng-leh), was even more talented as a general and an administrator. During Yongle's twenty-two-year reign (1402–1424), China gained more or less its present heartlands, reaching from Korea to Vietnam and inward to Mongolia (see Map 26.1). The eastern half of the Great Wall was rebuilt, and the armies of China were everywhere triumphant against their Mongol and Turkish nomad opponents.

In the Ming era, China generally had an effective government. One sign of this was the sharp rise in population throughout the dynastic period. When the Ming took power, bubonic plague (the same epidemic that was simultaneously raging in Europe; see Chapter 20) and Mongol savagery had reduced the population to about 60 million—the same size it had been in the Tang period 500 years earlier. The population rose to perhaps 150 million by 1600, the most dramatic rise yet experienced by any society.

This new population necessitated an equally dramatic rise in food supply. The old center of Chinese food production, the Yangtze basin in south-central China, was not



MAP 26.1 The Empire Under the Ming and Qing Dynasties

By the time of the Ming Dynasty, China had reached its modern territorial extent, with the exception only of Tibet and the far western deserts. Beijing and Nanjing alternated as the capital cities. At the height of the empire under the Qing Dynasty in the

middle of the eighteenth century, both Tibet and the huge desert province of Sinkiang came under its control.

MAP QUESTIONS

Was the Great Wall as important during Ming times as it had been in earlier centuries? What does the map suggest about its continuing importance under the Qing Dynasty?

able to meet the demand. A new area for rice cultivation in the extreme south near Vietnam was developed during the Ming, and some new crops from the Americas such as corn, squash, peanuts, and beans made their way into Chinese fields via the trans-Pacific trade with the Portuguese and the Spanish. Interestingly, the Irish or white potato, which would become the staple food crop of northern European peasants in the eighteenth century, was introduced in China but did not catch on. Because rice has greater nutritional value than the potato, this turned out to be a boon for China.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Commercial activity steadily increased until it was probably more commonplace in China than in any other country of the world by the 1600s. A larger percentage of the labor force was directly engaged in buying, selling, and transporting goods than in any other land. The merchants remained quite low on the social ladder but were acquiring sufficient money to provide them with a comfortable and cultivated lifestyle.

Commercial contact with the Europeans started in the early 1500s with the coming of the Portuguese into the Indian and, soon, Pacific oceans. Originally welcomed, the Portuguese behaved so badly that the Chinese quickly limited them to a single port: Macao (mah-COW). Here, in return for silver from the Americas, the Portuguese obtained luxurious and exotic goods that brought exorbitant prices from European nobles, who coveted them for the prestige they conveyed. A merchant who could take a few crates of first-class Chinese porcelain tableware back to Europe could make enough profit to start his own firm.

Urbanization and Technology

The Ming period also saw an enormous increase in the number of urban dwellers. Some Chinese cities, serving as marketplaces for the rural majority and as administrative and cultural centers, grew to have several hundred thousand inhabitants; one or two possibly had more than a million at a time when no European town had a population of even 100,000. In these Chinese metropolises, almost anything was available for money, and the kind of abject poverty that would arise later was probably still unknown. In general, the villagers and city dwellers of Ming China seem to have been decently housed and fed.

Historians have often asked why China, with its large, financially sophisticated commercial class and a leadership role in so many ideas and techniques, did not make the breakthrough into a mechanical mode of industry. Why, in other words, did the Chinese fail to make the leap from the “commercial revolution” of the later Ming period to an “industrial revolution” of the kind that began in the West a century later? Various answers have been proposed, but no single one is satisfactory. The Chinese esteem for artists



MING POTTERY MAKERS. The late Tang through the Ming eras saw significant developments in Chinese society. There were notable developments in the size and sophistication of its cities, technological innovation, and cultural efflorescence. A key to its manufacturing and commercial sectors was the organization of craftsmen, like these potters, into imperial workshops and guilds (*cohong*).

and scholars and the tendency of such people to place little emphasis on accumulation of material goods must be part of the explanation. Engineers and inventors were never prominent in China's culture, even though Chinese science and technology led the world until at least the 1200s. Also, the Confucian ethos did not admire the capitalist entrepreneur or his activities. It was the retention of the old, not the invention of the new, that inspired properly educated Chinese. In the end, we can only attest that China did not experience an industrial-technical breakthrough. If it had, China and not western Europe would have been the dominant power of the world in the past three centuries.

THE MING POLITICAL SYSTEM

As always since Han times, the Chinese government culminated in the person of an all-powerful but not divine emperor, who ruled by the mandate of Heaven through a highly trained bureaucracy derived substantially from talented men of all classes and backgrounds.

Hongwu (hung-woo), the peasant rebel commander, brought militaristic and authoritarian ways to the government he headed. The first Ming ruler divided China into fifteen provinces, subdivided into numerous counties, an arrangement that has survived almost intact into the present day. He made occupations hereditary and classified the population into three chief groups: peasants, soldiers, and workers. Supposedly, the class into which people were born would determine the course of their lives, but this was much truer on paper than in reality. China was far too vast and the bureaucracy far too small to allow this restrictive and nontraditional theory to be successfully put into practice.

But the emperor's powers during the early Ming were probably greater than ever before. Hongwu created a corps of palace eunuchs, men without families who had been raised since boyhood to be totally dedicated servants of the ruler. They served as his eyes and ears, and during periods of weak leadership, the eunuchs often exercised almost dictatorial powers over the regular officials, because they alone had direct access to the emperor. This practice, of course, led to much abuse, and the eunuchs were hated and feared by most Chinese. Curiously, the eunuchs never seem to have attempted to overthrow a legitimate ruler, although some Ming emperors practically turned the government over to them. The imperial corps of eunuchs lasted into the twentieth century, though their powers were much diminished by then.

After a brief sojourn in Nanjing during the rule of the first Ming emperor, the government was returned to the northern city of Beijing (bay-jing), which was originally built by the Mongols. In its center was the **Forbidden City**, a quarter-mile-square area of great palaces, offices, and living quarters for the higher officials. No ordinary person was ever permitted within its massive walls. The Forbidden City was expanded several times during the Ming, until it came to house more than 20,000 men and women, who served the emperor or his enormous official family. Its upkeep and the lavish entertainments and feasts that were regularly put on for thousands were a heavy burden on the whole country.

The Bureaucracy

The basis for entry and success in the bureaucracy remained the same as it had been for the last 1,500 years: mastery of the Confucian philosophy and ethics. Confucianism grew stronger than ever. Many schools were founded solely to prepare boys for the government service exams. These exams, which had been suspended by the Mongols, were immediately reinstated by the first Ming emperor. Their essentials would not change until the twentieth century. The exams were administered every other year at the lowest (county) level and every third year at the provincial capitals. Each candidate was assigned a tiny cubicle in which he slept and ate under constant



© Giraudon/Art Resource, NY

EXAMINATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT POSTS. This seventeenth-century painting shows the examinations for government posts in progress. Despite years of preparation, very few candidates were successful at the higher levels.

surveillance when not writing his essays during the three to five days of the examination.

Only a tiny minority was successful in obtaining an official post even at the province level. The most distinguished of these would then compete for the central government posts every third year, and the successful ones were considered the most prestigious of all of the “men of Han.” Unchanged for centuries, the exams influenced all Chinese education and kept what we now call the curriculum to a very narrow subject range. After basic reading, writing, and arithmetic, most Chinese schooling was aimed only at preparing students for the civil service examinations. It consisted of a good deal of rote memorization and required extensive knowledge of the various interpretations of Confucian thought. Imagination, creativity, and individuality were definitely not desired.

Over the long term, this limited education put China's officials at a distinct disadvantage when confronted with situations that required flexibility and vision. On the other hand, the uniform preparation of all Chinese officials gave the country an especially cohesive governing class—the mandarins (see Chapters 6 and 13)—and conflicts generated by differing philosophies of government were rare or nonexistent. Until recently, civil upheaval and antagonism never occurred within the governing class—only between it and some outer group (usually foreigners, eunuchs, or provincial usurpers). This unity of view and the loyalty it engendered were valuable in preserving China from threatened disintegration on repeated occasions.

In the early Ming period, both the government and most of the educated population agreed on the vital principles of a good civic life and how to construct it. All officials, from the emperor down to the minor collector of customs in some obscure port, were accepted by the masses as their proper authorities. The ever-recurring question of how to meet the modest demands of the peasantry for survival without alienating the often-rapacious landlord-officials was handled effectively. Unfortunately, this harmony declined in later years, as weak emperors ignored the examples set by the dynasty's founders.

DEALING WITH FOREIGNERS

The Mongols and other nomadic peoples on the northern and northwestern frontiers were still a constant menace after they had been expelled from China proper. Much of the large military budget of Ming China was spent on maintaining the 2,000 miles of the Great Wall, large sections of which had to be rebuilt to defend against potential invaders. To do this job, a huge army—well over a million strong—was kept in constant readiness. The main reason for moving the capital back to Beijing from Nanjing was to better direct the defense effort.

The rulers at Beijing followed the ancient stratagem of “use the barbarian against the barbarian” whenever they could, but twice they miscalculated, and the tribes were able to put aside their squabbles and unite in campaigns against the Chinese. The first time, the Mongols actually defeated and captured the emperor, liberating him only after payment of a tremendous ransom. The second time, they smashed a major Chinese army and overran Beijing itself in 1550. Eventually, both incursions were forced back, and the dynasty was reestablished.

With the Japanese, relations proceeded on two planes: that of hostility toward pirates and smugglers and that of legitimate and beneficial exchange. From the fourteenth century, pirate-traders (there was little distinction) from Japan had appeared in Korean and north Chinese waters. Gradually, they became bolder and often joined Chinese pirates to raid coastal ports well into the south. Because the Japanese could always flee out of reach in their islands, the Chinese could only try to improve their defenses, rather than exterminate the enemy fleets. During the sixteenth century, the Beijing government actually abandoned many coastal areas to the pirates, hoping that this tactic would enable them to protect the rest.

Otherwise, the Ming period was a high point in cultural and commercial interchange between China and Japan. Direct Chinese–Japanese relations concentrated on trading between a few Japanese *daimyo* and Chinese merchants, a private business supervised by the respective governments. Several of the shoguns of Japan (see Chapter 27) were great admirers of Chinese culture and saw to it that Japan's doors were thrown widely open to Chinese ideas as well as artifacts.

The trading activity with the Japanese was exceptional, however. Generally speaking, China's rulers believed that the Empire of the Middle needed little from the outside world. A brief but significant excursion onto the Indian Ocean trade routes seemed to underline this conviction. The **Maritime Expeditions** of the early 1400s are a notable departure from the general course of Chinese expansionist policy, in that they were naval rather than land ventures. Between 1405 and 1433, huge fleets carrying as many as 30,000 sailors and soldiers traveled south to the East Indies and as far west as the coast of Africa. The expeditions were sponsored by the government, and at the emperor's order, they stopped as suddenly as they had begun. Their purpose remains unclear, but it does not seem to have been commercial. The fleets made no attempt to plant colonies or to set up a network of trading posts. Nor did the expeditions leave a long-term mark on Chinese consciousness or awareness of the achievements and interests of the world outside.

The Maritime Expeditions were a striking demonstration of how advanced Chinese seamanship, ship design, and equipment were and how confident the Chinese were in their dealings with foreigners of all types. Although China certainly possessed the necessary technology (ship-building, compass, rudder, sails) to make a success of overseas exploration and commerce, the government decided not to use it. The government's refusal was the end of the matter. The large mercantile class had no alternative but to accept it, because the merchants had neither the influence at court nor the high status in society that could have enabled the voyages to continue. In this sense, the failure to pursue the avenues opened by the expeditions reflects the differences between the Chinese and European governments and the relative importance of merchants and entrepreneurial vision in the two cultures.

Contacts with Westerners during the Ming era were limited to a few trading enterprises (mainly Portuguese or Dutch) and occasional missionaries (mainly Jesuits from Spain or Rome). The Portuguese, who arrived in 1514 before any other Europeans, made themselves so offensive to Chinese standards of behavior that they were expelled, then confined to the tiny port of Macao, near Guangzhou (gwong-choh). The missionaries got off to a considerably more favorable start. They made enormous efforts to empathize with the Confucian mentalities of the upper-class Chinese officials and to adapt Christian doctrines to Chinese psyches. Several of the missionaries were well-trained natural scientists and were able to interest their hosts in their religious message via demonstrations of Western mechanical and technical innovations.

Outstanding in this regard was *Matteo Ricci* (mah-TAY-yoh REE-chee; 1551–1610), a Jesuit who obtained access to the emperor thanks to his scientific expertise, adoption of Chinese ways of thought, and mastery of the difficult language. Ricci and his successors established a Christian bridgehead in the intellectual focal point of China that for

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY



CHINESE INVENTIONS

In the sixteenth century, an Italian priest named Matteo Ricci was invited by the emperor to reside at the court in Beijing in the capacity of court astronomer. Ricci had learned Chinese and drew on his learned background in the sciences to both instruct and entertain his hosts. His journals were published shortly after his death in 1610 and gave Europeans their first eyewitness glimpse of the Ming Dynasty civilization and the first knowledgeable insight into Chinese affairs since Marco Polo's report three centuries earlier.

All of the known metals, without exception, are to be found in China. . . . From molten iron they fashion many more things than we do, for example, cauldrons, pots, bells, gongs, mortars . . . martial weapons, instruments of torture, and a great number of other things equal in workmanship to our own metalcraft. . . .

The ordinary tableware of the Chinese is clay pottery. There is nothing like it in European pottery either from the standpoint of the material itself or its thin and fragile construction. The finest specimens of porcelain are made from clay found in the province of Kiam and these are shipped not only to every part of China but even to the remotest corners of Europe where they are highly prized.

. . . This porcelain too will bear the heat of hot foods without cracking, and if it is broken and sewed with a brass wire it will hold liquids without any leakage. . . .

Finally we should say something about the saltpeter, which is quite plentiful but which is not used extensively in the preparation of gunpowder, because the Chinese are not expert in the use of guns and artillery and make but little use of these in warfare. Saltpeter, however, is used in lavish quantities in making fireworks for display at public games and on festival days. The Chinese take great pleasure in such exhibitions and make them the chief attraction of all their festivities. Their skill in the manufacture of fireworks is really extraordinary and there is scarcely anything which they cannot cleverly imitate with them. They are especially adept at reproducing battles and in making rotating spheres of fire, fiery trees, fruit, and the like, and they seem to have no regard for expense where fireworks are concerned. . . .

The art of printing was practiced in China at a date somewhat earlier than that assigned to the beginning of printing in Europe. . . . It is quite certain that the Chinese knew the art of printing at least five centuries ago, and some of them assert that printing was known to their people before the beginning of the Christian era. . . .

Their method of making printed books is quite ingenious. The text is written in ink, with a brush made of very fine hair, on a sheet of paper which is inverted and pasted on a wooden tablet. When the paper has become thoroughly dry, its surface is scraped off quickly and with great skill, until nothing but a fine tissue bearing the characters remains on the wooden tablet. Then with a steel graver, the workman cuts away the surface following the outlines of the characters, until these alone stand out in low relief. From such a block a skilled printer can make copies with incredible speed, turning out as many as fifteen hundred copies in a single day. Chinese printers are so skilled at turning out these blocks that no more time is consumed in making one of them than would be required by one of our printers in setting up a form of [moveable metallic] type and making the necessary corrections. . . .

The simplicity of Chinese printing is what accounts for the exceedingly large number of books in circulation here and the ridiculously low prices at which they are sold. Such facts as these would scarcely be believed by one who had not witnessed them.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Why do you think the Chinese did not use gunpowder technology in war as in entertainments? In light of what Ricci reports, was the contemporary European preference for metallic type justified?

Source: P. Stearns et al., eds., *Documents in World History: Vol. 2. The Modern Centuries* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).



You can read further selections from Ricci's "The Art of Printing" online.

a century or more looked as though it might be able to broaden its appeal and convert the masses. But this was not to be. (See the Science and Technology box for some of Ricci's remarks on Chinese technology and his insights into Chinese culture.)

MANZHOU INVADERS: THE QING DYNASTY

The end of the Ming Dynasty came after a slow, painful decline in the mid-seventeenth century. A series of ineffective emperors had allowed government power to slip into the hands of corrupt and hated eunuchs, who made decisions on the basis of bribes, without responsibility for their consequences. Court cliques contended for supreme power. The costs of the multitude of imperial court officials and hangers-on were enormous and could be met only by squeezing taxes out of an already hard-pressed peasantry.

Peasant rebellions began to multiply as the government's ability to restrain rapacious landlords declined. The administrative apparatus, undermined by the eunuch cliques at court, ceased to function. Adding to the troubles was the popularity among the mandarins of an extreme version of scholarly Confucianism that rejected innovation.

The Manzhou (man-choo) tribesmen living north of the Great Wall in **Manchuria** had paid tribute to the Beijing emperor but had never accepted his overlordship. When the rebellions led to anarchy in several northern provinces, the Manzhou saw their chance. The Manzhou governing group admired Chinese culture and made it clear that if and when they were victorious, conservative Chinese would have nothing to fear from them. Presenting themselves as the alternative to banditry and even revolution, the Manzhou invaders gradually won the support of much of the mandarin class. One province after another went over to them rather than face continuous rebellion. The last Ming ruler, faced with certain defeat, committed suicide. Thus was founded the last dynasty of imperial China, the Manzhou or Qing (ching) Dynasty (1664–1911). In its opening generations, it was to be one of the most successful as well.

Qing Government

When the **Qing Dynasty** was at the apex of its power and wealth, China had by far the largest population under one government and the largest territory of any country in the world (see Map 26.1). China reached its largest territorial extent at this time. The Qing had been close to Chinese civilization for many years and had become partially sinicized (adopted Chinese culture), so the transition from Ming to Qing rule was nothing like the upheaval that had followed the Mongol conquest in the 1200s. Many Ming officials and generals joined with the conquerors

voluntarily from the start. Many others joined under pressure or as it became apparent that the Qing were not savages and were adopting Chinese traditions in government. Two individuals, in fact, occupied high positions in the central and even the provincial governments: one of which was Qing, the other one was Chinese. Qing officials oversaw Chinese provincial governors, and the army was sharply divided between the two ethnic groups, with the Qing having superior status as the so-called Bannermen, who occupied key garrisons.

Like most new dynasties, the Qing were strong reformers in their early years, bringing order and respect for authority, snapping the whip over insubordinate officials in the provinces, and attempting to ensure justice in the villages. The two greatest Qing leaders were the emperors Kangxi (kang-shee; ruling 1662–1722) and his grandson Qienlong (chyen-loong; ruling 1736–1795). Their unusually long reigns allowed them to put their stamps on the bureaucracy and develop long-range policies. Both were strong personalities, intelligent and well-educated men who approached their duties with the greatest seriousness. Both attempted to keep the Manzhou tribesmen and the ethnic Chinese separate to some degree, although the Manzhou were always a tiny minority (perhaps 2 percent) of the population and were steadily sinicized after the early 1700s by intermarriage and free choice. (See the Law and Government box for more on Kangxi.)

Kangxi was the almost exact contemporary of Louis XIV of France and, like him, was the longest-lived ruler of his country's history. From all accounts, Kangxi was a remarkable man with a quick intellect and a fine gift for administration. He retained the traditional Chinese system of six ministries advising and implementing the decrees of the Son of Heaven in Beijing. He did much to improve the waterways, which were always of great importance for transportation in China. Rivers were dredged, and canals and dams built. He was particularly active in economic policy making, both domestically and toward the Western merchants whose vessels were now starting to appear regularly in Chinese ports. After decades of negotiations, Kangxi opened four ports to European traders and allowed them to set up small, permanent enclaves there. This decision was to have fateful consequences in the mid-nineteenth century, when the Beijing government was in much weaker hands.

Kangxi's grandson, Qienlong (chen-lung), was a great warrior and perceptive administrator. He eradicated the persistent Mongol raiders on the western borders and brought Tibet under Chinese control for the first time (see Map 26.1). The peculiar fashion of dealing with neighboring independent kingdoms such as Korea as though they were voluntary satellites of China (tributaries) was extended to much of Southeast Asia at this time. Qienlong ruled through the last two-thirds of the eighteenth century, and we know a good deal about both him and his grandfather because Jesuit missionaries still resided in

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

KANGXI'S SACRED EDICT

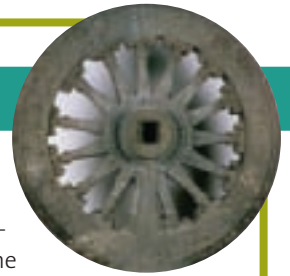
Emperor Kangxi, the seventeenth-century Qing dynast, was perhaps the greatest of all the Chinese rulers, in part because of the extraordinary duration of his hold on the throne. In 1670, he issued a Sacred Edict to popularize Confucian values among the people.

1. Esteem most highly filial piety and brotherly submission, in order to give due importance to the social relations.
2. Behave with generosity toward your kindred, in order to illustrate harmony and benignity.
3. Cultivate peace and concord in your neighborhoods, in order to prevent quarrels and litigations.
4. Recognize the importance of husbandry and the culture of the mulberry tree, in order to ensure a sufficiency of clothing and food.
5. Show that you prize moderation and economy, in order to prevent the lavish waste of your means.
6. Give weight to colleges and schools, in order to make correct the practice of the scholar.
7. Extirpate strange principles, in order to exalt the correct doctrine.
8. Lecture on the laws, in order to warn the ignorant and obstinate.
9. Elucidate propriety and yielding courtesy, in order to make manners and customs good.
10. Labor diligently at your proper callings, in order to stabilize the will of the people.
11. Instruct sons and younger brothers, in order to prevent them from doing what is wrong.
12. Put a stop to false accusations, in order to preserve the honest and good.
13. Warn against sheltering deserters, in order to avoid being involved in their punishment.
14. Fully remit your taxes, in order to avoid being pressed for payment.
15. Unite in hundreds and tithing, in order to put an end to thefts and robbery.
16. Remove enmity and anger, in order to show the importance due to the person and life.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What might Kangxi's motives have been in promoting such values to the common people?

Source: *From Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, by David Johnson et al. © 1985, The Regents of the University of California.



Beijing during this era. Their perceptive reports to Rome contributed to the interest in everything Chinese that was so manifest in late eighteenth-century Europe.

The early Qing emperors were unusually vigorous leaders, and the Chinese economy and society responded positively to their lengthy rule until the mid-nineteenth century, when the dynasty's power and prestige suffered under a combination of Western military intrusions and a growing population crisis. (This period is covered in Chapter 38.)

QING CULTURE AND ECONOMY

Although the Qing were originally looked upon as foreign barbarians and they exerted themselves to remain separate from the Chinese masses, no break in fundamental cultural styles occurred between the Ming and Qing dynasties. As in earlier China, the most respected cultural activities were philosophy, history, calligraphy, poetry, and painting. In literature, a new form matured in the 1500s:

the novel. Perhaps inspired by the Japanese example, a series of written stories about both gentry life and ordinary people appeared during the late Ming and Qing eras. Best known are the *Book of the Golden Lotus* and *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, the latter a product of the eighteenth century. Most of the authors are unknown, and the books that have survived are probably only a small portion of those that were actually produced. Some of the stories are pornographic, a variety of literature that the Chinese evidently enjoyed despite official disapproval.

Porcelain reached such artistry in the eighteenth century that it became a major form of Chinese aesthetic creation. Throughout the Western world, the wealthy sought fine "china" as tableware and *objets d'art* and were willing to pay nearly any price for the beautiful blue-and-white Ming wares brought back by the Dutch and English ships from the South China ports. Chinese painting on scrolls and screens was also imported in large amounts, as were silks and other luxury items for the households of the nobility and wealthy urbanites. The popular decorative style termed *chinoiserie* (shin-WAH-seh-ree) reflected

late-eighteenth-century Europe's admiration for Chinese artifacts and good taste. The clipper ships of New England made the long voyage around Cape Horn and across the Pacific in the first half of the nineteenth century to reap enormous profits carrying luxury goods in both directions: sea otter furs from Alaska and the Pacific Northwest and porcelain, tea, and jade from China.

During the Ming and Qing periods, far more people were participating in the creation and enjoyment of formal culture than ever before. By the 1700s, China had a large number of educated people who were able to purchase the tangible goods produced by a host of skilled artists. Schools and academies of higher learning educated the children of anyone who could afford the fees—generally members of the scholar-official class who had been governing China since the Han Dynasty.

In this era (from the 1500s on), however, China definitely lost to the West its lead in science and technology, which it had maintained for the previous thousand years. Developing a sensitivity to beauty, such as the art of calligraphy, was considered as essential to proper education in China as mastering literacy and basic math. Painting, poetry, and meditation were considered far more important than physics or accounting or chemistry. This ongoing downgrading of the quantitative sciences and the technical advances they spawned in the West was to be a massively negative turning point in international power relations for China. Aesthetic sensitivities and artistic excellence proved to be little aid when confronted by cannons and steam engines.

Progress and Problems

Among the outstanding achievements of the early Qing emperors were improvements in agriculture and engineering that benefited uncounted numbers of ordinary Chinese. Kangxi, for example, did much to ensure that



Musée Guimet, Paris, France/The Bridgeman Art Library, London

MING VASE. This superb example of Chinese porcelain was made in the seventeenth century, possibly for the developing export trade with Europe.

the South China “rice bowl” was made even more productive and that the Grand Canal linking the Yellow River with the central coast ports and the Yangtze basin was kept in good order. New hybrid rice allowed rice culture to be extended and increased yields, which in turn supported an expansion in population.

Internal trade in the large cities and many market towns continued the upsurge that had begun during the Ming Dynasty and became ever more important in this era. Although most Chinese—perhaps 80 percent—remained villagers working the land, there were now large numbers of shopkeepers, market porters, carters, artisans, moneylenders, and all the other occupations of commercial life. Money circulated freely as both coin and paper, the coins being minted of Spanish silver brought from the South American colonies to Manila and Guangzhou to trade for silk and porcelain.

All in all, the Chinese in the early Qing period were probably living as well as any other people in the world, and better than most Europeans. But this high standard of living worsened in later days, when for the first time the population's growth exceeded the ability of the agrarian economy to allow suitable productive work for it. By the nineteenth century, almost all of the land that had adequate precipitation or was easily irrigable for crops had already been brought under the plow. The major improvements possible in rice farming had already been made, and yields did not continue to rise as they had previously. Machine industry had not yet arrived in China (and would not for many years), and trade with the outside world was narrowly focused and on a relatively small scale that government policy refused to expand. (China wanted very few material things from the non-Chinese, in any case.) In the nineteenth century, rural China began to experience massive famines and endemic poverty that were the result of too-rapid growth in population in a technically backward society without the desire or means to shift to new production modes.

SUMMARY

THE OVERTHROW OF THE MONGOLS introduced another of the great Chinese dynasties: the Ming. Blessed by exceptionally able emperors in the early decades, the Ming imitated their Tang Dynasty model and made notable improvements in agriculture and commerce. Urban life expanded, and the urban bourgeoisie of merchants became economically (but not politically) important. The borders were extended well to the west and north, and the barbarian nomads thrust once again behind the Great Wall for a couple of centuries.

In the classic pattern, however, the Ming's grip on government and people weakened, and the costs of a huge court and army pressed heavily on the overtaxed population. When rebellions began in the northern provinces, the people were encouraged by the promises of change offered by the invading Qing in the northeast. Triumphant, the

Qing leader began the final dynastic period in China's 3,000-year history—that of the Qing.

The two first Qing emperors were extraordinarily able men, who in the eighteenth century led China to one of the summits of its national existence. The economy prospered, and overpopulation was not yet a problem. In the arts, there was extraordinary refinement and development of new literary forms. But in science and technology, China now lagged far behind the West, and the coming century would be filled with political and cultural humiliations. China entered the modern age unprepared to handle the types of problems that it faced on the eve of the European intrusion: growing impoverishment, military backwardness, and technical retardation. First the Europeans and then the Japanese would find ways to take advantage of these handicaps.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Forbidden City
Manchuria
Maritime Expeditions
Ming Dynasty

Qing Dynasty
The Dream of the Red Chamber

For Further Reflection

1. Despite the fact that this was an era of expansion for Europeans, China remained unaffected by these developments. Is this statement true or false? Be sure to explain your answer.
2. Was this an era of growth and continued innovation for China, or was it a period of decline?
3. What were the reasons for China's brief period of exploration in the fifteenth century? Why do you think it came to such an abrupt end?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The most serious menace to China's stability during the 1300s and 1400s was
 - a. the Japanese coastal pirates.
 - b. the Mongol conquerors from the north.
 - c. the conspiracies of the palace eunuchs.
 - d. the invasions of the Vietnamese in the south.
 - e. the isolation that caused the Chinese to fall behind the rest of the world.
2. The last dynasty to be of pure Chinese origin was the
 - a. Qing.
 - b. Song.
 - c. Tang.
 - d. Ming.
 - e. Qin.

3. China's first commercial contact with Europeans was with the
 - a. British.
 - b. Dutch.
 - c. Spanish.
 - d. Greeks.
 - e. Portuguese.
4. The emperor Hongwu initiated a period during which only the _____ had direct access to the emperor.
 - a. royal family
 - b. leading merchants
 - c. government officials
 - d. palace eunuchs
 - e. military leaders
5. During the Ming/Qing era, China was ruled by a bureaucracy that was
 - a. selected on the basis of aristocratic birth.
 - b. controlled by a professional military establishment.
 - c. dominated by the Buddhist priesthood.
 - d. selected on the basis of written examinations.
 - e. unconcerned about the Chinese peasantry.
6. During the Ming period, Chinese-Japanese contacts were
 - a. restricted to occasional commerce and raids by Japanese pirates.
 - b. thriving on a number of fronts, both commercial and cultural.
 - c. hostile and infrequent.
 - d. marked by the Japanese willingness to accept China's dominance.
 - e. exceptional, in that the Chinese adopted Japanese technology.
7. The Maritime Expeditions of the fifteenth century were
 - a. the product of contacts with Arab traders.
 - b. the result of Mongol invaders who had occupied China.
 - c. the government-sponsored explorations of the Indian Ocean.
 - d. begun at the initiative of private traders.
 - e. an opportunity for the Chinese to show the rest of the world their superiority.
8. The replacement of the Ming by the Qing Dynasty was
 - a. caused by a Japanese invasion of China and a collapse of the Ming.
 - b. a gradual armed takeover from a demoralized government.
 - c. carried out by Westerners, who were anxious to install a "tame" government in Beijing.
 - d. caused by Western Christian missionaries hostile to the Ming.
 - e. the natural result of cultural interaction between the two groups.
9. The outstanding Qing emperors of the eighteenth century
 - a. learned much of political value to them from the West.
 - b. were cruel tyrants in their treatment of the common Chinese.
 - c. split governmental responsibility between Qing and Chinese.
 - d. tried hard to expand commerce between China and Europe.
 - e. rejected the traditional Chinese bureaucracy in favor of absolute rule.
10. Which of the following did not figure prominently in Qing cultural achievement?
 - a. Poetry
 - b. Landscape painting
 - c. Theology
 - d. Fictional narratives
 - e. Calligraphy



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27

Japan in the Era of European Expansion

JAPAN

FIRST EUROPEAN CONTACTS: CHRISTIANITY

THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE

Shogun, Emperor, and Daimyo
Economic Advances
Peasants and Urbanites

TAMING THE SAMURAI

TOKUGAWA ARTS AND LEARNING

Literature and Its Audiences
Adaptation and Originality

RESPONSE TO THE WESTERN CHALLENGE

SOUTHEAST ASIA

BEFORE THE 1500S, THE Japanese islands' contacts with the outer world were only with Korea and China. The arrival of Portuguese trader-explorers brought change to a substantial segment of society, which adopted Christian belief. But this trend was later reversed by government action, and in a remarkable turnabout, the Japanese entered a long period of self-imposed seclusion.

Southeast Asia also experienced the European outreach, but in a highly localized and restricted manner, linked to the exclusive interest of the newcomers in the spice trade. Only much later, in the nineteenth century, did Europeans begin to develop Southeast Asian colonies.

JAPAN

Although akin to China in some ways, Japan was very different in many others. The political power of the emperor in Kyoto was weak throughout early modern times, and Japan became a collection of feudal provinces controlled by clans. In the century between the 1460s and the 1570s, the warrior-nobles (**daimyo**: DEYE-mee-oh) had engaged in a frenzy of the "strong eating the weak." Finally, a series of military strongmen managed to restore order, culminating in the establishment of a type of centralized feudalism: the *Shogunate*.

The white chrysanthemum
Even when lifted to the eye
Remains immaculate.

—*Basho*

c. 1200–1600	Malaysians and Indonesians convert to Islam
1521	Portuguese seize control of Malacca
1543	First European contacts with Japan
c. 1600	Tokugawa Shogunate established in Japan
c. 1630s	Christianity suppressed in Japan; foreigners expelled, sakoku begins
1600s–1700s	Money economy and commercial society develop in Japan

The first European contacts occurred in the mid-1500s, when traders and missionaries were allowed to establish themselves on Japanese soil. One of the most important trade items brought by the Portuguese was firearms. Another was the Christian Bible. Contacts with Europe were complicated by Japanese distrust of the Christian faith and its hints of submission to an alien culture. The shogun eventually decided that this danger was intolerable. Within a generation's time, Japan withdrew behind a wall of enforced isolation from the world, from which it would not emerge until the nineteenth century.

FIRST EUROPEAN CONTACTS: CHRISTIANITY

The Portuguese arrived in Japanese ports for the first time in 1543, looking for additional opportunities to make money from their active trading with all the Eastern countries. They took Chinese silk to Japan and Japanese silver to China and used the profits from both to buy spices in the South Pacific islands to bring back to Portugal.

One of the first influences from the West to reach the thus-far isolated Japanese was Christianity, which arrived via the numerous Catholic missionaries sponsored by the Society of Jesus (Jesuits). The Jesuit order had been founded to fight Protestantism only a few years earlier, and its missionaries were well educated and highly motivated. For various reasons, a fair number of the daimyo were sympathetic to the Jesuit efforts and converted to Christianity during the 1550s and 1560s. By the year 1600, it is estimated that 300,000 Japanese had converted. That number would have constituted a far higher percentage of the population than do Japanese Christians in modern times.

At this time, most Japanese were adherents of either Shinto or one of the many varieties of Buddhism. Why did the ruling group allow the missionaries free access to the people? And why did the Japanese initially prove more receptive to Christianity than had, for example, the Chinese or the Indians? It is impossible to say with certainty. One reason was the personal example of the Jesuits, led by St. Francis Xavier, who greatly impressed their hosts with their piety and learning.

Other changes were under way. In the later 1500s, a movement for Japanese national unity led by Oda



ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE. Note the black slave unloading the goods, showing that the Portuguese were already using black labor in their trans-Indian Ocean trade in the first half of the seventeenth century. The Japanese observer is possibly the merchant for whom the goods were consigned, and the monkey is the ship's mascot.

Museo Nacional de Soares dos Reis, Porto, Portugal/Giraudon/Bridgeman Art Library

Nobunaga (OH-dah noh-buh-NAH-gah; 1523–1582), a feudal lord who had fought his way to regional power, was beginning. In the 1570s, the brutal Nobunaga succeeded in capturing Kyoto and most of the central island of Honshu, but he was killed by one of his cohorts. Following Nobunaga's death, his lieutenant Toyotomi Hideyoshi (toh-yoh-TOH-mee hee-deh-YOH-shee) took over. Aided by the first large-scale use of firearms in Japan, Hideyoshi had visions of Asian, if not worldwide, supremacy. He invaded Korea with a well-equipped army of 150,000 as a first step toward the conquest of Ming China. Repulsed in 1592, he was in the midst of a second attempt when he died in 1598. After a couple of years of struggle among Hideyoshi's would-be successors, the formidable warrior and statesman **Tokugawa Ieyasu** (toh-koo-GAH-wah ee-eh-YAH-soo; ruling 1603–1616) seized the baton (see the Law and Government box).

Tokugawa ceased the abortive invasion of the mainland and by 1600 had beaten down his several internal rivals. Thus began the 250 years of the Tokugawa Shogunate, a military regency exercised in the name of an emperor who had become largely a figurehead. Tokugawa “ate the pie that Nobunaga made and Hideyoshi baked” goes the schoolchildren's axiom in modern Japan. He was the decisive figure in premodern Japanese history, using a selective violence against the daimyo to permit a special form of centralized governance.

THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE

Once in power, Tokugawa continued and expanded the changes that Hideyoshi had begun. By disarming the peasants, Tokugawa removed much of the source of the rebellions that had haunted Japan during the preceding century. From this time on, only the professional warrior class, the samurai, and their daimyo employers had the right to own weapons. The daimyo, who were roughly equivalent to the barons of Europe some centuries earlier, were expected to spend half their time at the court of the shogun, where they would be under the watchful eyes of the shogun and his network of informers.

In the early 1600s, the Tokugawa shoguns began to withdraw Japan into seclusion from outside influences. Earlier, Hideyoshi had had misgivings about the activities of the Jesuits within his domains, and in 1587, he had issued an order (which was later revoked) that they should

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

TOKUGAWA IYASU (1542–1616)

On March 8, 1616, Shogun Tokugawa Iyasu died. According to his wish, he was buried in Nikko, a beautiful wood ninety miles north of Tokyo. His tomb stands at the end of a long avenue of great gardens. Posthumously, Tokugawa was given the title “Noble of the First Rank, Great Light of the East, Great Incarnation of the Buddha.” He was already acknowledged as the individual who brought law to a lawless society.

Tokugawa Iyasu (that is, Iyasu of the Tokugawa clan) was born in 1542. During the last decades of the sixteenth century, he became an ally of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the most powerful of all the feudal aristocrats who divided the country among themselves.

When Hideyoshi died unexpectedly in 1598, Iyasu and another man were the prime candidates to succeed him. Tokugawa assembled a force of 80,000 feudal warriors, while his opponent led a coalition of 130,000. In the decisive battle of Sekigahara in 1600, the outnumbered Tokugawa forces claimed the field. In the next few years, Iyasu destroyed the coalition’s resistance and secured the shogun’s office for himself and his second son. Iyasu’s victory was a turning point of great importance. For the next 250 years, the Japanese were forced to live in peace with one another. This “Era of Great Peace” was marked by the Tokugawa clan’s uninterrupted control of the Shogunate in Edo (Tokyo), while the semidivine emperor resided in Kyoto and remained the symbolic center of Japanese patriotism.

Iyasu was an extraordinarily gifted man. Coming out of the samurai tradition of military training, he was nevertheless able to appreciate the blessings of a permanent peace. He carefully redivided the feudal lords’ domains

throughout the islands to ensure his control over all of them. He established the daimyo as the officials of his kingdom.

They were given considerable freedom to do as they pleased in their own backyards, so long as their loyalty to the shogun was not in doubt. Iyasu and his successors in the 1600s did much to improve and nationalize Japan’s economy, particularly among the peasant majority. The *heimin*, or plain folk, were divided into three basic groups: farmers, artisans, and traders, in that rank order. Farmers were generally regarded as honorable people, while traders were originally looked down upon, as in China. At the bottom of the social scale were the despised *hinin*, who were equivalent to the Indian untouchables. Unlike the untouchables, however, the *hinin* were able to rise in status.

In many ways, Tokugawa Iyasu was the father of traditional Japan. The political institutions of the country did not change in any significant way after him until the late nineteenth century. He lives on in the pantheon of Japan’s heroes as a model of military virtue who reluctantly employed harsh and even brutal measures in order to bring about the rule of law in a lawless society.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Would there have been many alternatives to Tokugawa’s method of imposing order in sixteenth-century Japan? What problems may arise from having absolute powers supposedly in one man’s (the emperor’s) hands, while another actually exercises them? How might this arrangement be compared to similar situations throughout history (for example, the later Abbasid caliphate, as in Chapter 15)?



TOKUGAWA IYASU. This portrait was done after the powerful warrior had ensured his position as shogun in 1603.

Private Collection/Bridgeman Art Library



leave. After newly arrived members of the Franciscan Order attempted to meddle in the Shogunate's internal affairs, Tokugawa acted. He evicted the Christian missionaries who had been in the country for half a century and put heavy pressure on the Christian Japanese to reconvert to Buddhism. After Christian peasants supported a revolt in 1637, pressure turned into outright persecution. Death became the standard penalty for Christian affiliation. In a few places, the Christians maintained their faith through "underground" churches and priests, but the majority gradually gave up their religion in the face of heavy state penalties and their neighbors' antagonism.

At the same time, Japan's extensive mercantile contacts with the Europeans and the Chinese were almost entirely severed. Only a handful of Dutch and Portuguese traders/residents were allowed to remain in two ports (notably, Nagasaki, where two Dutch ships coming from the East Indies were allowed to land each year). (See Map 27.1.)



The Art Archive

HIDEYOSHI AS SAMURAI. This later illustration of General Hideyoshi allows close inspection of the traditional samurai costume and weapons.

The building of oceangoing ships by the Japanese was forbidden. No foreigners could come to Japan, and no Japanese were allowed to reside abroad (with a few exceptions). Japanese who were living abroad were forbidden to return. The previously lively trade with China was sharply curtailed.

This isolation (called **sakoku** in Japanese history; pronounced sah-KOH-koo) lasted until the mid-nineteenth century. It was a remarkable experiment with highly successful results so far as the ruling group was concerned. Japan went its own way and was ignored by the rest of the world.

Shogun, Emperor, and Daimyo

The Tokugawa shoguns continued the dual nature of Japanese government, whereby the Shogunate was established at **Edo** (EH-doh; later Tokyo), while the emperor resided in the imperial palace at Kyoto and occupied himself with ritual and ceremony as the current holder of the lineage of the Sun Goddess who had created Japan eons earlier (see Chapter 19). True power in both a military and a political sense remained with the shogun, who now headed a council of state composed of daimyo aristocrats. An individual who was always a member of the Tokugawa clan acted in the name of the emperor, closely overseeing some twenty large and perhaps two hundred small land-holding daimyo. The daimyo acted both as his agents and as autonomous regents in their own domains. The shogun controlled about one-fourth of Japan as his own fiefdom. This system continued without important change until 1867.

The daimyo were the key players in governance and posed a constant potential threat to Tokugawa's arrangements. As the source of military power on the local level, they could tear down any shogun if they united against him. Therefore, to secure the center, the shogun had to play the daimyo against each other in the countryside. He did this by constant intervention and manipulation, setting one clan against another in the competition for imperial favor. The shogun controlled the domains near Edo or put them in the hands of dependable allies. Domains on the outlying islands went to rival daimyo clans, which would counterbalance one another. Meanwhile, the wives and children of the more important daimyo families were required to live permanently at Edo, where they served as hostages for loyal behavior. The whole system of supervision and surveillance much resembled Louis XIV's arrangements at Versailles in seventeenth-century France.

Economic Advances

Japan's society and economy changed markedly during these centuries of isolation. One of the most remarkable results of sakoku was the great growth of population and domestic trade. The population doubled in the seventeenth century and continued to increase gradually throughout



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MAP 27.1 Tokugawa Japan

The Japanese islands during the period of *sakoku*, which lasted until the mid-nineteenth century. Key cities, including the Shogunate's capital, Edo, are shown.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What features of Japan's physical geography might have made social and political unity difficult?

the remainder of the Tokugawa period. Closing off trade with foreigners apparently stimulated internal production rather than discouraged it, and domestic trade rose accordingly. The internal peace imposed by the powerful and respected government of the Shogunate certainly helped. The daimyo aristocracy had an ever-increasing appetite for fine wares such as silk and ceramics. Their fortress-palaces in Edo and on their domains reflected both their more refined taste and their increasing ability to satisfy it.

The merchants, who had previously occupied a rather low niche in Japanese society (as in China) and had never been important in government, now gradually gained a much more prominent place. Formerly, the mercantile and craft guilds had restricted access to the market, but the early shoguns forced them to dissolve, thereby allowing many new and creative actors to come onto the entrepreneurial stage. Even so, the merchants as a class were still not as respected as were government officials,



Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers, France/Graudon/Bridgeman Art Library

SUNRISE. This wood cut by the famed engraver Hiroshige (1797–1858) shows a typical procession of laborers going to work in a seaside town while the fishermen raise sail and the rice sellers ready their booths for the morning trade along the quay. The long net is presumably for capturing birds that will be put into the cages and sold.

scholars, and especially the daimyo and their samurai. Nevertheless, the merchants' growing wealth, which they often lent—at high interest—to impoverished samurai, began to enhance their prestige. A money economy gradually replaced the universal reliance on barter in the villages.

Commercialization and distribution networks for artisans invaded the previously self-sufficient lifestyle of the country folk. Banks and the use of credit became more common during the later Tokugawa period. Some historians see the growth of a specifically Japanese form of capitalism long before Japan's entry into the world economic system in the later nineteenth century.

Peasants and Urbanites

The condition of the peasants, who still made up the vast majority of the population, improved somewhat under the early Tokugawa regime. Since the beginnings of the Shogunate under the Fujiwara (foo-jee-WAH-rah) clan, the peasantry had been sacrificed to keep the daimyo and their samurai retainers satisfied. In most of the Japanese lands, the peasant was no better than a serf and lived in misery. In the early Tokugawa era, the peasants received some protection from exploitation, and the shogun's government claimed that agriculture was the most honorable of ordinary occupations. But the government's taxes were heavy, taking up to 60 percent of the rice crop, which was by far the most important harvest. In later years, the increasing misery of some peasants led to many provincial rebellions, not against the shogun but against the local daimyo who were the peasants' landlords. These revolts, although numerous, were on a much smaller scale than

those that would trouble Manzhou (or Manchu) China in the same nineteenth-century epoch.

Cities grew rapidly during the first half of the Tokugawa period but more slowly later. Both Osaka (oh-SAH-kah) and Kyoto were estimated to have more than 400,000 inhabitants in the eighteenth century, and Edo perhaps as many as 1 million. All three cities were bigger than any town in Europe at that date. The urban population ranged from wealthy daimyo and merchants at the top; through tens of thousands of less fortunate traders, shopkeepers, and officials of all types in the middle; and many hundreds of thousands of skilled and unskilled workers, casual laborers, beggars, prostitutes, artists, and the unlucky samurai at the bottom. Most Japanese, however, still lived as before in small towns and villages. They depended on local farming, timbering, or fishing for their livelihood and had only occasional and superficial contact with the urban culture. Until the twentieth century, the rhythms of country life and the rice culture were the dominant influence on the self-image and the lifestyle of the Japanese people.

TAMING THE SAMURAI

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the samurai caste, which had been the military servants of the wealthy daimyo and their "enforcers" with the peasants, lost most of its prestige in Japanese society. Estimated to make up as much as 7 percent of the population at the time of the establishment of the Tokugawa regime, the samurai had now become superfluous.

With the creation of the lasting domestic peace, there was literally nothing for them to do in their traditional profession. They were not allowed to become merchants or to adopt another lifestyle, nor could they easily bring themselves to do so after centuries of proud segregation from the common herd. The Edo government encouraged the samurai to do what they naturally wished to do: enjoy themselves beyond their means. Borrowing a page from the merchants, the samurai tried to outdo one another in every sort of showy display. After a generation or two, the result was mass bankruptcies and social disgrace.

The fallen samurai were replaced in social status by newcomers, who were finding that they could advance through commerce or through the civil bureaucracy. As in the West, this bureaucracy was slowly assuming the place of the feudal barons and becoming the day-to-day authority in governance. The samurai lost out to a new class of people: men who did not know how to wield a sword but were good with a pen. Trained only to make war and raised in the bushido (boo-SHEE-doh) code of the warrior, most of the samurai were ill equipped to transition from warrior to a desk-sitting official of the shogun or a daimyo lord. Most samurai seem to have gradually sunk into poverty and loss of status as they reverted to the peasant life of their long-ago ancestors.

TOKUGAWA ARTS AND LEARNING

The almost-250 years of peace of the Tokugawa period produced a rich tapestry of new cultural ideas and practices in Japan. Some of the older ideas, originally imported from China, were now adapted to become almost entirely Japanese in form and content. The upper classes continued to prefer Buddhism in one form or another, with a strong admixture of Confucian secular ethics. Among the people, Shinto and the less intellectual forms of Buddhism formed the matrix of belief about this world and the next. Japanese religious style tended to accept human nature as it is without the overtones of penitence and reform so prominent in Western thought. As before, a strong current of eclecticism blended Buddhism with other systems of belief and practice.

Literature and Its Audiences

Literacy rates were quite high in Japan and continued to increase in the later years of the Tokugawa period, when perhaps as many as 50 percent of the males could read the cheap product of wood-block printing presses and write. This percentage was at least equal to the literacy rate in central Europe in those days and was facilitated by the relative ease of learning the phonetic written language (in distinct contrast to Chinese, the original source of Japanese writing).

Literature aimed at popular entertainment began to appear in new forms that were a far cry from the elegant and restrained traditions of the past. Poetry, novels, social satires, and Kabuki plays were the foremost types of literature. By this era, all of these forms had been liberated from imitation of classical Chinese models, and several were entirely original to the Japanese.

Haiku (HEYE-koo) poems, especially in the hands of the revered seventeenth-century poet Basho, were extraordinarily compact revelations of profound thought. In three lines and seventeen syllables (always), the poet reflected the Zen Buddhist conviction that the greatest of mysteries can only be stated—never analyzed. Saikaku's contributions in fiction matched those of Basho in poetry, also during the late seventeenth century. His novels and stories about ordinary people are noteworthy for their passion and the underlying sense of comedy with which the characters are observed. Saikaku's stories, like Basho's verse, are read today in Japan with the same admiration afforded to them for centuries (see Arts and Culture box).

Kabuki (kah-BOO-kee) is a peculiarly Japanese form of drama. It is highly realistic, often humorous and satirical, and sometimes violent in both action and emotions. For its settings, it often used the “floating world,” the unstable but attractive world of brothels, shady teahouses,

and gambling dens. Kabuki was wildly popular among the upper classes in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japan. It was not unusual for a particularly successful actor (males played all parts) to become a pampered “star.” Actors were often also male prostitutes, just as actresses in the West were often female prostitutes at this time. Homosexuality was strongly frowned on by the Shogunate authorities, but it had already had a long tradition among the samurai and in some branches of Buddhism.

Adaptation and Originality

In the fine arts, Japan may have drawn its initial inspiration from Chinese models, but it always turned those models into something different, something specifically Japanese. This pattern can be found in landscape painting, poetry, adventure and romance stories, gardens, and ceramics—in any art medium that both peoples have pursued.

The Japanese versions were often filled with a playful humor that was missing in the Chinese original and were almost always consciously close to nature, the soil, and the peasantry. The refined intellectualism common to Chinese arts appeared less frequently in Japan. As a random example, the rough-and-tumble of Kabuki and the pornographic jokes that the actors constantly employed were specifically Japanese and had no close equivalent in China.

The merchants who had prospered during the Tokugawa era were especially important as patrons of the arts. Again, a parallel can be drawn to the European experience, but with differences. The European bourgeoisie became important commissioners of art two centuries earlier than the Japanese merchants and did so in self-confident rivalry with the nobles and the church. Japan had no established church, and the bourgeoisie never dared challenge the daimyo nobility for taste-setting primacy. Nevertheless, high-quality paintings and wood-block prints displaying a tremendous variety of subjects and techniques came to adorn the homes and collections of the rich merchants. In fact, much of what the modern world knows of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japanese society is attributable to the knowing eye and talented hands of the artists rather than to historians. Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese never revered compilers of records. There are no Japanese equivalents of the great Chinese histories.

RESPONSE TO THE WESTERN CHALLENGE

In the later Tokugawa, the main emphasis of Japanese thought shifted from Buddhist to Confucian ideals, which is another way of saying that it changed from an otherworldly emphasis to an empirical concern with this world. The Japanese version of Confucianism was, as always, different from the Chinese. The secular, politically pragmatic nature of Confucius's doctrines comes through

more emphatically in Japan. The Chinese mandarins of the nineteenth century had little tolerance for deviation from the prescribed version of the Master. But in Japan, several schools of thought contended and were unimpeded by an official prescription of right and wrong. Another difference was that whereas China had no room for a shogun, Japan had no room for the mandate of Heaven. Chinese tradition held that only China could be the Confucian “Empire of the Middle.” The Japanese, on the other hand, although confident that they were in that desirable

position of centrality and balance, believed that they need not ignore the achievements of other less fortunate but not entirely misguided folk.

What was the significance of this pragmatic secularism for Japan? It helped prepare the ruling daimyo group for the invasion of Western ideas that came in the mid-nineteenth century. The Japanese elite were able to abandon their seclusion and investigate whatever Western technology could offer them with an open mind. In sharp contrast to China, when the Western avalanche could no

ARTS AND CULTURE

THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF HAIKU

Haiku is undoubtedly the most distinctive and well-known form of traditional Japanese poetry. Haiku has changed somewhat over the centuries since the time of Basho, and today it is typically a three-line, 17-syllable verse form consisting of three metrical units of 5, 7, and 5 syllables. Three related terms—*haiku*, *hokku*, and *haika*—have often caused considerable confusion. What we know today as haiku had its beginnings as hokku, a “starting verse” of a much longer chain of verses known as haika. The hokku was the most important part of a haika poem; therefore, it was an especially prestigious form of poetry from its inception. Before long, therefore, poets began composing hokkus by themselves. One nineteenth-century master in particular, Masaoka Shiki, formally established the haiku in the 1890s in the form in which it is now known. Here are a few samples of the poetry of Basho:

An old pond!
A frog jumps in—
The sound of water.

The first soft snow!
Enough to bend the leaves
Of the jonquil low.

In the cicada’s cry
No sign can foretell
How soon it must die.

No one travels
Along this way but I,
This autumn evening.

In all the rains of May
there is one thing not hidden—
the bridge at Seta Bay.

The year’s first day
thoughts and loneliness;
the autumn dusk is here.

Clouds appear
and bring to men a chance to rest
from looking at the moon.

Harvest moon:
around the pond I wander
and the night is gone.

Poverty’s child—
he starts to grind the rice,
and gazes at the moon.

No blossoms and no moon,
and he is drinking sake
all alone!

Won’t you come and see
loneliness? Just one leaf
from the *kiri* tree.

Temple bells die out.
The fragrant blossoms remain.
A perfect evening!

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

To what do you attribute the appeal of this simple poetic form? What seems to be the poems’ purpose, if any?

Source: From *Haiku for People*, <http://www.toyomasu.com/haiku/#Basho>



longer be evaded, the Japanese governing class accepted it with little inherent resistance or cultural confusion.

At the outset of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the Japanese educated classes were perhaps as familiar with science and technology as were the Westerners. *Sakoku* necessarily inhibited further progress. The Scientific Revolution and its accompanying technological advances were unknown in Japan, and the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century was equally foreign to the cultural landscape of even the most refined citizens (see Chapter 29). From the early 1800s, a few Japanese scholars and officials were aware that the West (including nearby Russia) was well ahead of them in certain areas—especially the natural sciences and medicine—and that much could be learned from the Westerners. These Japanese were in contact with the handful of Dutch merchants who had been allowed to stay in Japan, and they occasionally read Western science texts. “Dutch medicine,” as Western anatomy, pharmacy, and surgery were called, was fairly well known in upper-class Japan in the early nineteenth century, although it did not yet have much prestige.

When the American naval commander Matthew Perry arrived with his “black ships” to forcibly open the country to foreign traders in 1853 and 1854, the Japanese were not as ill prepared as one might assume after two centuries of isolation. Aided by the practical and secular Confucian philosophy they had imbibed, the sparse but important Western scientific books they had studied, and the carefully balanced government they had evolved by trial and error, the Edo government, the daimyo, and their sub-officials were able to absorb Western ideas and techniques by choice rather than by force. Instead of looking down their cultured noses at what the “hairy barbarians” might be bringing, the Japanese were able to say, “If it works to our benefit (or can be made to), use it.” Unlike China, the West decidedly did not overwhelm the Japanese. On the contrary, they were true to their nation’s tradition by showing themselves to be confident and pragmatic adapters of what they thought could be useful to them and rejecting the rest.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

The territories in Southeast Asia that had succeeded in achieving political organization before the appearance of European traders and missionaries had little reason to take much notice of them until a much later era. Contacts were limited to coastal towns and were mainly commercial. In the 1600s, the Dutch had driven the Portuguese entirely out of the islands’ spice trade, and they had established a loose partnership with the local Muslim sultans in Java and Sumatra to assure the continuance of that trade with Europe. After a brief contest with the Dutch, the British, in the form of the East India Company, had withdrawn from the Spice Islands to concentrate on Indian cotton goods.



Michael S. Yamashita/Corbis

HIMEJI CASTLE. This relatively late construction, known as the White Egret to the Japanese, stands today as a major tourist attraction. The massive stone walls successfully resisted all attackers.

Only in the Spanish Philippines was a European presence pervasive and politically dominant over a sizable area.

Most of the insular Asians were by now converted to Islam, a process that began in the 1200s through contact with Arab and Indian Muslim traders. By the time the Portuguese arrived in 1511, Malacca had become a commercial crossroads of the Indian Ocean and East Asian networks, as well as the most important point of dissemination for Islam throughout the region. From Malacca, the Portuguese extended their control over the Spice Islands. Except for on the island of Bali, the original syncretistic blend of Hindu with animist beliefs that had been India’s legacy had faded away. Only in the Philippines was there a Christian element.

If the islands were relatively untouched by the early European traders, the mainland populations were even less so. In the 1700s, the three states of Thailand, Burma, and Vietnam dominated the area. The first two were by then part of the *Hinayana* Buddhist world, while Vietnam under Chinese influence had remained with the

Mahayana version of the faith. The once-potent Khmer state of Cambodia had been divided between the Thais and the Viets by stages during the fifteenth through sev-

enteenth centuries. Nowhere else was there a visible European influence so late as the end of the eighteenth century, but this was to change radically in the next century.

SUMMARY

AFTER A CENTURY OF UNCHECKED feudal warfare in Japan, three strongmen arose in the late sixteenth century to recreate effective centralized government. Last and most important was Tokugawa Ieyasu, who crushed or neutralized all opposition, including that of the Christian converts who were the product of the first European contacts with Japan in the mid-1500s.

By the 1630s, Japan was rapidly isolating itself from the world under the Tokugawa Shogunate. The chief goal of the Tokugawa shoguns was a class-based political stability, which they successfully pursued for centuries. The shogun controlled all contacts with foreigners and gradually ended all interaction to isolate the island empire for more than 200 years. The daimyo nobility were carefully controlled by the shogun in Edo, who ruled from behind the imperial throne. Massive social changes took place at

the same time as the feudal political structure remained immobile. While urban merchants rose in the socioeconomic balance and peasants became wage laborers, the samurai slowly declined into obsolescence.

The population surged, and the general economy prospered. The arts, particularly literature and painting, flourished. When Japan's solitude was finally broken, the governing elite were ready to deal with the challenge of Western science and technology constructively.

In Southeast Asia, the colonial period commenced with Dutch and Spanish presence in the Indonesian and Philippine Islands, respectively. But as late as the end of the eighteenth century, the Western traders and missionaries had had relatively little impact on the mass of the native inhabitants of the islands and even less on the mainland.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

daimyo	Kabuki
Edo	sakoku
haiku	Tokugawa Ieyasu

For Further Reflection

1. To what do you attribute Japan's repeated efforts at limiting foreign influences? How was this accomplished?
2. How did Japanese attitudes to foreigners compare with China's? Were the reasons the same?
3. In what ways, if any, did Japan's tendency to isolate itself affect its development?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The early Christian missionaries to Japan
 - a. found a hostile reception.
 - b. were mainly Protestants.
 - c. made the mistake of trying to conquer the Buddhist natives.
 - d. were welcomed and given a hearing.
 - e. were evicted from the country within five years of their arrival.
2. The Shinto faith is best described as
 - a. the native Japanese religion.

- b. the Japanese Holy Scripture.
 - c. a mixture of Christianity and Japanese pagan belief.
 - d. a variety of Buddhism imported from Korea.
 - e. a reaction to the proselytizing of the Jesuits.
3. The Tokugawa shogun is best described as a
 - a. military dictator.
 - b. military adviser to the emperor.
 - c. chief of government under the supposed supervision of the emperor.
 - d. symbolic and religious leader under the emperor's supervision.
 - e. feudal lord who first implemented shogunate rule.
 4. The government system created by the shoguns in the 1600s
 - a. allowed the local chieftains called daimyo to rule unchecked.
 - b. was an imitation of the Chinese system of mandarin officials.
 - c. made the daimyo dependent on the shogun's favor.
 - d. used the emperor as military chief while the shoguns ruled all else.
 - e. provided imperial protection for the families of the daimyo.
 5. Which of the following did not occur during the Tokugawa period?
 - a. Japanese elite thought shifted from Buddhist to Confucian patterns.
 - b. Japanese formal culture stagnated in its continued isolation from the world.
 - c. Trade and economic activity generally increased.
 - d. Internal peace and order were effectively maintained.
 - e. The elite samurai faded into obsolescence.
 6. The reduction of the samurai's influence in public affairs was
 - a. carried out through government-ordered purges.
 - b. attempted but not achieved during the Shogunate period.
 - c. achieved by eliminating internal warfare through a strong government.
 - d. achieved by encouraging them to become merchants and landlords.
 - e. opposed by the shoguns but supported by the emperor.
 7. The Kabuki drama
 - a. specialized in dreamy romantic comedies.
 - b. was limited in appeal to the samurai and daimyo.
 - c. depicted daily life in a realistic, humorous way.
 - d. was an import from China.
 - e. portrayed in realistic fashion the military exploits of the samurai.
 8. Which of the following art forms was an original Japanese invention?
 - a. Wood-block printing
 - b. Haiku
 - c. Nature poetry
 - d. Weaving of silk tapestry
 - e. The epic poem
 9. In general, it can be said of Japanese merchants that they
 - a. emigrated in large numbers and established wider trade networks under Tokugawa rule.
 - b. always enjoyed high status in Japanese society.
 - c. saw little change in their trade throughout the entire period of the Tokugawa Shogunate.
 - d. gained in status after the imposition of sakoku.
 - e. saw an increase in trade with foreigners as a result of sakoku.
 10. Which of the following was true of the islands of Southeast Asia by the 1600s?
 - a. The Portuguese established control over its trade.
 - b. The Dutch established control over its trade.
 - c. Most of its trade was lost to China.
 - d. Most of its inhabitants had converted to Islam.
 - e. both b and d



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From Conquest to Colonies in Hispanic America



THE FALL OF THE AZTEC AND INCA EMPIRES

THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

Colonial Administration

The Colonies and the Roman Catholic Church

THE EARLY ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

STAGNATION AND REVIVAL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

COLONIAL SOCIETY AND CULTURE

[The conquest] was neither a victory nor a defeat. It was the dolorous birth of the mestizo people.

—Anonymous Inscription at the Site of Final Aztec Defeat

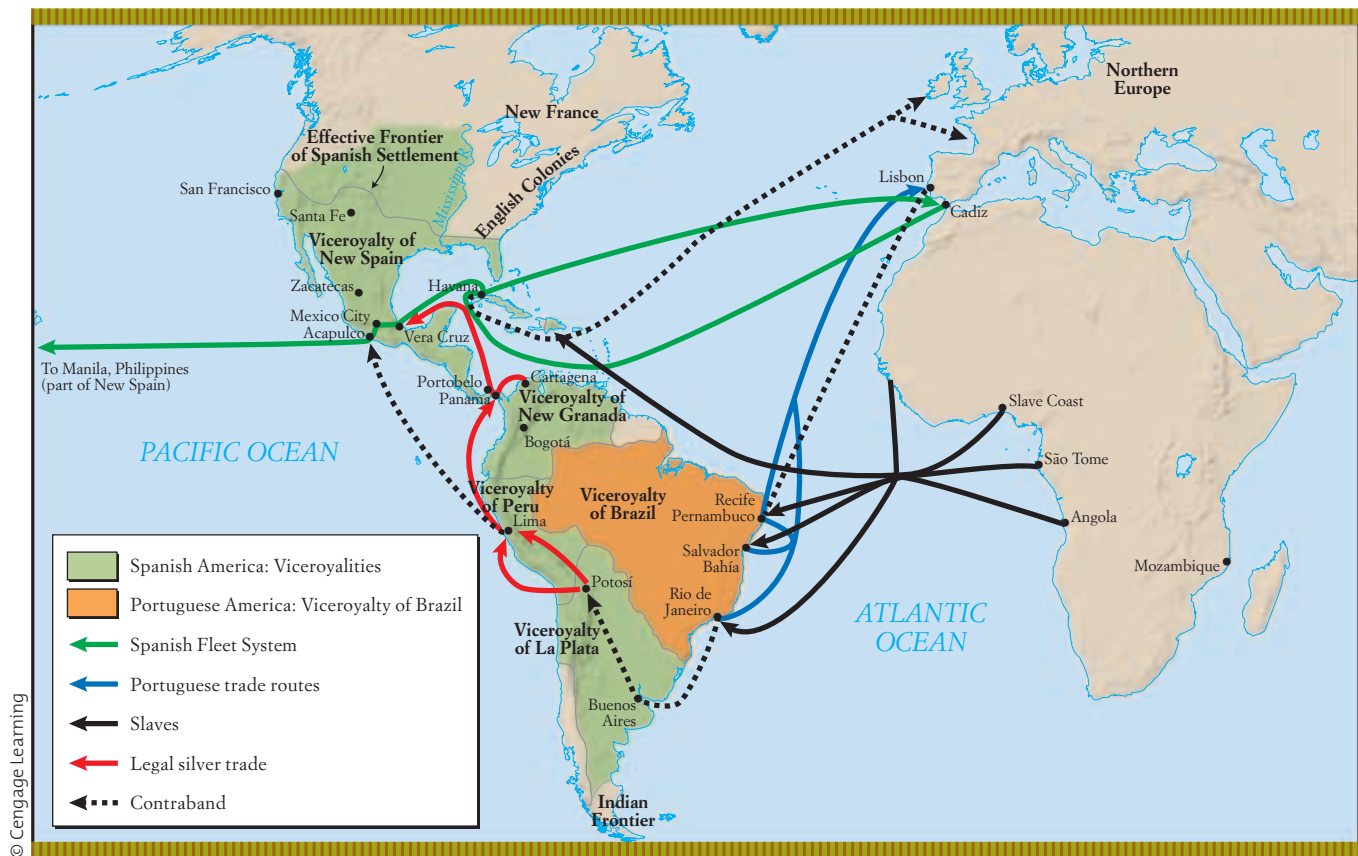
THE ARRIVAL OF THE Europeans in the New World started an enormous exchange of crops and commodities, modalities, and techniques. The beginning and most important phase of this exchange was conducted under the auspices of the Spanish conquistadores, who so rapidly conquered the Indian populations in the sixteenth century. For the next 300 years, most of the newly discovered lands were administered by a colonial system that superimposed Iberian Christian economic institutions, habits, and values on existing indigenous ones. The form of colonial lifestyle that gradually evolved in Latin America was the product of the native Indians and the imported black slaves as much as of the whites.

1520s–1810s	Latin America under Spanish and Portuguese rule
1650s–1750	Stagnation under a weakened Spain
1760–1790	Revival of economy under Charles III
1793–1804	Haitian slave rebellion and independence

THE FALL OF THE AZTEC AND INCA EMPIRES

We have seen (in Chapter 22) that the initial phase of Spanish exploration in the Caribbean was dominated by the search for treasure. The “Indies” of Columbus were reputed to be lands of gold and spices, waiting to be exploited by the first individual who might happen upon them. Within a few years, however, this image was obliterated by the realities of the Caribbean islands, where gold was nonexistent. The search then shifted to the mainland, and the immediate result was the conquest of the Aztecs in Mexico and the Incas in Peru.

The Aztec capital fell in 1521 to conquistador Hernán Cortés, who began construction of Mexico City with stones from the leveled pyramids. Within a



MAP 28.1 Colonial Latin America: Viceroyalties and Trade Connections

>> MAP QUESTIONS

How did commerce, both legal and contraband, connect colonial Latin America with the rest of the world?

decade, Francisco Pizarro used the tactics of Cortés to conquer the Inca Empire in South America. Pizarro, based in Panama, followed rumors of gold to the south, and by 1532 he had taken the Inca capital, Cuzco. Just as in Aztec Mexico, when the Spanish arrived in Peru, they found many allies to help them overthrow government (in Cuzco), which was engaged in civil war. The viral pandemics of smallpox, measles, and influenza carried by the Spaniards to Mexico and Peru decimated the Indians' ranks while hardly affecting the Spaniards. The Native Americans perceived that their deities and leaders were powerless against the scourges of the conquistadores, while the apparently superior Catholic religion was able to protect its faithful. The generous social assistance programs of the Incas (see Chapter 14) were no longer enough to win the active loyalty of the Inca's subjects. Pizarro and his band, which was even smaller than that of Cortés in Mexico, were able to take the Inca king hostage and demolish the regime in a short time in the Peruvian lowlands and valleys. Some of the imperial family and their officials escaped to the high mountains and attempted to rule from there for another thirty years before being crushed.

Spain showed much less interest in colonizing the sparsely populated areas of northern Mexico and southern South America, where no gold or silver had been found. In these areas, recalcitrant Amerindian groups such as the Pueblos of New Mexico and the Mapuche (mah-POO-chay) of Patagonia violently resisted Hispanization. The northernmost reaches of Spanish lands encompassed today's U.S. Southwest but were beyond the practical reach of the viceregal capital, Mexico City. Effectively, the fortified Franciscan mission towns of San Francisco and Santa Fe anchored the northern borders of Spanish colonization (see Map 28.1).

The early Portuguese colonization of Brazil was similar to the Spanish colonization of the Chile and Argentine areas. Lacking the allure of precious metals and a ready-made Indian workforce, these regions were gradually colonized by merchants and farmers, rather than swiftly conquered by gold seekers or would-be aristocrats. Brazil was named after the first natural resource exploited by the Portuguese: the valuable red dye, called *brazil*, extracted from the brazilwood tree. The (male) settlers in precarious areas, such as coastal Brazil, arrived without their

wives and families. Iberian men freely mixed with indigenous women; their offspring in Brazil were called *mamelucos* (ma-meh-LOO-koez). The offspring of Spaniards and Amerindians were called *mestizos* (meh-STEE-soze). The hinterland societies were less class conscious because everyone had to work together to survive.

THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

Spain's colonization of the New World focused on the conquered areas of the Aztec and Maya dominions (the colonial viceroyalty of New Spain) and the Inca Empire (the viceroyalty of Peru). These areas had treasure in gratifying abundance, both in gold and, in even greater amounts, silver. Here Indian resistance was broken, and the small groups of Spaniards made themselves into feudal lords, each with his Spanish entourage and Indian servants. One-fifth of what was discovered or stolen belonged to the royal government; the remainder could be divided up as the conquistadores saw fit. Agricultural production was greatly enriched by the introduction of draft animals and new crops (wheat, rice, sugarcane, citrus fruits). The survivors of the pre-Columbian empires furnished a ready-made free labor pool, which was accustomed to organized labor for tribute to a central authority.

In this earliest period, until about 1560, the Spanish crown, which in theory was the ultimate proprietor of all the new lands, allowed the conquerors of the Indians the *encomienda* (en-koh-MYEN-dah), or the right to demand uncompensated labor from the natives as a reward for the risks and hardships of exploration. This soon led to such abuses that priests who were charged with converting the Indians to Christianity—especially the determined and brave Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas—protested vigorously to Madrid, and the *encomienda* was abolished midway through the sixteenth century on paper, although somewhat later in fact.

Prompted by protests from Father de las Casas and others, King Charles V and his advisors were the first Europeans to debate the legal and ethical status of conquered peoples. As a result of the debates, the Spanish home government passed idealistic reform laws, including a prohibition against Indian enslavement. However, no legalistic injunctions could prevent the ensuing demographic disaster, which was without parallel in history. Owing in part to a kind of soul sickness induced by their enslavement and subservience but much more to epidemic diseases brought by the whites and unfamiliar to the Indians, the populations of these accomplished agricultural folk crashed horrifically (see Chapter 22). By the mid-seventeenth century, the Indian populations had begun to recover but never did so fully. Latin American populations only reached their pre-Columbian levels in the nineteenth century, when the influx of blacks and whites had created a wholly different ethnic mix.

African slaves were relegated to the lowest echelon of colonial society, with no protections from abusive “owners” (see Evidence of the Past box). However, slavery in the Iberian colonies included the possibility of buying or otherwise earning one’s freedom, creating a growing class of free African Americans. The African cultural and religious influence was particularly strong in the plantation zone (the territory from the Caribbean area to southern Brazil), which was the destination of most slaves.

Colonial Administration

The Spanish administration in most of the Americas and the Portuguese system in Brazil were essentially similar. Under the auspices of the home government, an explorer/conqueror was originally allowed nearly unlimited proprietary powers in the new land. Soon, however, he was displaced by a royal council set up with exclusive powers over commerce, crafts, mining, and every type of foreign trade. Stringent controls were imposed through a viceroy or governor, appointed by the Spanish government in Madrid and responsible solely to it. Judicial and military matters were also handled through the councils or the colonial *audiencia* (high court) in each province. The only hints of elective government were in the bottom ranks of the bureaucracy: the early Spanish town councils (*cabildos*) and the traditional communes of the Indian villages.

Iberian-born nobles (*peninsulars*) dominated the colonial administration. It was highly bureaucratized and mirrored the home government in its composition and aims. A great deal of paper dealing with legal cases, regulations, appointment procedures, tax rolls, and censuses flowed back and forth across the Atlantic. From the mid-sixteenth century, the government’s basic aim was to maximize fiscal and commercial revenues for the home country.

Secondarily, the government wished to provide an avenue of upward mobility for ambitious young men in the administration of the colonies. The viceroyalties of New Spain and of Peru were established in the mid-sixteenth century, and the holders of these posts were always peninsulars. A few of them were able administrators; most were court favorites being rewarded with a sinecure with opportunities for wealth. Despite all attempts to ensure Madrid’s control over colonial policies, the sheer distance involved and the insecurity of ocean travel meant that the local officials—normally *criollos* (cree-OH-yohz; native-born people of Iberian race in Latin America)—had considerable autonomy. Their care of their Indian and mestizo charges varied from blatant exploitation to admirable solicitude.

The Colonies and the Roman Catholic Church

Another Iberian institution was a partner to the civil government in the colonies: the Catholic Church. Filled with the combative spirit and sense of high mission that

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

RECOVERING LIFE STORIES OF THE VOICELESS: TESTIMONIAL NARRATIVES BY AFRICAN SLAVES

The oral histories of a handful of ex-slaves provide the only first-person accounts of life on the colonial plantations. Sympathetic editors have collected, edited, and published these accounts. The slaves in Cuba and Brazil worked mainly on cash-crop plantations in a variety of capacities. The following selection is from one of the few first-person slave narratives from Brazil. In about 1850, Mahommah G. Baquaqua told his story to one of the abolitionists who had freed him.

[After being captured as a boy in Africa] I was then placed in that most horrible of places, the slave ship . . . [where] we became desperate through suffering and fatigue [as well as hunger and thirst]. . . . We arrived at Pernambuco [Recife, Brazil], South America, early in the morning. . . . We landed a few miles from the city, at a farmer's house, which was used as a kind of slave market. . . . I had not been there very long before I saw [the farmer] use the lash pretty freely on a boy, which made a deep impression on my mind. . . .

When a slaver comes in, the news spreads like wild-fire, and down come all those that are interested in the arrival of the vessel with its cargo of living merchandise. . . . I was soon placed at hard labor [by my new master], such as none but slaves and horses are put to. [My master] was building a house, and had to fetch building stone from across the river, a considerable distance, and I was compelled to carry them that were so heavy it took three men to raise them upon my head, . . . for a quarter of a mile at least, down to where the boat lay. Sometimes the stone would press so hard upon my head that I was obliged to throw it down upon the ground, and then my master would be very angry indeed, and would say the [dog] had thrown the stone, when I thought in my heart that he was the worst dog; but . . . I dared not give utterance in words.

Source: Samuel Moore, ed., *Biography of Mahommah G. Baquaqua, A Native of Zoogao [sic] in the Interior of Africa* (Detroit: George E. Pomeroy and Co., 1854), 34–50.



A BRAZILIAN PLANTATION IN 1830. A Portuguese colonist in Brazil planted the first sugarcane there in 1521. Sugar soon became Brazil's economic mainstay, and African slaves were imported to work on plantations like this one overlooking a harbor near Rio de Janeiro.

The Cuban ex-slave Esteban Montejo was 103 years old when he told his life story to an anthropologist in 1963. The following passage begins with his birth on a sugar plantation.

Like all children of slavery, the criollitos, as they were called, I was born in the infirmary where they took the pregnant black women to give birth. . . . Blacks were sold like piglets, and they sold me right off—that's why I don't remember anything about that place. . . . At all the plantations there was an infirmary near the [slave quarters]. It was a large wooden house where they took the pregnant women. Children were born there and stayed until they were six or seven years old when they went to live in the slave quarters and to work like everyone else. . . . If a little black boy was pretty and lively, they sent him inside, to the master's house. . . . [T]he little black boy had to spend his time shooing flies [with a large palm fan] because the masters ate a lot. And they put [him] at the head of the table. . . . And they told him: "Shoo, so those flies don't fall in the food!" If a fly fell on a plate, they scolded him severely and even whipped him. I never did this work because I never liked to be near the masters. I was a *cimarrón* [wild, runaway] from birth.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

When Baquaqua and Montejo told their stories, they had lived many years as free men. Do you think that the intervening years might have affected their childhood memories of slavery in any way? What influence might the editors of their published stories have had on the narratives?

Source: Miguel Barnet, ed., *Biography of a Runaway Slave*, trans. W. Nick Hill (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994), 19–20, 22, 38.

were a legacy of the long *reconquista* struggle against the Moors, the missionaries were anxious to add the Central and South American Indians to the church's ranks. In this endeavor, the government authorities supported them. A church stood at the center of every town in the new lands; all other buildings were oriented around it. The bishops, nominated by the Crown, were as important in the administration of a given area as the civil governors; cultural and educational matters pertaining to both Europeans and Indians were in their hands. In its lavish baroque buildings and artworks, the church left a long-lasting physical imprint throughout the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. The spiritual imprint was even more profound, continuing to the present day.

THE EARLY ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

International commerce between the Iberian colonies and Europe and Asia connected the colonies to the nascent global economy (see Map 28.1). The major element in the economy of the early Spanish colonies was the mining of precious metals. Everything else served that end. (Brazil, the Portuguese colony, was originally a sugarcane plantation, but later it also emphasized mining.) The agricultural estates, which were first *encomiendas* and then **haciendas** (hah-SYEN-duhs)—rural plantation-villages with at least technically free-wage labor—existed primarily to supply food for the mining communities. Handicraft industries made gloves and textiles, prepared foods, and provided blacksmithing services for the same market. There were few exports beyond the produce of the mines and a handful of cash crops such as sugar, tobacco, and indigo.



The Granger Collection, New York

A HACENDADO AND HIS FAMILY. This nineteenth-century scene shows a Mexican *hacendado*, owner of a large plantation, with his wife and one of his overseers. The elaborate costumes were impractical but necessary for maintaining social distance from the peons.

Rights to export goods for the Spanish colonies were limited to Spaniards; the goods could be carried only in Spanish ships, which left from one port, Seville (later also Cádiz), twice a year. From Latin America, another flotilla laden with the bullion mined the previous year left annually from the Mexican port of Vera Cruz. The restrictions on these flotillas were intended to protect the treasure coming from the Americas from pirates and to restrict what was sent to and taken from the colonies.

The great bonanza of the early years was the “mountain of silver” at Potosí (poh-tuh-SEE) in what is now Bolivia. Next to it came the Mexican mines north of Mexico City. The silver that flowed from the New World to Seville (and from Acapulco to Manila) from the 1540s to the 1640s far overshadowed the gold taken from Moctezuma and the Inca during the conquest period. When the volume declined drastically in the 1640s, the Madrid government experienced a crisis. Production stayed relatively low for a century, but thanks to new technology and increased incentives, it reached great heights in the later eighteenth century before declining again—this time for good.

The input of bullion did not produce lasting constructive results in Spain. Some of it flowed on through royal or private hands to enrich the western European shippers, financiers, merchants, and manufacturers who supplied Iberia with every type of good and service in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Perhaps a third wound up in Chinese hands to pay for the Spanish version of the triangular trade across the Pacific. Spanish galleons left Acapulco, Mexico, loaded with silver and bound for Manila, where they met Chinese ships loaded with silk and porcelain, which, after transshipment across Mexico or Panama, wound up in Seville and might be reshipped back to the Caribbean. Less than half of the Spanish silver remained in Spanish hands, but this was enough to start an inflationary spiral in Spain that seized all of Europe by the end of the sixteenth century and brought ruin to many landholding nobles (see Chapter 22).

STAGNATION AND REVIVAL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The later seventeenth century and the first decades of the eighteenth were a period of stagnation and decline in New Spain. The last Spanish Habsburg kings were so weak that local strongmen in Hispanic America were able to overshadow the high courts and municipal authorities of the viceregal governments. The once-annual treasure fleets were sailing only sporadically, and the total supply of American bullion was down sharply from its high point. Several of the larger Caribbean islands were captured by the British, French, or Dutch or were taken over by buccaneers. The import-export controls imposed by the Madrid government were falling apart, because non-Spaniards were able to ignore the prohibitions against trading with

the colonies, were granted exemptions, or collaborated with the criollos in smuggling in a systematic fashion. By now, the colonies could produce the bulk of their necessities and no longer had to import them.

At this juncture, the Spanish government experienced a revival when a new dynasty, an offshoot of the French Bourbons, took over in Madrid in 1701 as a result of the War of Spanish Succession (see Chapter 23). Especially under King Charles III (ruling 1759–1788), who figured among the most enlightened monarchs of the eighteenth century, thoroughgoing reform was applied to the Indies. A form of free trade was introduced, the navy and military were strengthened, and a new system of administrators responsible to the center on the French Bourbon model was able to make Spanish colonial government much more effective. Taxes were collected as they had not been for years, and smuggling and corruption were reduced. The two Spanish American viceroalties were subdivided into four: New Spain, Peru, New Granada (northern South America), and Rio de la Plata (Argentina and central South America). The officials for these new divisions continued to be drawn almost exclusively from Spain, an affront that the people in the colonies did not easily swallow. Another point of contention was that many criollo clergymen were among the Jesuit missionaries banished by the anticlerical Bourbons from the Iberian empire. Colonists throughout the Western Hemisphere rose up in protest against the expulsion of the Jesuits, who had won the hearts and minds of all, and who from their exile encouraged the emerging sense of Hispano-American identity among criollos and mestizos alike.

The reforms did not benefit the mass of Indian and mestizo inhabitants at all. The Indian population increased—perhaps doubling—in the eighteenth century, creating an irresistible temptation to hacienda owners to press this defenseless and unskilled group into forced labor in the expanding plantation agriculture. The market for the products was not only the seemingly insatiable demand for sugar in Europe and North America but also the rapidly growing population in the colonies. The foreseeable result was an expansion of brutal serfdom, generating a series of Indian uprisings. **Tupac Amaru**, a descendant of the Inca, led the most notable of these in the 1780s. The viceregal government of Peru was nearly toppled before the revolt was put down. A few years later in the Caribbean island of Haiti (then Saint Domingue), a black ex-slave named **Toussaint L'Ouverture** led an uprising of slaves that ended French dominion on that island. The Toussaint rebellion eventually succeeded in attaining complete independence for Haiti, and it made an indelible impression on both the friends and enemies of the daring idea of a general abolition of slavery.

The oppressed Indians and enslaved blacks were by no means the only Latin Americans who were discontented in the last years of the eighteenth century. Economic policy reforms, however needed, were also sometimes painful

to the native-born criollos. With free trade, imports from Europe became considerably cheaper, hurting domestic producers. And the remarkable increase in silver production as a result of new mining techniques and new discoveries did not flow to the benefit of the locals but rather to what was more often now viewed as an alien government in Madrid. The loosening of the former restrictions on trade and manufactures had a distinctly stimulating effect on the intellectual atmosphere of the criollo urbanites. After decades of somnolence, there arose within a small but crucially important minority a spirit of criticism and inquiry, which reflected the stirring of European liberalism we shall examine in Chapter 30.

In the 1770s, the criollo elite witnessed the successful (North) American revolt against Britain, and a few years later, the radical French Revolution doctrines seized their attention. In both of these foreign upheavals, they believed they saw many similarities with their own grievances against their government—similarities that were to be ultimately persuasive for their own rebellion.

COLONIAL SOCIETY AND CULTURE

The Spanish colonists established a social hierarchy imported from Spain and based on racial and religious criteria. In legal terms, the “Spanish” colonials included peninsulars, criollos, and even wealthy European immigrants. These white elites controlled the government, church, military, and the economy. They had a separate justice system from the lower classes. Their lavish lifestyle depended on the labor of a growing mixed-blood population. The upper classes felt both fascinated and threatened by the emerging multiracial reality. They used a pseudo-scientific race-based classification system to support their claims of superiority, to decide whom to allow into the upper classes, and to relegate everyone else to a lower status. (See this chapter’s Images of History box for an example of the elite perspective on race and class.) Especially for the mestizo, an individual’s place in society was determined by family lineage, social connections, economic standing, and lifestyle, rather than by skin color alone. The celebrated Sister Juana Inés de la Cruz was a mestiza who enjoyed the privileges of an upper-class criolla. There was limited social mobility in both directions. Later waves of immigrants from Europe, having no ties to the original colonizers, were more likely to become merchants or laborers than to be welcomed into the upper classes.

Upper-class peninsulars and criollos recreated Iberian high-society life, distancing themselves from the masses, whom they deemed to be “uncivilized.” Social life was centered in the cities and towns because the Spaniards preferred urban life. The elite lifestyle moved at a leisurely pace, consisting of carriage rides and other outings to display their finery, religious ceremonies and



Museo de América, Madrid, Spain/ Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library, London

SISTER JUANA INÉS DE LA CRUZ. Sister Juana is revered as the finest poet of her time in New Spain (Mexico), an extraordinary achievement given the constraints on colonial women. Sister Juana's unique intellectual outlook made her the object of both admiration for her originality and severe criticism for her worldliness.

festivals, and diversions such as gambling, bullfights, and the popular baroque poetry contests. The elite criollos were secondary in political and social status to the peninsulars, although the American-born descendents of the conquistadors owned ranches and mines and could be wealthier than the peninsulars. These upper-class criollos cultivated intellectual and literary pursuits that enriched the cultural environment. Although the Inquisition prohibited reading novels and other “heretical” material, and the printing presses in Mexico and Lima produced mostly religious material, secular books were nonetheless widely available through contraband, and the criollo intellectuals kept abreast of Enlightenment thought and the latest European literary currents. The monastery or convent was also an option for the criollos. In the more lenient religious orders, the “cells” were more like suites of rooms.

In this strongly patriarchal society, women lacked independent legal status and were expected to obey their fathers, brothers, or husbands unconditionally. Spanish women were carefully protected because their family's honor depended on their irreproachable behavior.

The daughters of criollos were married, if possible, to newly arrived aristocratic peninsulars to ensure the family's prestige. Young men were sent to Spain or France for higher education. Young women were given a rudimentary education by tutors at home, and a few learned domestic and social arts at mission schools, but they were denied any higher education. Notions about propriety limited women to religious reading matter. In the final analysis, elite women had three alternatives: marriage, spinsterhood, or the convent. Widows of comfortable financial status were the most independent women in colonial times; they were free to make their own decisions, and they often ran family businesses with great success.

During the early colonial years, the term *mestizo* was derogatory because it referred to the illegitimate child of a Spanish man and an Indian woman. The Spanish



Method of throwing the Lasso



Method of throwing the Dolas

GAUCHOS ON THE ARGENTINE PAMPAS. The gaucho, usually a mixed-blood mestizo, created a lifestyle that blended the cultures of Spanish and Native American horsemen. Gaucho contraband traders, frontiersmen, and soldiers helped shape the history of the River Plate region (today's Argentina and Uruguay).

Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

monarchs encouraged marriage between interracial couples, and mestizos rose in status accordingly. At times, they served as intermediaries and interpreters among the elites, the Indians, and other categories of mixed-blood peoples. By law, individuals classified as mestizos were excluded from the universities and from positions in the church and the government. They could be soldiers but not officers, artisans' apprentices but not master craftsmen. Mestizos might also be tenant farmers or hacienda managers. The mestizo **gaucho** horsemen of the Argentine great plains area found their niche as providers of

contraband cowhides and tallow. The mixed-blood mameucos of Brazil were intrepid explorers of the western frontiers, who sometimes raided the Jesuit missions to capture Indian slaves. However, it was possible for mestizos (both men and women) to change categories through marriage, political connections, and accumulated wealth. It was even possible for a mestizo in the right circumstances to purchase a document that certified him as 'white,' enabling him to live the lifestyle of an affluent criollo. On the other hand, an impoverished mestizo could change his category by adopting Indian dress and living in Indian communities.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

FORCED LABOR AND DEBT PEONAGE IN THE SPANISH COLONIES

The luxurious lifestyle of the colonial elites was supported by the labors of their inferiors in the social pyramid: Native Americans, Africans, and mestizos. They toiled in the textile mills and on the haciendas, where conditions—although wretched—were still preferable to working in the mines.

In the 1620s, a Spanish monk traveled through the Spanish colonies in the Americas, making careful observation of what he witnessed, including the workings of Mexican textile mills and how they got their labor.

"... To keep their [woolen] mills supplied with labor, they maintain individuals who are engaged and hired to snare poor innocents; seeing some Indian who is a stranger to the town, with some trickery or pretense, such as hiring him to carry something . . . and paying him cash, they get him into the mill; once inside, they drop the deception, and the poor fellow never again gets outside that prison until he dies and they carry him out for burial.

In this way they have gathered in and duped many married Indians with families, who have passed into oblivion here for 20 years, or longer, or their whole lives, without their wives and children knowing anything about them; for even if they want to get out, they cannot, thanks to the great watchfulness with which the doormen guard the exits. These Indians are occupied in carding, spinning, weaving, and the other operations of making cloth; and thus the owners make their profits by these unjust and unlawful means.

And although the Royal Council of the Indies, with the holy zeal which animates it in the service of God our Lord, of his Majesty, and of the Indians' welfare, has tried to remedy this evil . . . and the Viceroy of New

Spain appoints mill inspectors to visit them and remedy such matters, nevertheless, since most of those who set out on such commissions aim rather at their own enrichment, . . . than at the relief of the Indians, and since the mill owners pay them well, they leave the wretched Indians in the same slavery; and even if some of them are fired with holy zeal to remedy such abuses when they visit the mills, the mill owners keep places provided in the mills in which they hide the wretched Indians against their will, so that they do not see or find them, and the poor fellows cannot complain against their wrongs."

Source: A. Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendium and Description of the West Indies*, trans. C. Clark (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 1942).

Spanish royal officials described the plight of the Indians in Peru, who not only paid the tribute tax, but were also condemned to the serfdom of debt peonage; that is, perpetually working off debts forced on them by their masters.

On farming haciendas, an Indian subject . . . earns from fourteen to eighteen pesos a year. . . . In addition, the hacendado assigns him a piece of land, about twenty to thirty yards square in size, to grow his food. In return the Indian must work three hundred days in the year, leaving him sixty-five days of rest for Sundays, other church holidays, illness, or some accident that may prevent him from working. The mayordomo [foreman] of the hacienda keeps careful record of the days worked by the Indian in order to settle accounts with him at the end of the year.

From his wage the master deducts the eight pesos of royal tribute that the Indian must pay; assuming that

(continued)



the Indian earns eighteen pesos, the most he can earn, he is left with ten pesos. From this amount the master deducts 2.25 pesos to pay for three yards of coarse cloth . . . [for] a cloak to cover his nakedness. He now has 7.75 pesos with which to feed and dress his wife and children, if he has a family, and to pay the church fees demanded by the parish priest. But . . . since he cannot raise on his little plot all the food he needs for his family, he must get from the hacendado each month two bushels of maize, [at] more than double the price if he could buy elsewhere, [an annual total of] nine pesos, which is 1.75 pesos more than the Indian has left. Thus the unhappy Indian, after working three hundred days of the year for his master and cultivating his little plot in his free time, and receiving only a coarse cloak and twelve bushels of maize, is in debt 1.75 pesos, and must continue to work for his master the following year. . . . [T] he poor Indian . . . remains a slave all his life and, contrary to [all] law . . . after his death his sons must continue to work to pay the debt of their father.

Source: Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Noticias Secretas de América* (Madrid, 1918), 2 vols., I, 290–292, as quoted in Benjamin Keen, ed., *Latin American Civilization*, 4th ed. (Boulder, Colorado and London: Westview Press, 1986), 75–76.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

When enslavement of Amerindians became illegal and obsolete, debt peonage replaced the *encomienda* system. Was debt peonage an improvement on the *encomienda*? Explain your answer.

Museo Nacional Palacio de Bellas Artes, Havana, Cuba/Index/The Bridgeman Art Library



SLAVE LABORERS ON A CUBAN SUGARCANE

PLANTATION. Cuba's colonial economy, like Brazil's, depended on African slaves to work the sugar, tobacco, and cacao plantations.

Other categories of mixed-blood peoples were more severely restricted than the mestizos because the Spanish (wrongly) assumed them to be violent and unpredictable. They were barred from bearing firearms, and their testimony in court was thought to be less reliable. However, freed slaves could serve in militias established for them. Escaped slaves settled in secluded communities far from the Spanish authorities. African American slaves were at the bottom of the social pyramid. Along with the more robust Amerindians, they toiled from dawn to dusk in the mines, on haciendas and plantations, in sweatshops, and in mills, for little or no pay (see the Society and Economy box). Their only opportunities for rest were the Sunday mass and markets and the occasional festival. Non-Spanish women were less restricted because the Amerindian and African cultures were less patriarchal in origin than that of the Spanish. However, these women suffered sexual exploitation and abuse by their Iberian masters.

The subdued Amerindians lived in a variety of other settings besides haciendas and plantations. The Spanish crown decreed special treatment for the Indians because they were innocents in need of spiritual guidance. Ignoring

the unenforceable royal edicts, the colonists often abused their charges. Communally run Indian towns, vestiges of the pre-Columbian empires, were remote from the Hispanic towns and were left intact. The only outsiders they saw were priests and the infamously corrupt tribute collectors. In areas where the Indians had dispersed and a demand arose for their labor in the mines, the Spanish rounded them up and settled them in newly established Spanish-run towns, where clergy saw to their instruction in the Catholic faith and where they were readily accessible for tribute labor. Finally, the religious orders collected Indians in missions, where they received the rudiments of religious indoctrination and were taught useful crafts. Treatment of the Indians in the missions ranged from exploitative to benevolent, but even in the best of cases, they were legally classified as minors and treated as children. Indians were exempt from some taxes, and because they were viewed as children in the eyes of the church, they were beyond the reach of the Inquisition. The Jesuit missions in Paraguay and Brazil protected their Indian charges from capture by ruthless *mameluco* slave hunters from Brazil.

IMAGES OF HISTORY

PSEUDO-SCIENTIFIC RACIAL AND CLASS TYPOLOGIES OF COLONIAL HISPANIC AMERICA

Intimate family scene

Leisurely stroll in park

Affluent interior furnishings,
lush garden outside

Spanish patriarch, proud to pass
on his lineage to son.

Mestiza wife has Spanish-style
fake beauty mark, wears
European-style dress.

Baby considered upper-class.



Spanish patriarch wears aristocratic
three-corner hat, powdered wig.

Amerindian wife in Spanish
attire, jewelry worn in
portraits

Her headcloth and light
overblouse are Indian-style.

The son is accepted as a
Spaniard.

Cane wall and swampy area
indicate outskirts of town

Afro-Indian husband wears
tunic, kerchief

African wife wears vendor's
headband with European-style
dress.

Child labeled as "chino," one
of the pseudoscientific designations



Couple stands in front of a
stone building, on a city street.

Amerindian husband carries
rolled mats for sale, wears sandals.

Husband and son wear clothing
meant to be Indian style.

Mestiza wife's loose-fitting clothing
combines European and Indian
elements. She is barefooted.

Child labeled with another
pseudoscientific designation, "coyote."

Working couples in low-prestige outdoor settings

The Iberian elites linked each socioeconomic rank with skin color, costume, environment, occupation, and degree of acculturation to Spanish norms. Paintings such as these were commissioned by wealthy patrons in the 1700s in an effort to codify and control the new multiracial society—which by that time had far outstripped the old Spanish

ideas of race and class. The images shown are four scenes from a series of sixteen paintings by an accomplished portrait painter for the elites. The top two scenes, loaded with markers of high status, depict affluent families headed by Spanish males. The bottom two scenes show lower-class families plying their trades as street vendors. The

trappings of the elite are realistically portrayed, in contrast to the stereotypical and erroneous renderings of the multiracial figures' facial features and clothing. The difference in caliber between the two mestiza women (top left and bottom right) illustrates the fluidity in the system.

The Indians throughout the colonies adopted Christianity, identifying particularly with the consoling figure of the Virgin Mary (similar to their earth goddesses) and with the crucified Christ (whose suffering paralleled their own traumatic conquest). To varying degrees, the Catholic saints were blended with pre-Columbian deities.

A group of Indians devoutly praying at a saint's altar in a baroque cathedral might well be paying homage to the Inca or Aztec deity hidden under the statue's skirts. In the Caribbean areas, the Africans equated Catholic saints to Orisha spirits, resulting in syncretic belief systems such as Santería, which is still practiced by most Cubans.

SUMMARY

THE IBERIAN CONQUEST OF LATIN America was a clash of cultures that devastated the pre-Columbian civilizations but set the stage for the creation of a new society that blended contributions from Native Americans, Iberians, and, later, Africans. As the conquerors and explorers became colonists, they replaced the Aztec and Inca masters at the top of the socioeconomic ladder. The conquerors' thirst for gold and elite status could be quenched only with the labor of the Indians. Some progressive missionaries tried in vain to protect their Indian charges in order to convert them humanely to Christianity. Unlike the Portuguese and other imperial powers, the Spanish monarchs grappled with the legal issues involved in the enslavement of their Indian subjects. However, few questioned the morality of importing African slaves to the great plantation zones of Brazil and the Caribbean islands.

The colonial experience in Latin America was quite different from that of Asia, North America, or Africa. Many

Europeans eventually settled there but remained far outnumbered by the native Indians and the imported blacks, as well as the mestizos and other mixed-blood peoples. The church and government worked together to create a society that imitated that of the mother countries, while remaining different in many essentials. The unique melding of Iberian with Indian and African cultures proceeded at differing tempos in different places. After the flow of American bullion to the Old World tapered off in the mid-seventeenth century, a long period of stagnation and neglect ensued. A century later, the Spanish Bourbons supervised an economic and political revival in Latin America with mixed results. While the economies of the colonies were stimulated, so was resentment against continued foreign rule. By the early 1800s, armed rebellion against the mother country was imminent, inspired in part by the North American and French models.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

criollos
encomienda
gaucho
haciendas

mestizos
Toussaint L'Ouverture
Tupac Amaru

For Further Reflection

1. Compare and contrast the administrative structures of the British and Spanish colonies. Then explain why the North Americans were more prepared than the South Americans for independent self-government.
2. Enumerate some of the Iberian, Amerindian, and African cultural contributions to the new Latin American reality that emerged during the colonial period.
3. How did the gold and silver from colonial Mexico and Bolivia affect the economies of Spain and northern Europe?
4. What role do you think racism played in the colonial societies of Spain and Portugal?
5. A mestizo baby born in wedlock might be registered at baptism as Spanish or as Indian. What factors might determine his category?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. Which of following Spanish terms does not apply to Hispanic American social or ethnic divisions?
 - a. Criollo
 - b. Menudo
 - c. Mestizo
 - d. Mameluco
 - e. Mulatto
2. Which of the following factors helped bring about the rapid fall of both the Aztec and Inca empires?
 - a. The Indians thought Cortés and Pizarro were devils.
 - b. The conquistadores lost their Indian allies against the emperors.

- c. The conquistadores bribed Moctezuma and the Incan king to betray their people.
 - d. The Indians had steel weapons capable of killing an armored horseman.
 - e. Mass numbers of Indians died or were weakened by foreign diseases.
3. The following were introduced to the Americas by the Iberians:
- a. turkeys and tobacco.
 - b. chocolate and maize.
 - c. cattle, sugarcane, and wheat.
 - d. pyramids and potatoes.
 - e. tomatoes and tortillas.
4. Which of these were main features of the colonial system?
- a. Viceroyalties and cabildos
 - b. Democratic elections
 - c. Free trade among the viceroyalties
 - d. The predominance of small farms owned by mulattos
 - e. Separation of church and civil government
5. Of the following elements, which were important goals of the Spanish in the New World?
- a. Gold and silver
 - b. Religious conversion of the Amerindians
 - c. Establishment of new industries
 - d. The Black Legend
 - e. both a and b
6. One result of the Bourbon reforms was
- a. decentralization of power and more autonomy for the colonies.
 - b. vast improvements in the Indians' quality of life.
 - c. mercantilism and trade monopolies.
 - d. more efficient government and less corruption.
 - e. mine closures and the breakup of huge haciendas.
7. The only successful rebellion by slaves in the Western Hemisphere occurred in
- a. Haiti.
 - b. Cuba.
 - c. Colombia.
 - d. Brazil.
 - e. Mexico.
8. Which factor led to the discontent of the criollos with colonial rule?
- a. The consolidation of two viceroyalties into one
 - b. The peninsulars' exclusion of criollos from the upper echelons of government and society
 - c. The expulsion of the Muslim Moors
 - d. The Monroe Doctrine
 - e. The Black Legend
9. Colonial Amerindians usually worked
- a. in the colonial government.
 - b. in mines, mills, and religious missions.
 - c. as foremen on the haciendas.
 - d. for inflated wages and comfortable retirements.
 - e. part-time as horsebreakers.
10. The colonial mestizos
- a. were exempt from taxation and the Inquisition.
 - b. were never nomadic horsemen.
 - c. served as links between the Indian and Spanish populations.
 - d. were encouraged to attend university.
 - e. could be military officers.



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PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

1. In Parts Two and Three, we saw how civilizations grew together by forming networks of religious and ideological discourse, trade, migration, and even direct interaction. By 1400, would it be accurate to say that, hitherto, the most successful networks had been forged in Asia? Would it be accurate to say that western Europe had created such a network by 1400? If so, what were the principal components of this network?
2. What happened to this internal network between 1400 and 1700? How and why did it change?
3. During this era of expansion, 1400–1700, what new networks (or communities of discourse) did Europeans create in exploring and settling other regions of the world? Were these networks successful in including Asians, Africans, and Native Americans, with whom Europeans traded and among whom they settled?
4. Many scholars have traditionally interpreted this era of expansion as a time in world history when Asian, African, and American civilizations declined or were even subjugated by “superior” Europeans. Did Europeans defeat and subjugate all peoples with whom they came into contact? In what ways did Asian and African civilizations adapt to and even control the effects of the European presence? In fact, is there any evidence to suggest that they continued to develop their civilizations and maintain their own networks?

CROSS-CULTURAL CONNECTIONS

Trade and Exchange Networks

Regional trade systems of the Old and New Worlds tied into global network for the first time during the era of European discovery and exploration. However, Europeans' creation of overseas empires and imposition of mercantilist trading rights adumbrate full potential of a worldwide, free-market based system.

Migrations

Europe: European migration and widespread colonization of Western hemisphere; fewer Europeans settle permanently in Asia and Africa.

Asia: SW Asians migrate and settle Asian and African lands on Indian Ocean; Chinese merchants migrate to SE Asia; Indians settle E. African coast.

Africa: Africans taken as slaves to Brazil, Caribbean Islands, New Spain, British colonies, Europe, India, and Middle East. Dutch settle Cape Colony.

America: Pandemics destroy up to 90% of Native American population; many cultures disappear Ancestral Puebloans continue migrations to upper Rio Grande and Hopi Mesa.

Spread of Ideas and Technologies

Europe: New World crops introduced to Europe; tobacco, potatoes, squashes, and maize have greatest impact. Bananas, yams, and coconuts introduced from Asia and Africa.

Asia: Some slaves exported to South Africa. Chinese migrations to regions of Southeast Asia. Some Southeast and South Asians convert to Christianity.

Africa: New World crops introduced, especially manioc and maize. Decline in population in regions of West Africa most heavily affected by the slave trade. Some states destroyed and others thrive because of slave trade. Christianity introduced in some regions, but survives in few areas beyond sixteenth century. Islam continues advances in West Africa.

America: New food crops brought from Old World: citrus fruits, beef, mutton, and spices. Wool textile weaving. European settlers and African slaves populate areas previously settled by Native Americans. New diseases imported from Europe and Africa. Christianity introduced and many Native Americans and Africans forced to convert.

WORLDVIEW FOUR

EUROPEANS



LAW AND GOVERNMENT

- > Law and government based on class, but effect of religious wars makes them increasingly secular.
- > Absolutist monarchy is the rule.
- > Nobles and landlords rule free peasants in West, serfs in East.
- > State and church still intertwined; religious tolerance considered dangerous to public order by most governments.



SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

- > Economy continues to diversify, with strong capitalist character, especially in Protestant nations.
- > Urban middle class prominent in business and commerce.
- > Class divisions and number of impoverished increase, with serfdom common east of Elbe River.
- > Machine industry begins in later eighteenth century.

WEST ASIANS

- > Government continues along traditional Qur'anic lines, and law follows *Sharia*.
- > Ottomans bring Muslim empire to apex in sixteenth century, but cannot sustain momentum after 1700.
- > Safavid Dynasty in Persia has 200 years of glory but exhausts itself between Ottoman and Mughal rivals.

- > Complex trade further evolves among Muslim countries as well as between them and non-Muslims.
- > Slavery common, mainly from African sources.
- > Wealth from gold mines in West Africa, spices from East Asia, and carrying trade between India/China and West.

SOUTH AND EAST ASIANS

- > Western presence not yet decisive but becoming more apparent.
- > Many South Pacific territories under Western administration since 1500s.
- > Japan originally welcomes Westerners but then shuts itself off in *sakoku*.
- > China continues as imperial dynasty ruling through mandarin bureaucracy after Manzhou replace Ming in 1600s.
- > India's north and center unified under Mughals in Delhi, with Europeans beginning to occupy coasts after 1700.

- > Japan prospers and advances while maintaining *sakoku* isolation.
- > China has last great age under Qing before suffering humiliation from Europeans.
- > Trade brings North and South together.
- > Mughul India still well-organized country, with much commerce with Southeast Asia and islands.
- > Merchants and craftsmen multiply, but everywhere agrarian village is mainstay of economy.

AMERICANS

- > By the mid-1500s, Spain and Portugal establish Iberian law and viceroalties from Mexico to Argentina.
- > Natives subordinated to minority of whites.
- > Centralized colonial governments committed to mercantilist system and discouragement of autonomy; reversal of policies occurs in later 1700s.

- > Mercantilism enforced until later 1700s, with colonial artisans and manufacturers obstructed by Madrid and London.
- > Mining and plantation agriculture dominant large-scale economic activities in the Latin colonies.
- > Most in both North and South live in agrarian subsistence economy.

EXPANDING WEBS OF INTERACTION, 1400–1700 CE



PATTERNS OF BELIEF

- > Protestant Reform breaks Christian unity; papal church challenged, but regains some lost ground in seventeenth century.
- > Churches become nationalistic, and theology more narrowly defined.
- > Skepticism and secularism increase after 1700, leading to tolerance by end of eighteenth century.
- > Enlightenment dominates intellectual affairs after c. 1750.

- > Ulama and Islamic tradition resist evidence of Western economic and technical advances and refute it on doctrinal grounds.
- > Orthodoxy is severely challenged in parts of empire (e.g., Sufi, Shi'a) and becomes defensive.
- > Expansion makes its last surge into Mughal India.

- > Religious beliefs undergo no changes from Buddhism (China, Japan, Southeast Asia); Hinduism (most of India, parts of Southeast Asia); Islam (North India, Afghanistan, East Indies); and Shinto (Japan).
- > Christianity briefly flourishes in Japan until suppressed by Tokugawa shoguns in 1600s.

- > Catholicism makes impression on Latin American Indians, but religion remains mixed cult of pre-Christian and Christian beliefs, supervised by *criollo* priesthood and Spanish hierarchs.



ARTS AND CULTURE

- > Renaissance continues in plastic arts; age of baroque architecture, sculpture, and painting in Catholic Europe.
- > Neoclassicism of eighteenth century led by France.
- > Vernacular literature flourishes in all countries.
- > Western orchestral music begins.
- > Authors become professionals, and arts begin to be democratized.

- > High point of Islamic art forms under Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal aegis.
- > Architecture, ceramics, miniature painting, and calligraphy particular strengths.

- > Superb paintings and drawings on porcelain, bamboo, and silk created in China and Japan.
- > Calligraphy major art form.
- > *Kabuki* and *No* plays invented in Japan, and novels in China.
- > Poetry of nature admired.
- > In India, Taj Mahal, frescoes, enamel work, and architecture are high points.

- > Church in Latin America remains the sponsor of arts, but folk arts derived from pre-Columbian imagery remain universal.
- > Little domestic literature written, but secular Enlightenment makes inroads into educated class by mid-eighteenth century.



SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

- > Physical, math-based sciences flourish in “scientific revolution” of seventeenth century.
- > Science replaces scripture and tradition as source of truth for educated.
- > Improved agriculture enables population explosion of eighteenth century.
- > Beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in England.

- > Sciences neglected; mental capital derived from Greek and Persian sources exhausted.
- > Technology also lags, with all ideas coming from West rejected.
- > By the end of period, Westerners moving into preferred posts in commerce of Ottoman and Mughal empires.

- > Sciences throughout Asia behind Europe by end of period; exceptions in medicine and pharmacy.
- > China adopts defensive seclusion from new ideas under mandarins.
- > Technology lags, as overpopulation begins to be problem at end of period, further reducing need for labor-saving devices.

- > Science and technology in Latin colonies dependent on stagnant mother country and have no importance to masses.
- > Enlightened monarchs of later 1700s make improvements, but these are temporary and partial.
- > In North America, Enlightenment finds acceptance.

Part V



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REVOLUTIONS AND THE AGE OF EMPIRE, 1600–1914

AFTER RISING SECULARISM HAD gradually dampened the Europe-wide crisis generated by the Protestant challenge to the papal church, the seventeenth century witnessed the first wave of “scientific revolutions” that would mark modern times. For the first time since the Greeks, the West took the forefront in advances in knowledge about this world and its natural phenomena (Chapter 29).

The same curiosity and willingness to challenge ancient authority that impelled the breakthroughs in natural science were a bit later applied to the “Science of Man,” as the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment called it. The Enlightenment was the project of an urban upper class determined to have Reason and its child Wisdom take their rightful places in the halls of government as well as in the school and the home. Filled with a sense of sacred mission, the *philosophes* fought the intolerance and ignorance of the past—most especially the darkness surrounding the established church and the absolutist throne. To some extent, such notions had contributed to the English civil wars of the seventeenth century (Chapter 23), and in the 1770s, they stirred dissidents in England’s American colonies to rise up against what they believed were an unrepresentative government and a tyrannical monarchy (Chapter 30).

What they desired in political and constitutional affairs seemingly came to pass in the first flush of the popular revolution in France, but the original reforms were soon overshadowed by a radical democracy and a dictatorship employing terror against all who opposed it. The Napoleonic empire’s aggressions confirmed the negative impression gained by most observers outside France and also strengthened the eventual victors’ resolve to limit and control both political and social change (Chapter 31).

Following the pattern established in late-eighteenth-century Britain, the rest of western Europe entered the industrial epoch in the ensuing century by stages. The initial Industrial Revolution was powered by steam and concentrated on a few basic commodity-production

processes. Its immediate social repercussions were bitter for the masses of poor laborers in the new towns but were gradually ameliorated (Chapter 32). Advancing industrial development, now powered by the new energy sources of petroleum and electricity, helped bring about further democratization as well as a rising wave of Marxian socialism as the nineteenth century entered its final quarter (Chapter 33). However, the post-revolutionary peace was disturbed by clashes between conservative monarchies and the rising forces of political liberalism, which culminated in the rebellions of 1848 in much of Europe. The short-term failure of most of the 1848 rebellions was caused largely by the new ethnically based nationalism that had arisen in many lands as an indirect result of the French Revolution (Chapter 34). Meanwhile, with the shift in the military balance of power between the West and the East, Europe became increasingly aggressive overseas. Islamic powers such as the Ottomans, the Safavids, and the Mughals were at a disadvantage for the first time in dealing with European powers. Chapter 35 examines the responses of the Islamic peoples of the Near and Middle East to this changed situation. Chapters 36 and 37 consider how the dramatic rise in European aggression in late nineteenth century spilled over into Africa, India, and Southeast Asia and how Africans and Asians responded as Europeans now became their masters in a colonial era that lasted into the mid-twentieth century. Throughout this period of growing European aggression, China, a more unified and powerful state under the Qing Dynasty, managed to resist the outright occupation that Africa and other parts of Asia experienced. Therefore, its story, covered in Chapter 38,

presents an interesting case that contrasts significantly when compared with what happened in the less-powerful states in India, Africa, and Southeast Asia during these centuries. Our examination of this era of discovery and European imperialism concludes with the Iberian colonies of America and their struggle for independent existence, which are outlined in Chapter 39.

The physical sciences and some of the social sciences also took imposing strides in the second half of the nineteenth century and had various effects on the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Therefore, Part Five concludes with a short chapter (Chapter 40) that considers how these advances occurred and the impact they have had on the modern popular consciousness.



The Scientific Revolution and its Enlightened Aftermath



THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Background of the Scientific Revolution

THE PROGRESS OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE: COPERNICUS TO NEWTON

RELIGION AND SCIENCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE SCIENCE OF MAN

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Formative Figures and Basic Ideas

The Philosophes and Their Ideals

Economic Thought: Adam Smith

Educational Theory and the Popularization of Knowledge

Ideals of the Enlightenment: Reason, Liberty, Happiness

The Audience of the Philosophes

PERHAPS THE MOST FAR-REACHING of all the “revolutions” since the introduction of agriculture in the Neolithic Age was the early modern era’s change in educated people’s thinking about natural phenomena, their laws, and their relation to a presumed Creator. This *Scientific Revolution* became fully evident in the work of the eighteenth-century *philosophes*, but its major outlines were drawn earlier, when the focus of European intellectual work gradually shifted away from theology to the mathematical and empirical sciences. By the end of the eighteenth century, it had proceeded so far among the educated classes that a new worldview was taken for granted—one that seriously challenged the medieval conviction that an omniscient God ordained and guided the natural processes, including the life and eternal fate of mankind. While the consolidation of royal absolutism seemed to be rigorously proceeding in most of Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the sciences successfully undermined traditional theology’s claims and by so doing countered the royal throne’s aspirations for acceptance as God’s chosen representative on earth.

If I have seen farther than others, it is because I have stood on the shoulders of giants.

—Isaac Newton

1543	Nicholas Copernicus, <i>Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies</i>
c. 1575–c. 1650	Francis Bacon, Galileo Galilei, René Descartes
1687	Isaac Newton, <i>Principia Mathematica</i> , law of gravitation
1690	John Locke, <i>Essay Concerning Human Understanding</i>
1730s–1789	Enlightenment flourishes
1776	Adam Smith, <i>Wealth of Nations</i>
1776	Thomas Jefferson, <i>Declaration of Independence</i>

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

So great were the achievements during this epoch that one of the outstanding modern philosophers said that “the two centuries [that followed] have been living upon the accumulated capital of ideas provided for them by the genius of the seventeenth century.” The natural sciences—that is, those based primarily on observed phenomena of nature—experienced a huge upswing in importance and accuracy. A new style of examining phenomena, the scientific method, came into common usage. It was composed of two elements: careful observation and systematic experimentation based on that observation. Interpretation of the results of the experiments, largely relying on mathematical measurement, was then employed to achieve new and verified knowledge.

The most significant advances in the sciences came from posing new types of questions rather than from collecting new facts. Different questions led directly to novel avenues of investigation, and those led to new data being observed and experimented with. For example, **René Descartes** (reh-NAY day-CART; 1596–1650), one of the founders of the mathematical style of investigation, wished to take humanity to a higher plane of perfection than ever yet achieved. To do so, he separated the material from the nonmaterial universe completely, insisting that the material world could be comprehended by mathematical formulas that existed entirely apart from the human mind. If that was so, knowledge of these broad laws of number and quantity could provide explanations—hitherto lacking—of observed phenomena. The proper way to understand the material world, then, was to formulate broad generalizations of a quantitative nature and employ them to explain specific events or processes. This approach, in which one went from a general law to a particular example of that law observed by the human mind, was called **deductive reasoning**.

Another method of accumulating knowledge about the natural world was exemplified in the writings of Englishman Francis Bacon (1561–1626). Bacon insisted that contrary to traditional belief, most ideas and principles that explain nature had not yet been discovered or developed but lay buried, like so many gems under the earth, awaiting discovery. Like Descartes, he looked forward to a better, more completely understood world, but this world was to be created through persistent and careful observation of phenomena without any preconceived laws or general explanations of them—a process that became known as **inductive reasoning**.

Bacon was not methodical in his science or his reasoning. His close association with the concept of inductive reasoning is perhaps not really deserved, but his writings did encourage later scientists to practice the **empirical method** of gathering data and then forming

generalizations. *Empirical* means the evidence obtained by observation through the five senses, which is then worked up into varying hypotheses (assumptions) that may be subjected to experiment. This style of assembling facts and verifying knowledge blossomed in the seventeenth century and later became a foundation of the sciences.

Background of the Scientific Revolution

Why did the spectacular advances in natural science occur in the seventeenth century rather than earlier or later? There is no single answer to this question. As with most important changes in the status quo of human knowledge, several factors came together at that time to encourage more rapid progress than before, but this is not to say that no progress had been under way previously. It is now accepted that the old view of medieval science as a laughable collection of superstitions and crackpot experiments is quite wrong. The medieval universities harbored many people who seriously undertook to widen the horizons of knowledge and had some success in doing so.

The real problem of medieval and Renaissance science seems to have been not its superstitions but its exaggerated reliance on authority rather than evidence. The great Greek philosophers of science—Aristotle, Ptolemy, Galen, Eratosthenes, and Archimedes—were held in excessive reverence as the givers of final truth. The weakening of this reverence was a precursor of the breakthroughs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Stimulated and aided by the reports of the explorers and voyagers in the New World, scholars accumulated a mass of evidence about nature and geography that both amplified and contradicted some of what the traditional authorities had taught. Such evidence could be ignored only at the risk of retarding the power and wealth of the whole exploring society. Still more important, perhaps, was the rapid advance in the mathematical capabilities of Europeans. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, European math was still at the same level as in the seventh century. Only with the recovery of the Greek and Hellenistic mathematical works could it advance into new areas: logarithms, calculus, and decimals. By the mid-seventeenth century, math had become as much a device for theoretical exploration as for counting.

Another mass of data that partly contradicted what the Greeks had believed was the product of new instruments. The new math made possible analyses of the physical world that had never before been attempted. Instruments of all sorts (sensitive scales, pressure gauges, microscopes, telescopes, thermometers, chronometers) came along one after the other to assist in this analysis. It was now possible to measure, weigh, divide, and synthesize the world in ways that explained the previously inexplicable.

THE PROGRESS OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE: COPERNICUS TO NEWTON

The rediscovery of the Greco-Roman scientific treatises by the Renaissance scholars from Arabic translations of Greek and Latin originals stimulated curiosity while providing a series of new insights into the makeup of the natural world—insights that contradicted the conventional wisdom of the day. This progress was sharply interrupted by the wars of religion in the sixteenth century, when the focus shifted away from science to clashing theologies. Only with the exhaustion of those religious antipathies after the Thirty Years' War did scientific endeavors once again take a primordial position in educated men's affairs.

Our emphasis on seventeenth-century events does not mean that modern science commenced then. The acknowledged breakthrough in empirical knowledge of the natural world came a century earlier with the *Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies*, the pioneering treatise on astronomy by Polish scholar **Nicholas Copernicus** (1473–1543). Copernicus cast severe doubt on the traditional and generally accepted theory of an Earth-centered (**geocentric**) universe, which he criticized as unnaturally complex and difficult to understand. Copernicus's observations led him to conclude that the Earth revolved around a fixed sun, a belief first advanced by Hellenistic Greek astronomers. A cautious and devout Catholic, Copernicus published his conclusions only in the year of his death. The church ignored his theory at first, although both Luther and Calvin ridiculed it, but when **heliocentrism** began to win adherents in large numbers, both Rome and the Protestants officially condemned it as contrary to both Scripture and common sense.

Two astronomer-mathematicians who emerged a generation after Copernicus also deserve our attention. The first was an eccentric Dane, Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), who spent much of his life taking endless, precise measurements of the cosmic rotation of the visible planets. Using these data, the German **Johannes Kepler** (1571–1630) went on to formulate the *three laws of celestial mechanics*, which showed that the heavenly bodies moved in great ellipses (ovals) around the sun, rather than in the perfect circles that had been believed necessary as the handiwork of a perfect Creator. This insight explained what had previously been inexplicable and made Copernicus's proposals still more persuasive.

In the early 1600s, an Italian professor at Pisa named **Galileo Galilei** (1564–1642) used his improvement of the telescope to rewrite the rules of cosmology as handed down from the ancients. His discoveries strongly supported Copernicus's suppositions that the universe was sun centered and that the Earth was a relatively small, insignificant planet in a huge solar system. Not only did Galileo's astronomy force clerical authorities to a reconsideration of

the condemned theory of Copernicus, but his physics contributed to the final overthrow of Aristotle's long reign as master physicist. Through his work with falling bodies and the laws of motion, Galileo came close to discovering the fundamental law of all nature: the law of gravity.

When Galileo died in 1642, the whole traditional view of the physical universe as an impenetrable mystery—created by God for his own reasons and not responsive to human inquiries—was beginning to come apart. The limiting horizons to human knowledge and understanding that had been in place for many centuries were steadily receding as the seventeenth century progressed. What was still needed was some overarching explanation of the physical world order. The genius of **Isaac Newton** (1642–1727) put the capstone of the new science in place. While still a student at Cambridge University, he theorized that there must be a “master key” to the edifice of the universe. In the century and a quarter since Copernicus, a great deal had been discovered or strongly indicated about the laws of nature. Still lacking, however, was a universally applicable explanation of the most basic property of matter: motion.

In the 1660s, Newton occupied himself with the study of physics. At that time, he evolved his deceptively simple-looking theorem—the most famous in the history of the world— $E = M^2/D^2$. This was the formula of the law of gravitation, although it as yet lacked mathematical proof. After many more years of research, Newton published his conclusions and their proofs in the *Principia Mathematica* in 1687. The *Principia* was the most influential book on science in the seventeenth century and was soon known from one end of educated Europe to the other. (See the Science and Technology box for more on Newton.)

Newton proposed a new universe. The physical cosmos was a sort of gigantic clockwork in which every part played a particular role and every movement and change was explained by the operation of impersonal physical laws. It was humans' proud duty and privilege to identify those laws and in so doing to penetrate to the heart of the universe.

RELIGION AND SCIENCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

How did the official churches react to this challenge to tradition? Both Catholic and Protestant preachers felt that relegating Earth to a secondary, dependent position in the universe was at least an implied rejection of Holy Scripture (the Old Testament story about the sun standing still at the Battle of Jericho, for example). It also downgraded the jewel of God's creation, human beings, who lived on this inferior Earth and were presumably limited to it. The Catholic Galileo was threatened with imprisonment if he did not retract parts of what he had published in one of his books on science. He spent his final years under house arrest by order of the pope.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY



ISAAC NEWTON (1642–1727)

The man many consider to be the most distinguished scientist of all history, Sir Isaac Newton, was born on Christmas Day, 1642, in Lancashire, England. Best recognized as the discoverer of the law of gravity, Newton was equally famed for his work in optics, higher mathematics, and physics in his own day. He was a distinct exception to the rule that pioneers are not appreciated; his career as both a Cambridge professor and a government official under William and Mary was brilliant and adequately rewarded.

Although his father was a farmer with little property, Newton received an exceptional education. He completed studies at the local grammar school near his home village, with the aid and encouragement of the Anglican vicar, who was a graduate of Cambridge. With this gentleman's recommendation, Isaac won a scholarship to the university in 1661, graduating in 1665 with what would now be called a major in natural science. He wished to go on for the MA degree at once, but an outbreak of plague forced the university to close in both 1666 and 1667, and Newton returned home.

During these years, his great, groundbreaking work on gravity was basically outlined. The notion that all physical being was, so to speak, tied together by a single principle—that of

gravity—took shape in the twenty-five-year-old's long studies at his family home in Woolsthorpe. Newton gradually refined and expanded his theory when he returned to Cambridge, first as an MA candidate, then as a professor in 1669. He held this post until his honor-filled retirement in 1701.

Although Newton apparently regarded gravitation as a fact as early as the 1660s, he hesitated in publishing his work until 1687. In that year, his *Principia Mathematica*, or *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, was finally published in London and soon afterward in most of the capitals of Europe. Rarely has a scientific book been hailed so universally as a work of genius. At the same time, Newton was bringing out fundamentally important work on the spectrum, proving that light was composed of colored particles. Newton is also generally credited with being the codiscoverer of calculus, along with his rival Gottfried Leibniz. The two men were working independently, and their quarrel over who was first became one of the Scientific Revolution's less appetizing anecdotes.

In his later years, Newton's dedication to Old Testament studies and theology surpassed his scientific interests. Newton was a master of Greek and Hebrew and spent much energy on his researches into the Old Testament prophecies.

Highly placed friends secured his appointment as warden of the Royal Mint in 1696, a lucrative post that Newton was grateful to have. In 1703, he was elected president of the Royal Society, the premier scientific post in England, and was reelected every year thereafter until his death. The queen knighted Sir Isaac in 1705 for services to his country as well as to the realm of science. Newton died at eighty-five years of age, heaped with honors and substantial wealth. On his deathbed, he is supposed to have said, "If I have seen farther than others, it is because I have stood on the shoulders of giants." After a state funeral, he was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The famous story of the falling apple just may be true; no one will ever know.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Contrast the fashion in which Newton gave his formula on gravitation to the world and the way such an announcement might be made today by modern scientists. Why do you think he chose to use Latin as his vehicle, so late in the 1680s?



ISAAC NEWTON.



You can read some of Isaac Newton's *Principia* online.

Were these condemnations justified? Most of the seventeenth-century scientists considered themselves good Christians and made no attempt to rule a divine being out of the universe. A devout Anglican, Newton spent most of his later life embarked on religious speculations and obscure theological inquiries. Descartes, like Copernicus before him, was a Catholic who saw no conflict between what he taught about the nature of the material world and what he believed about the spiritual one. Quite to the contrary, Descartes believed that his speculations only pointed more clearly to the existence of a divine intelligence in the universe.

But the church's truth, resting as it did on revelation rather than empirical data, was being challenged—at first only tangentially, but later more confrontationally—by the facts being revealed by science. Furthermore, science's truth had no axes to grind for one party or another. It was not linked to politics or to a social group's advantage or disadvantage. It was self-evident and could sometimes be used to benefit the ordinary person—for example, through its conversion to new technology (although the connections between science and technology were as yet almost entirely undeveloped).

Increasingly, educated people were beginning to wonder whether it was more useful to know if the Holy Eucharist should be given in two forms or to know how digestion takes place in the stomach or some similar aspect of the new physical science. Science came to be seen as an alternative to theology in finding useful knowledge and applying it to society's multiple problems.

In this regard, two of the most important thinkers of the seventeenth century were the agnostic Dutch Jew Baruch Spinoza and the pious Catholic Frenchman Blaise Pascal. Spinoza was a great questioner, who after leaving Judaism finally found some measure of peace by perceiving his God in all creation. His rejection of a personal deity earned him a great deal of trouble, but his thoughts influenced generations. Pascal wrote his *Pensées* (PAHN-says: *Thoughts*) to calm a troubled mind and produced a work that has been considered one of the greatest of Christian consolations ever since. The fact that Pascal was highly suspect to the French clerical establishment only added to his later fame.

THE SCIENCE OF MAN

Until modern times, the natural sciences were regarded as a branch of philosophy rather than a separate intellectual discipline, but as a branch of philosophy, they had obtained some respectability. Already in the Renaissance, math and physics began to establish a place in the university curriculum. Their prestige was still relatively low and they could not rival medicine, law, or theology in attracting students, but their own rules of evidence and analysis were being formed.

As the mathematics-based sciences came to be accepted as sources of much theretofore unknown truth, the previous relation between natural science and philosophy

underwent a gradual but decisive reversal. Philosophy, which had been the more inclusive discipline, *encompassing* science, now became for many people a *branch* of science. Inasmuch as an object of thought could not be measured and weighed, it ceased to be worthy of close attention. Individuals thinking along these lines held that only what could be determined in its existence by the tools of science was reachable by the power of reason and useful to humans. They did not deny that other phenomena that were not measurable and not reachable by reason existed, but they insisted that these phenomena should have only a secondary place in the hierarchy of human values.

Among those phenomena, of course, were religious belief, artistic creativity, wonder, imagination, ethics, and political theory, to mention only a few. None of these could be measured, and none could be brought under uniform and predictable laws. Or could they? A body of thought gradually arose that said that these phenomena, too, might be subject to law, analyzable through mathematical computations, and comprehensible in the same way as physics. The *Science of Man*—not man as an anatomical construct or an example of biological systems but as a thinker, political actor, and artist—began to form. By the early eighteenth century, this science, which we now call social science, was competing with physical science for the attention of the educated classes.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Eighteenth-century intellectual leaders saw no reason why what had been done in the natural sciences could not be attempted in the social sciences. They wanted to put history, politics, jurisprudence, and economics under the same logical lenses that had been applied to math and physics. Spurred on by such hopes, the **Enlightenment** was born.

Above all, the eighteenth century in western Europe was distinguished from what had come before by the attitudes that educated persons exhibited in the affairs of everyday life: the atmosphere of their mental life. Two key characteristics of the Enlightenment asserted themselves again and again: optimism and rationality. Here, *optimism* refers to the belief that change is possible and controllable in society at large, while *rationality* refers to the idea that the universe and all creatures within it, especially humans, are comprehensible, predictable, and lawful. The commitment to a rational view of the universe usually embraced a similar commitment to *secularism*—that is, a downgrading or outright rejection of the importance of supernatural religion. The Enlightenment preferred to see humanity as capable of creating its own moral code for its own benefit and in accord with the precepts of a rational mind.

How did this translate to concrete activity? The ways of viewing the physical world that math and physics had introduced were now applied—or an attempt was made to apply them—to the world's social, political, and

moral aspects. If physicists could measure the weight of Earth's atmosphere (and they now could), then why couldn't historians isolate the exact causes of cultural retardation and determine how to avoid them in the future? Why couldn't criminologists build a model prison and establish a regime there that would turn out completely rehabilitated prisoners? Why couldn't political scientists calibrate various methods of selecting public officials to ensure that only the best were elected?

Formative Figures and Basic Ideas

Although the movement was a truly international one, the two outstanding progenitors of the Enlightenment's ideals were the Englishmen Isaac Newton and John Locke. As we have already seen, Newton was the greatest scientific mind of his age; Locke was the leading mapper of the political path that England embarked on with the Glorious Revolution of 1688 (see Chapter 23).

Newton's greatest contribution to science—related to but even more important than the law of gravity—was his insistence on rational, lawful principles in all operations of physical nature. He rejected supernatural causes as an explanation of the natural world, holding that because nature is rational, human society as part of nature should be rational in its organization and function.

Locke was as much a psychologist as a political scientist; he set forth his view of the mind in the immensely influential *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). Here, he said that the mind is a blank page until experience and environment write on it and mold it. Thus, human nature is dynamic and unfixed; it has been in the past and will be in the future formed by external experience, and this experience is capable of being controlled. So humans are not condemned to repeat endlessly the sin of Adam and the mistakes of the past. They can and must take charge of their destiny; they can perfect themselves.

More than anything else, this faith in *perfectibility* is the distinguishing innovation of the Enlightenment. For the previous seventeen centuries, the Christian idea of guilt from the sin of Adam as an insuperable barrier to human perfection had been the foundation stone of Western moral philosophy. Now, the eighteenth century proposed to move the house off this foundation and erect it anew. Progress, both moral and physical, was reachable and real. The study of history showed how far humans had come and how far they still had to go. The past was filled with error and blindness, but it could be—*must* be—learned from so that it could light the way to a better future.

The reformers believed that those who profited from ignorance and prejudice controlled religious belief, and used it as a tool everywhere to obscure the truth. They took an especially harsh view of the Roman Catholic clergy. Where the church had obtained a monopolistic position in the state and was the official church, the

reformers believed that inevitable corruption had made it a parasite that should be cast off as soon as possible and replaced with freedom of conscience and worship.

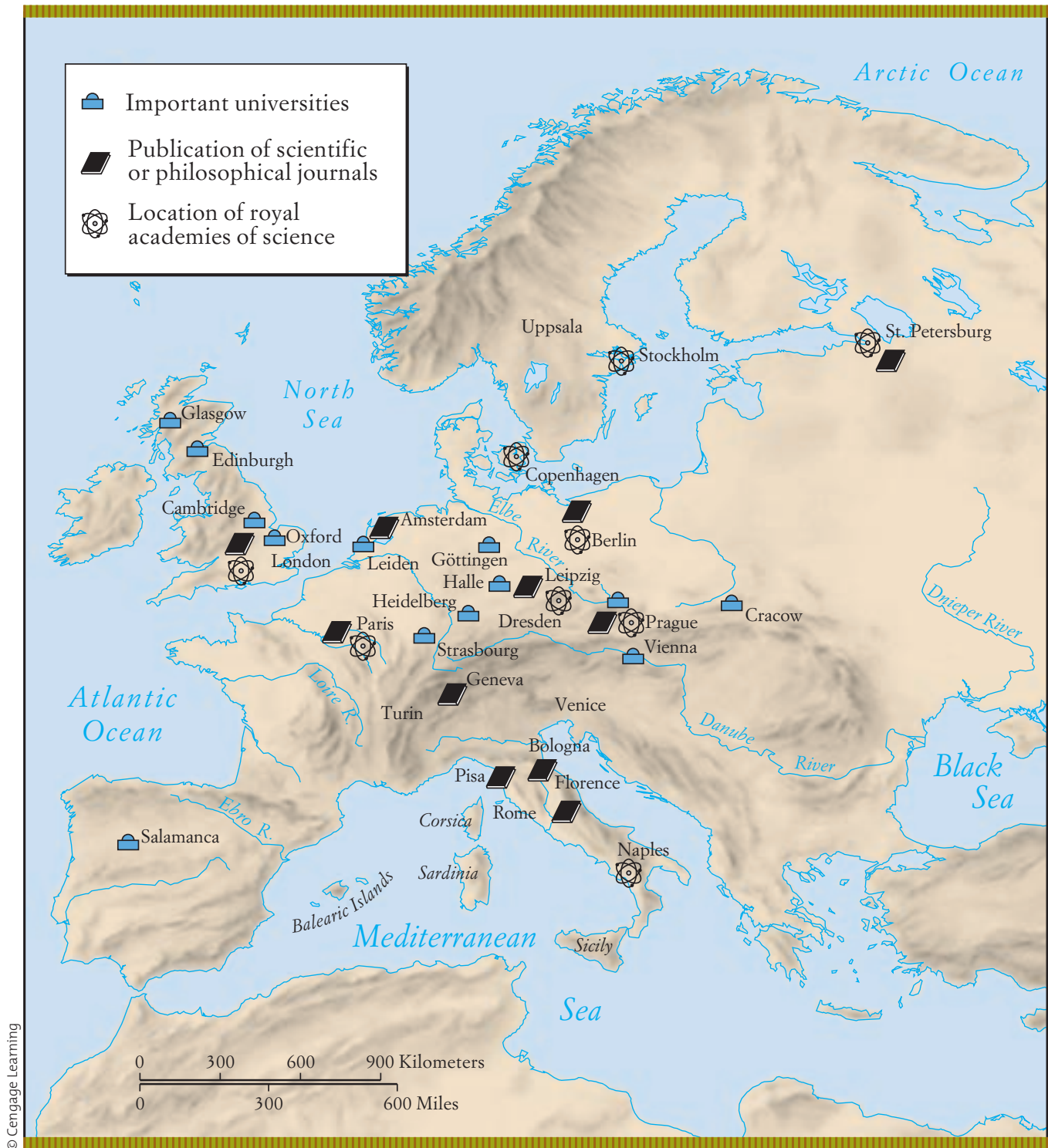
In the reformers' view, education was the salvation of humankind. It should be promoted at every opportunity everywhere. Insofar as people were educated, they were good. The fully educated would be unerring seekers of the best that life held, defenders of the helpless, teachers of the misguided, and the liberators of the oppressed.

The Philosophes and Their Ideals

The Enlightenment was a view of life, a philosophy, and that meant that it must have its philosophers. Generically known by the French term *philosophes* (FIL-oh-sohfs), they included men and women of both thought and action, scientists and philosophers, who were committed to the cause of reform. Despite their often-intense personal differences, they were united in their desire for progress, by which they meant controlled changes.

Several of the outstanding philosophes were French. Paris, and secondarily London, was the Center of the Enlightenment's activities (it was a decidedly urban phenomenon), but the philosophes kept in frequent touch with one another through a network of clubs and correspondents that covered the map of Europe (see Map 29.1). They included the Frenchmen Voltaire (Vohl-TAYR; François-Marie Arouet), Baron Montesquieu (MAHN-tehs-kyoo), Denis Diderot (DEE-deh-roh), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Roo-SOH); the English and Scots David Hume, Adam Smith, Samuel Johnson, William Godwin, and Mary Wollstonecraft; the Germans Josef von Sonnenfels, Gotthold Lessing, and August Ludwig von Schlozer; and the Italians Lodovico Muratori and Cesare Beccaria; but the list could be made as long as one wants. The Americans Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams belong on this list as well. The Enlightenment had no territorial boundaries, although it was much narrower and shallower in eastern Europe than in the West and had much less impact on the public conduct of government there. Chronologically, the earliest evidence of enlightened activity in organized fashion dates from the 1730s. The period of most active endeavor ended with the French Revolution's political crises. The high point was in the 1770s and 1780s, when various governments from North America to Russia experimented with, gave lip service to, or fully adopted one after another of the favored ideas of the philosophes.

Beyond the commitment to reform, it is difficult to find a common denominator in these ideas because the philosophes themselves are difficult to categorize. Some of them were the first public atheists, but most were at least outward Christians, and some were pious clergymen. Muratori, for example, was a priest. Most believed constitutional monarchy was the best form of government, whereas others were uncompromising believers in representative government.



MAP 29.1 Centers of the Enlightenment, c. 1750

The absence of Enlightenment centers in Turkish-controlled southeast Europe and their paucity east of the Elbe and south of the Pyrenees were decisive influences on the future of these regions in the ensuing century. Focused on cities and academies,

the Enlightened society was the spearhead of later social and political innovation.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Why were cities the places most likely to be receptive to new ideas?



The Granger Collection, New York

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN IN THE LABORATORY. This nineteenth-century French engraving shows the American diplomat-scientist investigating the attraction and repulsion of electrical ions. Franklin was convinced that someday electricity could be rendered useful to humankind. Along with other framers of the American *Declaration of Independence* and the *Constitution*, Franklin was a scientist and a significant Enlightenment figure.

In the physical sciences, some believed unreservedly in Francis Bacon's procedure of going to the sense-perceptible data (empirical science), others doubted all knowledge that was not reducible to mathematics, and still others classified quantifiable knowledge as inherently inferior. Some were hopeful of a gradual improvement in human affairs (*ameliorationism*); others were convinced that nothing important could be accomplished without radical, even revolutionary changes in society.

The philosophes did not hesitate to argue with one another as well as with their conservative opponents. Much of the literature of the later eighteenth century consists of pamphlets and newspapers arguing one or another favorite idea. In a society where literacy levels made wide distribution of printed matter a paying proposition for the first time, the philosophes fully used the available channels to get their various messages into the public domain.

Common Goals. Although they differed on specifics, most of the philosophes agreed on many general points.

In political theory, they universally acclaimed the idea of a *balance of governmental powers* between executive and legislature, as presented in Baron Montesquieu's famous *Spirit of the Laws* (1748)—perhaps the most influential of a century of influential books on government. In it, the French aristocrat argued for the careful division of powers to prevent any one branch from becoming too strong and dictatorial. He thought that of current governments, the British example came closest to perfection in that line (he did not really understand the British system, however), and his ideas strongly influenced the authors of both the U.S. and the French revolutions and their ensuing constitutions.

The *constitutional limitation of monarchic power* was considered an absolute essential of decent government. The brilliant Voltaire (1694–1778), in particular, led the charge here, because he had a good deal of personal experience with royal persecution in his native France before becoming such a celebrity that kings desired his witty company. He, too, admired the British system of ensuring civil rights and condemned the French lack of such safeguards.

The philosophes also agreed that *freedom of conscience* must be ensured at least for all varieties of Christians, if not Jews and atheists as well. “Established” or tax-supported churches should be abolished, and no one faith or sect should be equipped with governmental powers (as was the case in all European countries at this time). All persons should enjoy a fundamental *equality before the law*. The philosophes saw this as a basic right that no government could take away or diminish. In line with this principle, punishments were to be blind to class distinctions among criminals; the baron would be whipped just like the peasant. Meanwhile, those who had talent should have increased possibilities for upward mobility. This did not mean that the philosophes were democrats; almost all of them agreed that humans, being differently gifted, should definitely *not* have equal social and political rights.

The philosophes were convinced that the cause of most misery was ignorance, not evil intentions or sin. They were thus picking up a thread that had been running through the fabric of Western intellectual discussion since the Renaissance: that the main causes of man's inhumanity to man were to be found in ignorance and that in a good society, such ignorance would not be tolerated. This view led the philosophes to call for *state-supervised, mandatory education* through the elementary grades as perhaps the most important practical reform for the general benefit.

Most philosophes viewed the *abolition of most forms of censorship* as a positive step toward the free society they wished to see realized. Just where the lines should be drawn was a topic of debate, however; some of them would permit direct attacks on Christianity or any religion, for instance, whereas others would not.

In addition to censorship, the philosophes did not agree on several other broad areas of public affairs. Some would have abolished the barriers to social equality so that, for

example, all government posts would be open to commoners; others feared that this would guarantee the rule of the mob. A few, such as the Marquis de Lafayette (Lah-fah-YEHT) and the North Americans, became republicans; most thought that monarchy was a natural and necessary arrangement for the good of all.

Economic Thought: Adam Smith

The outstanding figure in eighteenth-century economic thought was undoubtedly the Scotsman **Adam Smith** (1723–1790). In his *Wealth of Nations*, which was published in 1776 and soon became a European best seller in several languages, Smith put forth the gospel of free trade and free markets. Smith is often described as saying that the smaller the government's role in the national economy, the better, and that a free market could solve all economic problems to the benefit of all. *Laissez-faire* ("let them do what they will") was supposedly his trademark, but this is oversimplification of Smith's ideas. In reality, he acknowledged that government intervention in one form or another was necessary for society's well-being in many instances.

Smith is, however, rightly credited with being the father of *free enterprise* as that term is used in the modern West. In *The Wealth of Nations*, he laid out in persuasive detail his conviction that an "unseen hand" operated through a free market in goods and services to bring the ultimate consumers what they needed and wanted at prices they were willing to pay. Smith criticized mercantilism, the ruling economic wisdom of his time, for operating to the disadvantage of most consumers. As in so many other instances, his doctrines followed the Enlightenment's underlying conviction that the sum of abundant individual liberties must be collective well-being. Whether this is true, seen from the perspective of the twenty-first century, is debatable; to the eighteenth-century reformers, it was a matter of faith.

Educational Theory and the Popularization of Knowledge

One of the least orthodox of the philosophes, **Jean-Jacques Rousseau** (1712–1778), was the most influential of all in the vitally important field of pedagogy and educational philosophy. Rousseau was a maverick in believing that children can and must follow their inherent interests in a proper education and that the teacher should use those interests to steer the child in the wished-for directions. Rousseau had little following in his own lifetime, but his ideas strongly influenced some of the revolutionary leaders a few years later and gained more adherents in the nineteenth century. He is now regarded as the founder of modern pedagogical theory.

In the mid-eighteenth century, Europeans were able to profit for the first time from the popularization of science

and intellectual discourse that had come about through the Scientific Revolution. The upper classes developed a passion for collecting, ordering, and indexing knowledge about the natural world and humans' relations with it and with each other. The century also saw the initial attempts to make science comprehensible and accessible to the masses.

The most noted of these was the immensely successful French *Encyclopédie* (AHN-suh-cloh-pay-dee), which contained thirty-five volumes and thousands of individual articles on literally everything under the sun. Its general editor was Denis Diderot (1713–1784), assisted by Jean d'Alembert (dah-lam-BAYR), who saw the work through in fifteen years (1751–1765) against enormous odds. Contributors to the *Encyclopédie* (the first of its kind) included the outstanding intellectuals of Europe. The philosophical articles were often controversial, and their "slant" was always in the direction favored by the more liberal philosophes. (Not the least valuable part of the enterprise were the numerous volumes of illustrations, which are the greatest single source of information on early technology.) The expensive *Encyclopédie* sold more than 15,000 copies—a huge number for the day—and was found on personal library shelves from one end of Europe to the other, as well as in the Americas and Russia.

Ideals of the Enlightenment: Reason, Liberty, Happiness

Reason was the key word in every philosophical treatise and every political tract of the Enlightenment. What was reasonable was good; what was good was reasonable. The philosophes took for granted that the reasoning faculty was humans' highest gift and that its exercise would, sooner or later, guarantee a decent and just society on earth. Liberty was the birthright of all, but it was often stolen away by kings and their agents. Liberty meant the personal freedom to do and say anything that did not harm the rights of another person or institution or threaten the welfare of society.

Happiness was another birthright of all humans. They should not have to defer happiness until a problematic eternity; it should be accessible here and now. In a reasonable, natural world, ordinary men and women would be able to engage in what one of the outstanding philosophes called "the pursuit of happiness" (Thomas Jefferson in the *Declaration of Independence*: see Chapter 30).

All of the ideals of the philosophes flowed together in the concept of progress. For the first time in European history, the belief that humans were engaged in an ultimately successful search for a new state of being here on earth crystallized among a large group. The confidence and energy that were once directed to the attainment of heaven were now transferred to the improvement of earthly life. Progress was inevitable, and it was the individual's proud task to assist in its coming.

Musée Antoine Lacroix, Saint-Quentin, France/Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library, London



National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland/The Bridgeman Art Library, London

DUAL**PORTRAITS: VOLTAIRE**

AND ROUSSEAU. Two faces of the Enlightenment are shown here, when they were young men. Voltaire's confident smile suited the man who wrote the savagely satirical *Candide*, while Rousseau's moral seriousness comes across in this portrait of the author as a young man.

The Audience of the Philosophes

How thoroughly did the Enlightenment penetrate European society? It was not by any means a mass movement. Its advocates, both male and female, were most at home amid the high culture of the urban elite. (See the Society and Economy box on Mary Wollstonecraft.) There were probably more fans of the acid satire of Voltaire in Paris than in all the rest of France and more readers of Hume in London than in all the remainder of the British Isles. It was an age of brilliant conversationalists, and the hostesses who could bring the celebrated minds of the day together were indispensable to the whole movement. In the “salons” of Madame X or Madame Y were heard the exchanges of ideas and opinions that were the heartbeat of the Enlightenment.

The movement hardly ever attempted direct communication with the masses. In any case, most were still illiterate and could not absorb this highly language-dependent message. Others, especially among the peasants, rejected it as atheist or antitraditional. Only the upper strata—the educated professional and merchant, the occasional aristocrat and liberal-minded clergyman—made up the audience of the philosophes, bought the *Encyclopédie*, and were converted to the ideals of progress, tolerance, and liberty. Most of these adherents would undoubtedly have been appalled by the prospect of revolution, and they had no sympathy for the occasional voice that considered violence against an evil government acceptable.

The Enlightenment was, then, an intellectual training ground for the coming explosion at the end of the eighteenth century. In its insistence on human perfectibility,



Mary Evans Picture Library

COOK AND BANKS IN HAWAII.

Captain Cook, discoverer of the Hawaiian Islands and much of the southern Pacific, is shown examining some of the exotic birds and wildlife of Hawaii. Beside him is the official naturalist of Cook's carefully planned expeditions, William Banks.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

THE ENLIGHTENED WOMAN: MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT (1759–1797)

The Enlightenment supported the notion of the equality of the sexes only in general ways, and there was wide disagreement as to the extent and the ways in which women were the equals of men. Most characteristic of that era was the notion that women had a nature specific to themselves, so this produced endless speculation among the philosophes as to what made a woman a woman; what it was that distinguished her from a man; and, once such comparisons were made, what rights could be given to women in a rational, ordered society.

Into this situation stepped one of the few women willing to take a public stance on behalf of her sex: the English intellectual and writer, Mary Wollstonecraft. The courage it took to speak her mind and to live a life independent of social approval required a lifetime of learning to fend for herself. Born the second of six children to an abusive father who squandered his inheritance, at the age of nineteen, Mary was forced to seek her own livelihood. Just four years later, she interceded to help her sister escape a bad marriage by hiding her until a separation could be arranged. To support themselves, Mary and her sister established a school, an experience from which Mary formed her ideas concerning women's education. In

1788, she became a regular contributor of articles and reviews to the radical journal, *Analytical Reviews*. In 1792, she published her *Vindication on the Rights of Woman*, the work for which she became at once both notorious and famous. In this, she dared to advocate the equality of the sexes and expressed opinions that eventually became the foundation of the women's movement. She accused society of breeding and educating women to be helpless "gentle domestic brutes." To the extent that contemporary society considered women to be foolish and devoid of serious thought, Wollstonecraft argued that such was the result of their being "Educated in slavish dependence and enervated by luxury and sloth." Thus, she felt that the key to women's liberation was to be given an education equal to men's. This would permit them to achieve a new sense of self-worth and the chance to put their innate abilities to better uses. In *Maria, or the Wrongs of Women*, she went further in asserting that women had strong sexual needs, and that denying them the chance for sexual fulfillment helped to dehumanize them.

After setting out in 1792 for Paris, Mary met American Gilbert Imlay. The couple, though unmarried, settled down together in Le Havre, where Mary bore her first child, a daughter. Less than a year later, Imlay abandoned her and their child. Mary returned to England for what became the only happy years of what had been a sad and difficult life until then. She began a close friendship with William Godwin, perhaps one of Britain's most "free-thinking" men of the Enlightenment—in short, a perfect soul mate for Mary. Although both she and Godwin considered marriage to be a form of social despotism and actually lived apart, Mary's second pregnancy drove them to the altar to save their child from the stigma of illegitimacy. In October 1797, Mary gave birth to a second daughter, whom she named Mary, but the new mother died nearly two weeks later of puerperal fever, an infection caused when portions of the placenta fail to be ejected from the mother's womb.

(As a footnote, Mary's daughter, Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, married Romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley and became famous in her own right as the authoress of the classic horror novel *Frankenstein*.)

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

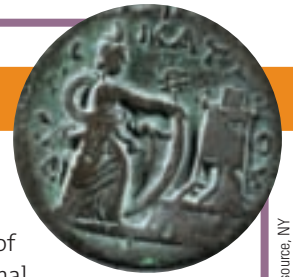
Were Mary Wollstonecraft's ideas truly radical? By what standards should we judge them?



You can read *Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication on the Rights of Woman* online.



MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT.



National Maritime Museum, Haifa, Israel/© Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

the necessity of intellectual and religious freedoms, and the need to demolish the barriers to talent that everywhere kept the privileged apart from the nonprivileged,

the Enlightenment spirit served as an unintentional forerunner for something far more radical than itself: the revolution.

SUMMARY

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, THE Renaissance scholars' rediscovery of classical learning and its methods produced an acceptance of empirical observation as a method of deducing truth about the physical world. This new attitude was responsible for the Scientific Revolution, which was at first confined to the physical sciences but inevitably spread to other things. Inductive reasoning based on observation and tested by experiment became commonplace in the educated classes. Mathematics was especially crucial to this process.

A century later, the confidence that the method of science was adequate to unlock previously incomprehensible mysteries had spread to the social sciences: the Science of Man. The same overreaching law that governed the rotation of the planets operated—or should operate—in politics and government. When that law was finally

understood, all would fall into place, and the earth would cease to be out of joint.

The conviction that progress was inevitable and that humans were good and wanted good for others was the product of a relatively small but very influential group of philosophes in Britain, France, and other countries. They were the leaders of a significant transformation of Western thought that was gradually embraced by most members of the educated classes during the course of the eighteenth century. This transformation is termed the Enlightenment. The philosophes were obsessed by reason and the reasonable and saw nature as the ultimate referent in these respects. A phenomenon of the urban, educated classes, the Enlightenment made little impact on the masses but prepared the way for middle-class leadership of the coming revolutions.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Nicholas Copernicus
deductive reasoning

René Descartes
empirical method

Encyclopédie
Enlightenment
Essay Concerning Human Understanding
Galileo Galilei
geocentric
heliocentrism
inductive reasoning
Johannes Kepler

Isaac Newton
philosophes
Principia Mathematica
Jean-Jacques Rousseau
scientific method
Adam Smith
Spirit of the Laws
The Wealth of Nations

For Further Reflection

1. What historical connections do you see between the Renaissance and the Scientific Revolution? Could the Scientific Revolution have occurred had the Renaissance not preceded it?
2. Why were religious authorities opposed to the new ideas about the nature of the physical universe? Did those new ideas, in fact, contradict the Bible? What intellectual and political weapons could they employ to suppress those new ideas?
3. Consider other civilizations that existed at the time of the Renaissance and the Scientific Revolution. Which ones were more advanced in technology and science than Europe was at the time? What did Europe borrow from those civilizations? Was there much that was new about the European Scientific Revolution that might have distinguished it from scientific and technological thought in those civilizations?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- The source of the major elements of medieval European thought in the physical sciences was
 - Augustus Caesar.
 - Aristotle.
 - Virgil.
 - St. Augustine.
 - Archimedes.
- Developments in which two sciences were at the heart of the advances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?
 - Physics and astronomy
 - Math and chemistry
 - Math and medicine
 - Biology and chemistry
 - Biology and astronomy
- Kepler's great contribution to science was
 - his theory of the creation of the universe.
 - the three laws of celestial mechanics.
 - the discovery of the planet Jupiter.
 - his theory of the geocentric nature of the universe.
 - his development of the empirical method of reasoning.
- Which of the following did not make his fame as a natural scientist?
 - Galileo
 - Spinoza
 - Copernicus
 - Brahe
 - Kepler
- Newton's conception of the universe is often described as
 - an apparent order that cannot be comprehended by humans.
 - an incoherent agglomeration of unrelated phenomena.
 - a mirage of order that exists only in the human mind.
 - a machine of perfect order and laws.
 - complete chaos.
- By the end of the seventeenth century, educated Europeans were generally
 - ready to abandon the search for a more intelligible natural science.
 - considering applying the scientific method to the study of humans.
 - impelled toward atheism by the conflicts between religion and science.
 - abandoning Bacon's empiricism for Descartes' inductive reasoning.
 - returning to religion as the center of their existence.
- The key concepts of the Enlightenment were
 - science and religion.
 - faith and prayer.
 - optimism and rationality.
 - democracy and freedom.
 - community and religion.
- Which of the following was not a common goal held by the philosophes?
 - Fundamental equality before the law
 - A more rigid class system
 - State-supervised education
 - Constitutional limitations on rulers
 - The separation of church and state
- Which of the following was particularly interested in reforming education?
 - Rousseau
 - Diderot
 - Hume
 - Voltaire
 - Montesquieu
- The Enlightenment is best described as a phenomenon that
 - was generally limited to an urban, educated group.
 - was found more or less equally throughout Christendom.
 - reached quickly into the consciousness of most people.
 - was generally favorable to the idea of an official religion.
 - was restricted to the country of France.



Go to the History CourseMate website for primary source links, study tools, and review materials www.cengagebrain.com



Liberalism and the Challenge to Absolute Monarchy



THE LIBERAL CREED

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR

RESULTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN EUROPEAN OPINION

The American Revolution broke out, and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people came out of the townships and took possession of the State.

—Alexis de Tocqueville

AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT long-term consequences of the Scientific Revolution and the subsequent Enlightenment was the set of beliefs called *liberalism*. It took especially strong root in the Anglo-Saxon countries, where it was also fostered by the events of 1688 and the writings of John Locke (see Chapter 23).

||||| The political revolutions in America and France were different in course and outcome, but they were linked by a common origin in the belief in the inherent freedom and moral equality of men. This belief was at the heart of liberal politics and economics and could not be reconciled with the existing state of affairs in either the American colonies or France in the late eighteenth century. In this chapter, we will look at the linkage of liberal thought with the particular problems of the American colonies; in the following chapter, at the troubles in France.

In America, the more radical colonists' discontent with their status grew to the point of rebellion in the 1770s. The term *rebellion* is usually associated with starving workers or exploited peasants. On the contrary in this case, however, a prosperous middle class led the American Revolution—people who had nothing against their government except that final authority was located in London and not directly responsible to them.

THE LIBERAL CREED

Where did the liberal creed begin, and what were its essentials? Liberalism was born in the form identified by the modern world in the late eighteenth century. But its roots go back much further, to the Protestant Reformation and the seventeenth-century political philosophers in England. The basic principles of liberalism are a commitment to (1) the liberty of the individual in religion and person and (2) the equality of individuals in the eyes of God and the laws.

1756–1763	Seven Years' War (French and Indian War)
1765	Stamp Act
1773	Boston Tea Party
1775	Fighting begins at Lexington and Concord
1776	Common Sense; Declaration of Independence
1781	Articles of Confederation
1783	Treaty of Paris
1789	U.S. Constitution adopted

Eighteenth-century liberals were children of the Enlightenment and thus especially noticeable in France and England (much less so in central, southern, and eastern Europe, where that movement had taken only superficial root). They believed in the necessity of equality before the law and freedom of movement, conscience, assembly, and the press. They considered censorship both ineffective and repressive, and they despised the inborn privileges accorded to the aristocracy. They thought that a state religion was almost inevitably corrupt and that individuals should have the power to choose in which fashion they would serve and obey their God.

Liberals originally did not believe in equality for all in political or social matters, but only in restricted legal and economic senses. They subscribed to what we would now call “the level playing field” theory—that is, that all people should have the opportunity to prove themselves in the competition for wealth and the prestige that comes with it. Those who were weaker or less talented should be allowed to fail, as this was nature’s way of allowing the best to show what they had to offer and keeping them on top. The liberals of the eighteenth century reflected the general optimism of the Enlightenment about human nature.

Like most of the philosophes, the liberals believed that the good would inevitably triumph and that humans would recognize evil in whatever disguises it might assume for the short term. They believed that rational progress was possible and, in the long run, certain. They believed that education was the best cure for most of society’s problems. The enthusiasm for education carried over to a fascination with new technology that could demonstrate the innate mastery of men over nature.

In matters of government, they sympathized with John Locke and Baron Montesquieu. These men thought that the powers of government must be both spread among various organs and restricted by a checks-and-balances system in which the legislative, judicial, and executive powers were held by separate hands. Liberals believed that representative government operating through a property-based franchise was the most workable and most just system. They rejected aristocracy (even though there were many liberal nobles) as being outmoded, a government by the few for the few. But they mistrusted total democracy, which

they thought would lead to rule by the “mob”—those who were uneducated, bereft of any property, and easily misled. They were willing to have a monarchy, so long as the monarch’s powers were checked by a constitution of laws, by a free parliament, and by free and secure judges.

In the liberal view, the legislature should be the most powerful branch of government. It should be elected by and from the “solid citizens”—that is, from among the liberal sympathizers: educated and well-off landowners, professionals, merchants, and the lower ranks of the nobles. They all believed that in structure, if not in practice, the government of eighteenth-century England should be the model for the world. They admired its segregation of parliamentary and royal powers, with Parliament holding the whip hand in matters of domestic policies. They thought England after the Glorious Revolution had achieved a happy blend of individual freedoms within proper limits, allowing the responsible and forward-looking elements to retain political and social dominance.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR

In this context, it was natural that the British American colonies were strongholds of liberal thought and sympathy. Men like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Benjamin Franklin, and many others were ardent supporters of the liberal view. They had pored over Locke and Montesquieu and digested their ideas. They had much less fear of popular democracy than they did of the home country, because the masses of desperate poor who might threaten the continued leadership of the middle- and upper-class liberals in Europe were not present in America. In fact, the three-million-or-so free colonists were probably the materially best-off large group of individuals in the world.

The American Revolutionary War began with a routine dispute between the British government and its subjects

THE TEA PARTY IN BOSTON, 1773. This contemporary engraving shows colonists emptying cases of tea into Boston Harbor to express their contempt for the new excise tax laws imposed by Parliament. Their disguise as Indians neither fooled nor was intended to fool anyone.



Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library, London

over taxation. Fighting the war of the Austrian Succession (Queen Anne's War) and the **Seven Years' War** (French and Indian War), which lasted from 1754 to 1763 in North America, had cost the British government a considerable sum, while the American colonists had contributed little to meet those expenses. The necessity of maintaining a much-larger standing army to garrison Canada and the new American frontiers meant that London would be

faced with a budgetary drain for the foreseeable future. Therefore, Parliament imposed a series of new taxes on the colonists, most notably the **Stamp Act of 1765**, which created such a furor that it was quickly repealed. The **Navigation Acts**, demanding the use of British ships in commerce between the colonies and other areas, which had been loosely enforced until now, were tightened and applied more rigidly.

IMAGES OF HISTORY

POLITICAL PROPAGANDA FROM THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Political propaganda is an effective tool in influencing people's point of view. During the eighteenth century, the primary medium for propaganda was printed or engraved cartoons like these. Both of these concern the American colonists' reactions to the Stamp Acts, but notice the different points of view each one represents.



© Bettmann/CORBIS



Wilson, Benjamin (1721–88)/Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

▲ **THE REPEAL, OR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF MISS AMERICAN STAMP.** This engraving was published in 1766 and gives the colonists' viewpoint on the Stamp Act.

◀ **THE BOSTONIANS PAYING THE EXCISE-MAN, OR TARRING AND FEATHERING PRINT.** This English print gives an inflammatory rendering of the tarring and feathering of the Boston Commissioner of Customs by American patriots. Note the background rendering of the Boston Tea Party.

These British demands fell on colonists who in the Hanoverian Dynasty era had become thoroughly accustomed to running their own households. The American colonies had the highest per-capita income in the Western world in 1775, and they paid among the lowest taxes. They were the great success story of European settlement colonies, and they had achieved this condition without much guidance or interference from the London government. The colonists were used to a high degree of democratic government in local and provincial affairs. Many now felt that the ministers of King George III were unduly pushing them about, and they resolved to let their feelings be known. The focal point of discontent was in the Massachusetts Bay colony, where maritime commerce was most developed.

The Boston Tea Party of 1773 was a dramatic rejection of the right of the Crown to change the terms of colonial trade in favor of British merchants. When the London government replied to the defiant and illegal acts of the Bostonians by sending troops and closing the crucially important Boston harbor, the clash came much closer. One act led to another as the stakes were raised on both sides. Finally, in April 1775, the “shots heard ‘round the world” were fired by the Minutemen in Lexington, and the War for Independence—the first full-blown revolt by a European colony against its home country—was on.

What did the rebellious colonists want? At the outset, the moderate faction in the Continental Congress—which the rebels summoned to provide political leadership—was in control. They demanded “no taxation without representation” and other, relatively mild slogans upholding the alleged rights of Englishmen after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. But by 1776, after blood had flowed, a more uncompromising group, led by Patrick Henry and Jefferson, assumed the leadership role. This group wanted nothing less than independence from Britain, and in the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson wrote their program and battle cry (see the Law and Government box for excerpts from this work as well as a comparable French declaration). The great popularity of the radical pamphlet *Common Sense* by the newly arrived Thomas Paine showed how inflamed some tempers had become.

Not all colonists agreed. Besides the very hesitant moderates, many people in all of the colonies remained true to the Crown, and these Loyalists were later either maltreated by their fellow Americans or chose to emigrate at war’s end. The conflict was as much a civil war as a rebellion. Even families were split. Washington’s troops froze during the savage winter at Valley Forge, while in nearby Philadelphia most of the populace enjoyed their comforts under British occupation and protection.

The military outcome was eventually dictated by three factors favoring the rebels: (1) the logistic effort needed to transport and supply a large army overseas; (2) the aid provided to the rebels by the French fleet and French



Capital Collection, Washington, DC/The Bridgeman Art Library, London

JULY 4, 1776. This well-known painting by American John Trumbull shows Jefferson as he presented his final draft of the Declaration of Independence to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia.

money; and (3) the only-halfhearted support given to the Crown’s efforts by the sharply split Parliament in London.

Under the **Alliance of 1778**, the French supplied the Americans with much material aid, contributed some manpower, and, above all, prevented the British navy from controlling the coasts. By 1779, after the critical defeat at Saratoga, it was clear that the second-rate British commanders had no plans worth mentioning and could not put aside their mutual jealousies to join forces against Washington. Even if they had, the many Londoners who sympathized with the Americans, both in and out of Parliament, would negate any full-fledged war effort. The defeat of General Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781 spelled the end of armed hostilities, and the Peace of Paris officially ended the war in 1783.

RESULTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN EUROPEAN OPINION

What exactly was the American Revolution? We are accustomed to thinking of a revolution as necessarily involving an abrupt change in the economic and social structures, but this was not the case in the new United States. The existing political, economic, and social circumstances of the citizenry, whether white or black, were scarcely changed by independence. The War for Independence had been won, but this was not at all the same as a revolution.

The real American Revolution was slower to manifest itself and did so only by degrees after 1783. The Paris treaty recognized the thirteen former colonies as a sovereign nation, equal to any other. All of the territory west of the Appalachians to the Mississippi was open to the new nation (see Map 30.1). For the first time, a major

state (Switzerland preceded the United States but did not qualify as a major state) would have a republican form of government—that is, one that had no monarch and in which sovereignty rested ultimately in the people at large. A representative body that was responsible to the citizenry through the electoral process would exercise law-making power. Most of the (white male) citizens would be entitled to vote and to hold office. They would enjoy freedom of religion, be fully equal before the law, and have no economic restrictions imposed on them by birth, residence, or circumstance. The establishment of that form of government and those freedoms was the American Revolution—not the forcible severance of ties with London, however remarkable that had been.

A few years after independence, the ex-colonists acknowledged the severe shortcomings of the 1781 Articles of Confederation, which had been their first try at bonding the states together. They set about creating a workable, permanent system of government. The outcome of the effort, the U.S. Constitution of 1789, is now one of the oldest constitutions in the world. Men raised in the liberal traditions of the eighteenth century drafted this document. The framers of the Constitution under which Americans still live were conservatives in their approach to social institutions but liberals in their approach to individual freedom.

They wished to create a system that would allow free play to individual talent and ambition and protect

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF 1776 AND THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND CITIZEN OF 1789

The American 1776 Declaration of Independence and the French 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen were products of individuals who had studied the same authors and were committed to the same visions of government's proper role.

The Declaration of Independence of 1776

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of 1789

The representatives of the French people, organized in National Assembly . . . recognize and proclaim, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and citizen:

1. Men are born equal and remain free and equal in rights. . . .
2. The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and inalienable rights of man; these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression; . . .
4. Liberty consists of the power to do whatever is not injurious to others; thus the enjoyment of the

natural rights of every man has for its limits only those that assure other members of society the enjoyment of those same rights;

5. The law has the right to forbid only actions which are injurious to society. Whatever is not forbidden by law may not be prevented, and no one may be constrained to do what it does not prescribe.
6. Law is the expression of the general will. . . . All citizens, being equal before it, are equally admissible to all public offices, positions, and employments.
7. No man may be accused, arrested, or detained except in the cases determined by law, and according to the forms prescribed thereby. . . .
10. No one is to be disquieted because of his opinions, even religious, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.
11. Free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. . . .
12. Since property is a sacred and inviolate right, no one may be deprived thereof unless a legally established public necessity obviously requires it.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Point out if and where you see that the American declaration was intent on dissolving political ties with what the colonists considered an unjust and alien government, and that the French document was aimed at generic reform of a monarchy that had neglected its duties to its people.



You can read all of the Declaration of Independence online.



individual rights, while still asserting the primacy of the state. They believed in freedom of opportunity, while rejecting political and social equality. They believed in equality before the law and in conscience, but, like Locke, they believed in the sacred rights of property and hence left slavery untouched.

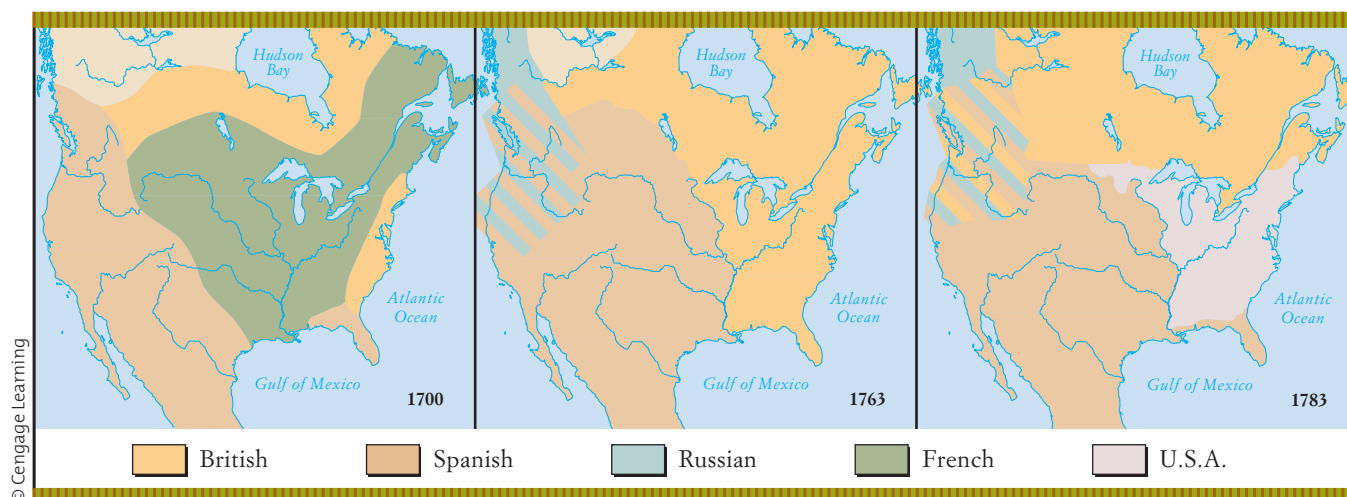
More than the successful war, the Constitution strongly influenced educated European opinion. Against many expectations, it demonstrated that a large number of men could create a moderate system of self-government with elected representatives and without an aristocracy or a monarch at its head. Many European liberals had informed themselves in detail about the United States. Some of them even came to fight in the rebellion (French Marquis de Lafayette, Poles Kazimierz Pulaski and Tadeusz Kosciuszko, and German Baron von Steuben, among many others). They were an effective propaganda apparatus, and they were seconded by the equally effective work of Americans such as Franklin, Jefferson, and the Adamses, who resided for a time in Europe as officials of the new country.

On the continent, the American innovations received the most attention in France. The rebellion had many friends in enlightened society, including some in the royal government who welcomed this weakening of the British winner of the Seven Years' War. Many French officers had been in America and had contact with the leading American figures. The drawing rooms of the Parisian elite were filled with talk about America. Some of it was negative: The crude Americans would soon see that government must



Musee de la Ville de Paris, Musee Carnavalet, Paris, France, Graudon/The Bridgeman Art Library, London

LAFAYETTE, MARQUIS DE FRANCE. This engraving shows Lafayette as the adherent of the earliest stage of the revolution in France, when he was commander of the Garde Nationale, 1790. He was soon disillusioned by the increasing terror.



MAP 30.1 North America's Possessors, 1700–1783

The changing balance of power in Europe's affairs was closely reflected in North America in the eighteenth century.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Can you think of any political developments that might have altered the claims made by the European powers to North American territory?



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

be either by the king and his responsible officials or by the mob; no third way was possible, given human nature. But much of the talk was enthusiastically favorable. More and more people of high social standing were convinced that the present French monarchic system was in terrible need of reform, and they looked to some aspects of the

American experiment for models of what they wished to introduce at home.

Like the Enlightenment, the liberal frame of reference in Western politics was to contribute mightily in a few more years to a movement for reform that would go much further than originally intended.

SUMMARY

LIBERAL POLITICS WAS THE PRODUCT of beliefs dating to the Protestant Reformation and the seventeenth-century English Revolution against absolutism. Its fundamental principles asserted the equality and liberty of individuals in both the moral and the legal sense. Liberals believed that all were entitled to the opportunity to prove their merits in economic competition, but they generally rejected social and political equality as impractical for the foreseeable future.

The British colonies in America were strongholds of liberalism, and those convictions led directly to the

rebellion against British rule in 1775. Thanks in part to French military and financial aid and the lukewarm support of the war effort by Parliament, the rebellion was successful: The American republic was born—the first large-scale experiment in liberal politics. Although the War for Independence was won, the true American Revolution took longer to develop. Its paramount expression came in the Constitution of 1789, which made a deep impression on educated Europeans, particularly the French adherents of reform.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, accessing terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Alliance of 1778
Common Sense
Navigation Acts

Seven Years' War
Stamp Act of 1765

For Further Reflection

1. How does the eighteenth century meaning of the term *liberal* differ from its twenty-first century meaning? Do modern liberals hold the same views as their eighteenth-century forebears? What about modern conservatives?
2. To what extent, and in what specific ways, did documents like the American Declaration of Independence, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man

and Citizen, and the American Constitution represent eighteenth-century liberal thought?

3. To what extent do you think the liberal views of colonial liberal thinkers like Franklin, Jefferson, and Madison were shared by ordinary, less-literate English colonials? Please explain your answer. What other issues and political tools helped to shape their views?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. Eighteenth-century liberals thought that
 - a. all individuals should have equal opportunities to amass wealth.

- b. all individuals should have basic necessities guaranteed to them.
- c. men and women were essentially equal in talents and abilities.
- d. social and cultural position should be about the same for all.
- e. a total democracy was the only government that could succeed in the long run.

2. In matters of religion, eighteenth-century liberals normally believed that
 - a. there should be an officially designated and supported faith.
 - b. all individuals should have freedom to believe as they saw fit.
 - c. the government must have authority over religion because of its connection with politics.
 - d. all humans were naturally inclined to evil and sinfulness.
 - e. the best religion was one that recognized the worth of humanity.
3. The essence of Baron Montesquieu's theses on government is that
 - a. power should clearly be concentrated in the executive.
 - b. lawmaking powers should be shared between the federal and state levels of government.
 - c. elections should be guaranteed to be held within short time periods.
 - d. powers should be divided among three branches of government.
 - e. the aristocracy, having more to gain, would work harder to make a representative government successful.
4. An important reason for the democratic spirit among the North American colonists in the era before 1776 was the
 - a. natural inclinations of colonials toward equality for all.
 - b. total absence of the social divisions commonly found in Europe.
 - c. habit of religious tolerance in the American traditions.
 - d. absence of masses of poor people who might have threatened social revolution.
 - e. need for all colonists to work together against the perceived abuses of Parliament.
5. The main reason that the American colonists resented the Navigation Acts and other such laws was that they
 - a. believed the taxes were too high.
 - b. resented Britain's renewed restrictions after years of ruling their own affairs.
 - c. preferred to trade with countries other than Britain.
 - d. did not recognize the sovereignty of George III.
 - e. found that new restrictions placed a tremendous strain on the colonies' meager resources.
6. Thomas Paine's first radical writing in the American colonies was
 - a. the popular pamphlet, *Common Sense*.
 - b. a small pamphlet used as a model by Thomas Jefferson for the Declaration of Independence.
 - c. *The Rights of Man*.
 - d. a series of papers known as "The Crisis."
 - e. editorials in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*.
7. Which of the following was not a reason for American victory in the Revolutionary War?
 - a. The division in Parliament about the conduct of the war
 - b. The military mediocrity of the British commanding officers
 - c. The better equipment of the American forces
 - d. French aid to the rebels
 - e. The petty jealousies among the British officers
8. The impact in Europe of the American Revolution can best be summarized as
 - a. important and influential among the educated classes everywhere.
 - b. important in Great Britain but not acknowledged widely elsewhere.
 - c. minimal except among a handful of liberals.
 - d. important in a military but not a political sense.
 - e. sufficient to anger conservative Europeans who still believed in the divine right of kings.
9. To liberal-minded Europeans, the success of the American Revolution meant above all that
 - a. force is most important in political affairs.
 - b. democracy should be introduced to their own governments.
 - c. the teachings of the Enlightenment were feasible.
 - d. Americans were more aggressive than other Westerners.
 - e. all monarchies had become obsolete.
10. The American Revolution had the most direct impact on the citizens of
 - a. England.
 - b. Scotland.
 - c. Germany.
 - d. Spain.
 - e. France.



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The French Revolution and the Empire of Napoleon

THE BACKGROUND OF THE CRISIS

CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

Calling of the Estates

The National Assembly and Its Constitution

JACOBIN TERROR

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FRENCH DOMINION OVER EUROPE

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THE VIENNA SETTLEMENT

Overall Estimate of the Vienna Settlement

THE WATERSHED OF MODERN political history is the upheaval called the French Revolution that struck France and then all of Europe in the last years of the eighteenth century. More than what had happened in the American colonies a few years earlier, the unrest in France challenged every tradition and shook every pillar of the establishment. During its unpredictable and violent course evolved the ideas of popular democracy, social equality, and personal liberty, which the Revolution originally stood for but later betrayed. What started as a French aristocratic rebellion against royal taxes became the milepost from which all modern political and social developments in the Western world are measured.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE CRISIS

Just as the American Revolution had been, the 1789 Revolution in France was triggered by a dispute over finances and taxation between monarch and subjects. But the tax question could have been remedied if the deeper problems of the royal government in Paris had not been so intense and so complex.

Since the death of the Sun King, Louis XIV, in 1715, the quality and the morale of French officialdom had declined. Louis's immediate successor was

The effect of liberty upon individuals is that they may do as they please; we ought to see what it will please them to do before we risk congratulations.

—Edmund Burke

1715–1774	Reign of Louis XV
1774–1792	Reign of Louis XVI
1789–1791	First phase of the Revolution: Constitutional monarchy
1792–1794	Second phase of the Revolution: Jacobin Terror
1795–1799	Third phase of the Revolution: Thermidorean Reaction
1800–1814	The Revolution terminated: Napoleonic Empire
1815	The Vienna Settlement

his great-grandson (he had outlived both his son and grandsons), Louis XV, a young boy. For many years during his youth, actual power had been exercised by a group of nobles who used the opportunity to loosen the controls put on them by the Sun King's monopoly of power. Intent mainly on personal luxuries, they abused their powers and their newly regained freedom. Corruption and bribery began to appear in the courts and in administrative offices where it was previously not tolerated. The middle-class professional officials who had been the heart and soul of Louis XIV's bureaucracy were passed over or ignored in favor of the aristocrats who monopolized the highest offices by right of birth.

How did this deterioration come about? By nature, Louis XV was not suited to the demands of absolutist government. He was intelligent but cynical and preferred play to work. When he did take action, he delegated power to sycophants and careerists and refused to involve himself if he could avoid it.

But the tax-revenue problems could not be put off indefinitely. During the mid-eighteenth century, France engaged in a series of costly and losing wars against Britain overseas and against Austria and then Prussia on the Continent (War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1747; Seven Years' War, 1756–1763). Taxes had to be increased, but from whose pockets? The urban middle classes and the peasantry were already paying a disproportionate amount, while the state church (the greatest single property owner in France) and the nobles were paying next to nothing, claiming ancient exemptions granted by medieval kings. By the time of Louis XV's death in 1774, the government was already on the verge of bankruptcy, unable to pay its military forces on time and forced to go to several moneylenders (notably, the Rothschild family) to meet current accounts.

Louis XV was succeeded by his weak-minded and indecisive grandson Louis XVI (ruling 1774–1792). A sympathetic and decent person, Louis was in no way qualified to lead an unstable country that was rapidly approaching a financial crisis. Specifically, he could not be expected to limit the vast expenditures that were wasted on the maintenance and frivolities of the royal court at Versailles (such as the amusements of Louis's queen, Marie Antoinette). Nor would he take an effective stand against the rising political pretensions of the nobility. This latter group, acting through their regional assemblies, the *parlements* (pahrl-MOHNNT), claimed to be the true defenders of French liberties. In practice, this claim translated into a determined resistance to paying their share of taxes.

This was the situation in 1778 when the royal government decided to enter the American rebellion on the side of the colonials, to weaken Britain and perhaps to reclaim what it had lost in the Seven Years' War earlier (that is, Canada and the Mississippi Valley). The expenses of this effort were very high for France. And by now, much of the entire budget had to be funded by borrowed money at

rates of interest that rose higher and higher because of the suspicion that the government would declare bankruptcy and refuse to honor its outstanding debts. Half of the revenues had to be paid out just to meet the interest due on current accounts. No one knew when or whether the principal could be repaid.

Faced with the refusal—once more—of the nobles and the clergy to pay even a token sum, the king reluctantly agreed to the election of an assemblage that had been forgotten for 175 years: the **Estates General**, or a parliament representing all segments of the society of all France. No Estates had been convoked since 1614, because after that time, first Richelieu and then Louis XIV had embarked on absolutist royal government.

CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

According to tradition, their own colleagues would elect the members of the Estates General. There were three “estates,” or orders of society: the **First Estate** was made up of the clergy, the **Second Estate** consisted of the nobility, and the **Third Estate** included everyone else. Rich or poor, rural or urban, educated or illiterate, all people who were neither in the church nor of the nobility were in the Third Estate. Tradition further held that each estate voted as a bloc, so that only three votes would be cast on any issue. Because the two “privileged” estates could always form a majority against the commoners, they were assured of retaining their privileges if they stayed together.

Calling of the Estates

The first two estates made up only about 3 percent of the total population of France, but the nobles and clergy dominated every aspect of public life except commerce and manufacturing. They were the exclusive holders of political power above the local level. They were the king's powerful servants and concession holders, and they had every social privilege imaginable. They lived a life apart from the great majority, with their own customs and their own entertainments. They looked on the commoners with contempt and sometimes fear. They held a very large share of the property in France—about 40 percent of the real estate and an even higher share of income-producing enterprises and offices of all sorts.

Some of the representatives of the First and Second Estates were liberal-minded individuals who sympathized with the demands for reform. Their leadership and assistance were crucially important to the success of the Revolution's first phase.

Mainly lawyers and minor officials represented the Third Estate, the commoners. A very few delegates were peasants, but there were virtually no representatives from the masses of artisans, employees, and illiterate laborers. The Third Estate's major complaints were the legal and

social inequalities in the kingdom and their own lack of political representation. The Estate's guiding principles and its political philosophy were taken straight from the liberal Enlightenment. In the spring of 1789, the elected Estates General convened just outside Paris at Versailles, the site of the royal palace and government. Immediately, a dispute arose over voting. The Third Estate demanded "one man, one vote," which would have given it the majority when joined with known sympathizers from the other estates. The other two orders refused, and the king was called on to decide. After attempting a vain show of force, Louis XVI caved in to the demands of the commoners. Some renegades from the privileged then joined with the Third Estate to declare themselves the National Constituent Assembly. On June 20, 1789, they resolved not to disperse until they had given the country a constitution. In effect, this was the French Revolution, for if this self-appointed assembly were allowed to stand, the old order of absolutist monarchy would end.

The National Assembly and Its Constitution

What the Assembly wanted was a moderate constitutional monarchy like England's, but the king's hope to reestablish control and the refusal of most of the nobility and clergy to go along with the Assembly's project made a confrontation unavoidable. The confrontation came in the summer of 1789, beginning with the storming of the Bastille (the royal prison in Paris). For the next several months, the Parisian mob, whipped up by radicals from all over the country, played a major role in the course of political events, the first time in modern history that the urban underclass asserted such direct influence. The moderates and conservatives who dominated the Assembly were forced to listen to and heed the demands of the poor, who staged a series of bread riots and wild demonstrations around the Assembly's meeting place.

On August 4, 1789, the nobles who had joined the Assembly made a voluntary renunciation of their feudal rights, effectively ending serfdom and the nobility's legal privileges in France forever. A little later, the Assembly adopted the **Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen**, which went much farther than the almost-simultaneous first ten amendments—the Bill of Rights—of the American Constitution. The *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*, meaning the Catholic clergy in France, followed this democratic manifesto. It allowed the state to confiscate the church's property and made the priests into (unwilling) agents of the emerging new government—paid by it and therefore controlled by it. This radical act was a misreading of the country's temper, because most French were still obedient Catholics and rallied to the support of the church's continued independence. The pope in Rome condemned the Civil Constitution, and resistance against it began the counterrevolution.



Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France, Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library, London

FEMALE PATRIOTS, 1790. A club of women discusses the latest decrees of the revolutionary government, while a collection plate is set up for the relief of those families who have suffered in the cause.

By the end of 1791, the new constitution had been completed. It provided for powers to be shared between king and parliament along the English lines, but with even stronger powers for the parliament. A national election for this new Legislative Assembly was ordained and carried through.

JACOBIN TERROR

The conservative monarchic governments of Europe, led by Austria and Prussia, were closely watching what was happening, and they were determined to restore Louis XVI to his rightful powers with armed force. The counterrevolutionary war began in the summer of 1792. Combined with the misguided attempt of Queen Marie Antoinette and Louis to flee the country, the war changed the internal atmosphere of the country all at once. Until 1792, the moderates, who wished to retain the monarchy and to avoid any challenge to the rule of property, had been in control. Now the radical element called the **Jacobins** (their original headquarters was in the Parisian convent of the Jacobin order of nuns) took over the Legislative Assembly. The moderates were soon driven into silence or exiled.

What did the new masters of France want? The Jacobins were determined to extend the Revolution, to guarantee the eradication of aristocratic privileges and royal absolutism, and to put the common man in the driver's seat. They dissolved the Legislative Assembly and called a

National Convention, elected by universal male suffrage, into being. In Paris, a self-appointed Jacobin Commune established itself as the legal authority. By early 1793, the war emergency encouraged the Jacobins to institute a *Reign of Terror* against all enemies within the country. This was history's first mass purge of people on account of their social origins or suspected beliefs. Over the next year or so, between 25,000 and 40,000 victims were guillotined, and many tens of thousands more were imprisoned or exiled by the extraordinary Courts of the People, which were everywhere.

Among the early victims of the Terror was the king. Held as a prisoner since his foiled attempt to escape France, he was given a mock trial for treason and beheaded in January 1793. Marie Antoinette followed him to the guillotine in October. The killing of the king and queen was an enormous shock to the many Europeans who believed in liberal ideals and had seen the first stage of the Revolution as their implementation. From 1793 on, the educated classes of Europe were sharply divided between friends and enemies of the Revolution, with more and more tending toward the latter camp as the atrocities of the Terror were recognized. What had started in 1789 as a high-principled campaign for justice, liberty, and progress had degenerated into a bloodbath.

After September 1792, France was no longer a monarchy but a republic. The *National Convention's Committee of Public Safety* exercised executive power with dictatorial authority. **Maximilien Robespierre** was its leading member and the theoretician of the Revolution. (For more about Robespierre, see the Law and Government box.)

The years 1793–1794 were the height of the Revolution. The Jacobins produced many novel ideas and techniques of power that would be imitated in revolutions to come

over the next two centuries. They insisted on the following three points:

- ◆ That all men were legally, socially, and politically equal—*Egalité* (eh-GAH-lih-tay)
- ◆ That they were free in mind and body—*Liberté* (LEE-bayr-tay)
- ◆ That they were, or should be, brothers—*Fraternité* (frah-TAYR-nih-tay)

They elevated reason and patriotism to entirely new heights, making these faculties into virtues that were supposed to supplant the old ones of religion and subservience. They recognized no neutrality, nor would they tolerate neutrals. Those who did not support the People's Revolution were necessarily its enemies and would be treated accordingly. These were novel and shocking thoughts to the conservative forces inside and outside France. It seemed to them that the Jacobins' systematic rejection of traditional authority must lead to chaos rather than freedom.

Believing the royal professional military to be a dubious ally, the Jacobins also started the *levée en masse* (leh-VAY ahn MAHS; conscript army) to defend the Revolution. With the aid of many recruits from the former royal forces (such as Napoleon Bonaparte), they developed and used that army so effectively that the French were on the offensive from 1794 onward against the conservative coalition. And they completed the wholesale confiscation and distribution of royal, noble, and clerical land to the peasants, thereby eliminating one of the major causes of complaints in pre-1789 France. The nobility and the church had lost their economic bases. They would never get them back.

REACTION AND CONSOLIDATION

The machinery of terror was quickly dismantled after the execution of Robespierre, as the pervasive fear had become too great for most French, even radicals, to live with. The period of 1794–1795 is termed the *Thermidorean Reaction* against the excesses of the Reign of Terror. The name comes from Thermidor, the new name for August, the month after which Robespierre fell. In place of the Jacobin-led poor who had greatly influenced government policy until now, the middle classes and the



Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

THE EXECUTION OF KING LOUIS XVI. It was not the original intention of the Revolutionary Assembly to do away with the Bourbon monarchy. However, the rise to power of the radical Jacobins and the attempted escape by the royal family doomed both the king and Queen Marie Antoinette.

wealthy came again to the fore. They chose several of their own to form a new executive, called the **Directory**, and by sharp restriction of the franchise created a much more conservative-minded assembly, derived largely from the propertied classes.

The five directors were soon maneuvering for power and squabbling among themselves. Meanwhile, the economic condition of the urban poor grew desperate, and the ongoing war created a severe inflation and a new class of wealthy profiteers. The peasantry sought in vain for legal recognition of its newly seized lands, while neither the clergy nor its secularist detractors were satisfied with the relationship between state and church. These various discontents could be contained only so long as the revolution was winning on the battlefield and the prospect for final victory looked good.

The Bonapartist Era Opens

From 1794 to 1798, French armies seemed irresistible (see Map 31.1). A young and well-connected general named Napoleon Bonaparte distinguished himself in the campaigns that forced the Austrians and Prussians to make a losing peace with France. In 1798, however, Russia joined the anti-French coalition, and Britain remained an enemy that would not give in. Napoleon persuaded the Directors to send him with a large army to Egypt to cut off the British commercial route to the East and thus induce this “nation of shopkeepers” to make peace. The ill-thought-out Egyptian campaign of 1798–1799 turned into a disaster, but Napoleon saved his reputation by returning home in time and letting his subordinates take the eventual blame. His ambitious wife, Josephine, and his friends had told



LAW AND GOVERNMENT

MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE (1758–1794)

The most dreaded name in all of France during the Reign of Terror of 1793–1794 was that of the leader of the Committee of Public Safety, Maximilien Robespierre. A small figure with a high-pitched voice, he had come to the forefront during the National Assembly in 1790–1791 as an advocate of a republican democracy. His power base was the Society of Jacobins in Paris.

Robespierre was the driving force behind the steady radicalization of the Legislative Assembly in 1792 and its successor, the Convention. He engineered the declaration of the republic in August 1792 and justified the horrific massacre of imprisoned nobles and clerics in September as a necessary step for preparing France to defend its Revolution. Attacked by his enemies in the Convention as a would-be dictator, he defied them to find any stain on his patriotism and his selflessness in the revolutionary cause.

His election to the Committee of Public Safety in July 1793 meant a sharp turn toward even more shocking measures. In the fall, he led the Convention into pronouncing the Repub-

lic of Virtue, an attempt to supplant Christianity and all religion in France. Patriotism would henceforth be measured by devotion to reason and the people rather than to God and king. The names of the days and the months were changed to rid them of all overtones of gods and saints, and the counting of the years began anew, with the declaration of the republic in 1792 being Year One. Churches were renamed Temples of Reason, and the Catholic clergy was subjected to both ridicule and bloody persecution. Much of this change went far beyond what Robespierre had intended, but he was powerless to stop the frenzy that he had helped set loose among the *sans-culottes* (urban working class) and the provincial Jacobins.

Robespierre found it necessary to eliminate even his coworkers in the committee and the Convention for being lukewarm supporters of the Revolution. He believed he was destined to cleanse the ranks of all who would falter on the road to perfection. In June 1794, he pushed the notorious Law of 22 Prairial through an intimidated Convention (Prairial was the name of the month in the revolutionary calendar). This allowed kangaroo courts all over France to issue the supreme penalty with or without substantive evidence of hostility to the government. In that summer, thousands of innocents were guillotined, either because they were anonymously denounced or simply because they were members of a “hostile” class such as the nobles. Robespierre justified these actions in a speech, saying that because the Terror was but an inflexible application of justice, it was a virtue and must be applauded.

In July 1794, the increasingly isolated Robespierre rose in the Convention to denounce the backsliders and the hesitant. In the past, such speeches had foretold another series of arrests by the People’s Courts. This time, by prearrangement, the Convention shouted him down and arrested him. On the following day, July 28, he was guillotined amid sighs of relief and curses.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Can you think of the counterpart of Robespierre in a more recent revolution? What case can be made for the application of terror against the internal enemies of a radical political movement? What case against it?



You can read Robespierre’s “Address to the National Convention” online.



Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France, Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library, London

ROBESPIERRE. An anonymous eighteenth-century portrait of the man whom some considered the pure and selfless servant of the little people and others viewed as the personification of evil.



The Wheel of the Law, 7th–8th century (stone), Siamese School/National Museum, Bangkok, Thailand/Photo © Luca Tetttoni/The Bridgeman Art Library International.



© Giraudon/Art Resource NY

THE LEVÉE EN MASSE. In 1792, the National Convention created a new, massive army composed of volunteers from all classes, and later of conscripts. Here, citizens enthusiastically sign up while receiving cash payments for their enrollment.

him that the time was ripe to brush aside the unpopular government and take command in France. In November 1799, he acted on their advice.

Finding little resistance in defense of the by-now vastly unpopular Directors, Bonaparte and his army accomplices pulled off the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire. It made Napoleon **First Consul** of France, handing supreme civil and military power into his ambitious hands. A new era was about to begin, led by a thirty-year-old Corsican who had risen dramatically since entering the revolutionary army six years previously as a young lieutenant.

Confident of his talent and his vast energy, Napoleon as First Consul (1799–1804) pretended to obey a new constitution that was concocted by his agents in the tame legislature he allowed to stand. He suppressed all political opposition and solidified his already-high standing with the public by carrying out a series of acts, collectively called the **Napoleonic Settlement**. It embraced the following:

- ◆ Establishing a *concordat* (CON-cohr-dah) with the papacy in 1801. This agreement pacified the French clergy and the peasants by declaring that Catholicism was the semiofficial religion, but it also made the Catholic Church and its clergy a part of the state apparatus and put them under strict controls.
- ◆ Creating administrative and judicial systems that have lasted in France until the present day. Napoleon created a highly centralized network that went far to integrate and standardize the formerly diverse provincial governments and connect the regions more tightly with the capital.
- ◆ Granting legal title to the peasants for the lands they had seized earlier in the revolution.

- ◆ Giving the country new uniform civil and criminal codes of law (the **Civil Code of 1804**).
- ◆ Putting the new single national currency and the government's finances in good order.
- ◆ Establishing social peace by allowing the exiles to return if they agreed to support the new France.
- ◆ Crushing Royalist plots to return the Bourbons, and also crushing the radical Jacobin remnants.

FRENCH DOMINION OVER EUROPE

In 1804, Napoleon felt the time was ripe to do what everyone had long expected: He crowned himself monarch of France. His intention was to found a Bonaparte dynasty that would replace the Bourbons. He took the formal title of emperor, because by then France controlled several non-French peoples. As long as his wars went well, he was so popular at home that he could raise vast conscript armies and levy heavy taxes to support their expense, employing a legislature and bureaucracy that were completely his creatures. And the wars went well for France for several years.

Napoleon was perhaps the greatest military strategist of the modern era. He devised and led one victorious campaign after another, often against superior numbers, between 1796 and 1809. His implacable enemy was Britain, which actively supported the various coalitions against him by contributions of troops, ships, and money. War reigned between France and Britain almost without interruption for twenty-two years, 1793–1814. French armies conquered Spain, Portugal, the Italian Peninsula, Austria, Prussia, and Holland—all of which were incorporated into France directly, made into satellites, or neutralized. He also defeated a Russian army sent against France and was on the verge of invading England when his defeat in the decisive naval **Battle of Trafalgar** off the Spanish coast in 1805 put that plan to rest forever.

Napoleon's relations with Russia were always edgy, even after its decisive defeat at French hands in 1807. By 1810, Napoleon was convinced that the tsar, Alexander I, was preparing hostilities again and would form an alliance with the English. He decided on a preemptive strike. In the summer of 1812, the invasion began from its Polish base with a huge army of 600,000, including Frenchmen, their coerced allies, and some volunteers.

Napoleon's campaign in Russia is one of the epic stories of modern war. After initial successes against the retreating Russian army, the French belatedly realized that they had fallen into a lethal trap. Exposure and starvation claimed most of those who survived the guerrilla warfare of the long winter retreat from Moscow. Perhaps one-third of the original force found its way to friendly Polish soil.

La Grande Armée, Napoleon's magnificent weapon with which he had ruled Europe for the preceding decade, was irretrievably broken despite his frantic efforts to rebuild it.



PORTRAIT OF NAPOLEON. Though incomplete, this portrait of a still-youthful Napoleon by the artist Jacques David is possibly the most accurate likeness of him that has survived. Most later portraits were done after he had become emperor and tend to romanticize his appearance.

The culminating **Battle of the Nations** at Leipzig in 1813 ended in French defeat at the hands of combined Russian, Prussian, and Austrian forces. Occupied Europe was then gradually freed of French troops and governors. In March of 1814, Paris was surrendered and occupied, and Bonaparte was forced to abdicate.

NAPOLEON: PRO AND CON

The debate over Napoleon's greatness as a leader and statesman has occupied the French and others for almost two centuries. Opinions divide nearly as sharply now as during his lifetime. Although some see him as a man of genius and the founder of a progressive, stable social order, others see him as a dictator whose visions for society were always subordinate to his concern for his own welfare and glory.

There can be little doubt that he was an able administrator and selector of talent. In those crucial capacities, he came closer to the ideal "enlightened despot" than any other ruler of his day or earlier. In contrast to the preceding Bourbon regime, his government was for years efficient, able, popular, and relatively honest. Men of ability could move upward regardless of their social background. Although by no means a revolutionary himself, Napoleon

kept the promises that the French Revolution had made to the peasants and to the middle classes. He confirmed—though he may not have originated—many of the liberals' favorite measures, such as the disestablishment of the Catholic Church, equality before the law, and the abolition of privilege by birth. His codes provided a modern, uniform basis for all French law, both civil and criminal (though the subordination of women was kept very much intact). His administrative reforms replaced the huge mishmash that had been the French regional and provincial bureaucracy with a thoroughly rational centralized system. Now power was concentrated in the government in Paris, which appointed and oversaw the provincial and local officials.

But the imperial regime developed more than a few blemishes as well. After about 1808, the French government was a dictatorship in which individual liberties depended on Napoleon's wishes. No political parties were allowed, and the press was so heavily controlled that it became meaningless. Political life was forced underground and degenerated into a series of conspiracies. An internal spy system had informants everywhere.

In the occupied or satellite territories that made up the Napoleonic empire (see Map 31.2), governmental policies were often harsh even when enlightened, and patriots who opposed French orders were executed without mercy. The non-French populations were expected to pay new and onerous taxes, to furnish conscripts for the French armies, and to trade on terms that were advantageous to the French. Napoleon also strongly promoted the nationalist spirit that had been so important to the early years of the Revolution, but only as long as the subject peoples accepted the leadership of Paris. When they did not, they were regarded as traitors and dealt with accordingly. The Prussian liberals, especially, learned this to their dismay when, in true national spirit, they attempted to reject French overlords after royal Prussia's defeat in 1806.

THE VIENNA SETTLEMENT

With Napoleon exiled (in luxurious circumstances) to the island of Elba in the Mediterranean, the allies who had united against him went to Vienna to try to work out a general settlement of the extremely complex issues that two decades of war had created. Originally, France was not invited, but the brilliant and slippery Talleyrand, foreign minister to the now-restored Bourbon monarch Louis XVIII (brother to the last king), used his talents to ensure that France soon received an equal seat at the bargaining table.

In the midst of the discussions came the news in February 1815 that Napoleon had fled Elba, landed in southern France, and had issued a call to all of his followers to renew the war. They responded with enthusiasm in the tens of thousands. The Hundred Days' Campaign nearly succeeded but ended in total defeat for the Bonapartists.



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MAP 31.2 The Napoleonic Empire, 1810–1813

Except for Britain and Russia, Napoleon controlled almost all of Europe by 1810, either directly through incorporation into his empire or by coerced alliances.

MAP QUESTIONS

Check where the major battles of Napoleon were fought. Do you see a connection between these and the areas that had become allies or satellites of France?

at **Waterloo** in Belgium. This time, Napoleon was shipped off as a prisoner of war to a rock in the South Atlantic, St. Helena, where he lived out the remaining six years of his life, writing his memoirs.

In Vienna, the “Big Four” victors—Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England—were busy working out the political and territorial outlines of a new Europe. Actually, the conservative powers, led by Austria’s Prince Clemens von Metternich, hoped to reconstruct the old Europe but found that this was impossible. Too much had happened since 1789; too many hopes had been awakened, borders changed, kings removed, and constitutions issued. In the years since, Europe had experienced a great watershed in political and social history. The “Old System” of European

government and society (**l’ancien régime**: LAHN-cee-ahn ray-ZHEEM) was like Humpty Dumpty after his fall—it could not be reconstructed.

Eventually, the four victors hammered out a series of agreements that collectively gave Europe its political borders for the next hundred years. They were guided in their work by several underlying principles:

1. **Legitimacy in government.** Kings were restored to their thrones, and radical constitutions written by pro-French revolutionaries were thrown out or rewritten to reflect more conservative themes. Revolutions would henceforth be suppressed by international collaboration and intervention.

ARTS AND CULTURE



GOYA: THE ARTIST AS SOCIAL CRITIC

Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828) was born the son of a master craftsman in the province of Aragón in northern Spain. In 1775, he left his family to begin life on his own, and soon took his first job as a painter of imaginary scenes, or “cartoons,” for the royal tapestry factory in Madrid. By 1783, his talent had come to the attention of the royal family, and he very soon became sought after as a portraitist of the court and the nobility. Three years later, in 1786, King Charles III made him his official court painter. Throughout the remainder of his life, and despite changes of regime (Charles III, Charles IV, officers of the invading French army, King Joseph Bonaparte, and Ferdinand VII), Goya maintained personal and political connections to queens, monarchs, dukes and duchesses, who brought him considerable wealth and personal security despite the turbulent times in which he lived.

Yet Goya was a complex man, full of contradictions. Unlike his predecessor, Diego Velázquez (1465–1524), Goya did not confine his talent to portraying the lives of the comfortable. Velázquez enjoyed the luxury of living in a time when Spain was an emerging power, when few Spanish would have had reasons to distrust authority. Goya’s life, on the other hand, spanned an era when Europe was transitioning from the Enlightenment to the Romantic era, when the Old Regime was literally falling to revolutionary forces, when Spain and the Spanish Catholic Church were suffering all the humiliations of steeply declining powers. So while Goya was deeply Catholic and continued as a demurring subject of Spain’s

rulers to the end of his life (even when they were foreigners like Bonaparte), he was an Enlightenment radical who shared many of the opinions of revolutionaries. Consequently, his art reflected the ambiguities present in his nature and the sufferings of his times. He loved peace and order, so he devoted much of his best art to portraying powerful figures and peaceful, bucolic scenes from life. On the other hand, in 1799, he issued *Los Caprichos* (caprices), 80 prints of goblins, black masses, grotesqueries, and even pornography, which satirized society. In later years, he sketched another series of etchings and lithographs, “The Disasters of War,” and several gruesome paintings evincing all the brutalities visited upon ordinary Spanish by war and by the French army in particular.

So, while he was a success in life, Goya was an enigmatic and transitional figure. He believed in reason, but he became a social critic and early Romantic for whom the artist’s imagination was paramount. He fully displayed his ambivalence about life in his art. His particular genius was in laying open human souls to display their emotions through depictions. (See the Images of History page.)

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Do you think that Goya suffered from a physical or psychological malady? What artists do you know of who did? Did this affect their art? How does one distinguish between illness and genius?

2. *International cooperation to maintain peace.* The victors (and soon also France) formed an alliance with regular meetings of foreign ministers. The *Quadruple Alliance* lasted for only a decade, but its principles of international responsibility for peace guided diplomatic meetings throughout the century from 1815 to 1914.
3. *Discouragement of nationalism and liberalism in politics.* The conservative forces saw both nationalism and liberalism as evils brought by the French radicals to Europe. Neither was recognized as a legitimate demand of the citizenry.
4. *Balance of power.* No single state would be allowed to dominate the Continent as had France under Napoleon.

Within the framework created by these general principles, what now were the agendas of the four chief victors? Russia, under the visionary Tsar Alexander I (ruling 1801–1825),

had been the main force in the final military defeat of the French and now for the first time played a leading role in European affairs. Alexander had originally sympathized with liberalism and constitutionalism but came to mistrust those concepts after the struggles with Napoleon began. Led by mystical hopes for peace and harmony, the tsar became a conservative autocrat in later years. Under Alexander and his successor, Nicholas I (ruling 1825–1855), Russia became a bastion of reactionary and anti-liberal forces.

Austria under the astute diplomat Prince Metternich also took a leading role in the reconstruction. Metternich was convinced that nationalism and popular participation in government would ruin the multinational state of Austria and then all of Europe. He fought these ideas with all of his considerable skill and energy. Austria stagnated intellectually and scientifically, however, as conservatism turned first into reaction and then paralysis.

Prussia originally tended toward liberalism and carried out internal reforms under a group of statesmen who

IMAGES OF HISTORY

FRANCISCO DE GOYA (1746-1828)

Goya's contradictions are fully in view in these two samples of his work. The first one, entitled *Dance on the Banks of the River Manzanares*, dates from 1777 and typifies the more orderly and peaceful conditions of the artist's youthful innocence. The second one was painted around the time of the French invasion of Spain. Its subject is the execution by a firing squad of French soldiers of civilians who participated in the defense of Madrid. Note the great attention given to the details of the victims' faces.



Dance on the Banks of the River Manzanares (1777)



Execution of the Defenders of Madrid, 3rd May, 1808 (1814)

admired the constitutional phase of the French Revolution. But, after the defeat of the French, Prussian king Frederick William III made clear his distaste for constitutional government and succeeded in turning back the political clock for a generation. As a nation, Prussia came out of the wars with France strengthened and expanded, with improved technology and an aggressive entrepreneurial class. By the 1830s, it had the best educational system in Europe and was in a position to contest Austria for the lead in pan-German affairs.

Great Britain was clearly the leading naval power and one of the strongest military forces in Europe by 1815, but the British governing class primarily wanted to concentrate on its business interests to take advantage of the big lead it had established since 1780 in the race to industrialize (see the next chapter). The British liberals always felt uncomfortable on the same side of the table as Tsar Alexander and Prince Metternich, and by 1825, they had abandoned the Quadruple Alliance system. Having helped establish the balance of power on the Continent, they retreated into “splendid isolation” for the rest of the nineteenth century.

Overall Estimate of the Vienna Settlement

During the later nineteenth century, the treaty making at Vienna was criticized on many grounds. The aristocratic negotiators meeting in their secluded drawing rooms ignored the growing forces of popular democracy, national feeling, liberalism, and social reform. They drew up territorial boundaries in ignorance of and disregard for popular emotions and restored kings to their thrones without the citizenry's support. The treaty makers were a small handful of upper-class men, contemptuous of the ordinary people and their right to participate in politics and government.

All of these criticisms are more or less true. Yet if success is measured by the practical test of enduring peace, it would be hard to find another great international settlement as successful as the Treaty of Vienna of 1815. With the single exception of the Franco-Prussian conflict of 1870, Europe did not experience an important, costly war until the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

The Vienna Treaties were followed by a century of cultural and material progress for the middle classes and, toward the end at least, for the common people as well. That this was not the specific intent of the peacemakers is beside

the point. Any judgment of the treaties must consider that the massive social and economic changes witnessed by the nineteenth century were successfully accommodated within the international relationships established in 1815.

SUMMARY

THE PROBLEMS OF THE FRENCH monarchy in the late eighteenth century were cumulative and profound. Inspired by the Enlightenment and the example of the U.S. Revolutionary War, many French were convinced that the weak and directionless regime of King Louis XVI must change. In 1789, they were able to overcome the stubborn resistance of both king and nobility to bring about a moderate constitutional monarchy. Within two years, however, this situation was turned into a radical social upheaval by the Jacobins and their supporters among the nation's poor. The *ancien régime* of rule by an absolutist monarch and a privileged church and nobility could not survive this challenge, despite the attempt by France's conservative neighbors to save it through armed intervention.

The exigencies of invasion and war combined to create the Reign of Terror, led by the Jacobin Committee of Public Safety. This egalitarian dictatorship was

overthrown after two years, and a consolidation began under the Directory in 1795. Corruption and incompetence weakened the Directory to a point that allowed a military coup by the young general Napoleon Bonaparte in 1799.

Napoleon's authoritarian settlement of the Revolution's conflicts within France was successful, and his wars in the name of defense of the Revolution went well for several years. For a long and important decade, most of western and central Europe was under French sway. The 1812 Russia campaign was disastrous, however, and the retreat soon led to defeat in 1814 and its Waterloo sequel. At the Vienna congress of victors, a framework of compromise between reaction against and grudging acceptance of the Revolution's principles was worked out; despite its attempt to ignore popular nationalism, it allowed Europe a century of peace and progress.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Battle of the Nations
Battle of Trafalgar
Civil Code of 1804

Declaration of the Rights
of Man and Citizen
Directory

Estates General
First Consul
First Estate
Jacobins
l'ancien régime
levée en masse

Maximilien Robespierre
Napoleonic Settlement
Second Estate
Third Estate
Waterloo

For Further Reflection

1. In your opinion, was absolutism a viable way of governing? Was it doomed to extinction? Explain your answer.
2. Was the French Revolution inevitable? Why did it follow the course it did? Could it have remained a relatively bloodless, bourgeois revolution without the radical bloodletting that followed the earlier, less violent phase? State the reasons for your answer.
3. To what extent do you think Napoleon's Civil Code conformed to liberal Enlightenment views on government? Again, please state your reasons.
4. Although the Napoleonic occupations evoked resistance, why do you think the principles of the French (and American) Revolution took root in many countries following Napoleon's defeats?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- The trigger for the outbreak of revolution in France was
 - the refusal of the nobles and the clergy to pay their share of taxes.
 - peasant unrest caused by landlord abuses.
 - an armed rebellion by outraged middle-class taxpayers.
 - the assassination of the king.
 - the frivolous excesses of Queen Marie Antoinette.
- The Third Estate in France consisted of
 - the peasants.
 - the urban dwellers of all types.
 - everyone outside the ranks of the nobility and the clergy.
 - the children of the nobles who had no right of succession.
 - those outside the Catholic faith.
- The opening phase of the French Revolution saw the demand for
 - a republic.
 - a military dictatorship.
 - a representative democracy.
 - a constitutional monarchy.
 - an end to civil government that was tied to the Catholic Church.
- The works of Spanish artist Goya depict all of the following except:
 - rural scenes for tapestries
 - the beheadings of French royalty
 - portraits of Spanish royalty
 - the defense of Madrid against foreign invaders
 - grotesque images of black Sabbath masses
- Napoleon came to power in 1799 because of the
 - public reaction against the Terror of the Jacobins.
 - complete anarchy in France after Robespierre's fall.
 - threat of the counterrevolutionaries.
 - unpopularity of the Directory.
 - success he had attained in the war against Britain in Egypt.
- The battle at Trafalgar
 - ensured French domination of most of the Continent.
 - frustrated a potential French invasion of England.
 - knocked the Russians out of the anti-French coalition.
 - made it necessary for France to sell the Louisiana Territory to the United States.
 - was Napoleon's last victory over England.
- Which of the following did Napoleon not preside over in France?
 - The signing of a concordat with the Vatican
 - The creation of a new administrative system
 - The enactment of uniform legal codes for the whole country
 - The elimination of the Catholic clergy's influence on French opinion
 - The establishment of a uniform currency
- The chief conservative powers at the Vienna peace conference were
 - Prussia, Russia, and Austria.
 - Prussia, Russia, and Britain.
 - Austria, Russia, and France.
 - Russia, Prussia, and France.
 - France, Prussia, and Austria.
- Which of the following was least considered in the negotiations at Vienna?
 - The right of forcibly deposed monarchs to regain their thrones
 - The right of working people to determine their form of government
 - The right of states to retain adequate territory and resources for defense
 - The responsibility of nations to work together to promote peace
 - The need to suppress rebellions in the future
- Which country of post-1815 Europe does the phrase "splendid isolation" apply to most directly?
 - Great Britain
 - France
 - Russia
 - Turkey
 - Austria



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The Early Industrial Revolution



PREREQUISITES FOR THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

AGRARIAN IMPROVEMENTS

THE METHOD OF MACHINE INDUSTRY

The Factory

ENGLAND: THE INITIAL LEADER IN INDUSTRIALISM

SPREAD OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Railroads

PHASES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND IMPACTS OF EARLY INDUSTRY

The Structure of the Family and Household
The Place of Children
Relations Between Men and Women

OCCUPATIONS AND MOBILITY

Female Occupations

THE MIGRATION TO THE CITIES: URBANIZED SOCIETY

Urban Growth
Urban Classes and Lifestyles

PUBLIC HEALTH

Housing and Sanitation

LIVING STANDARDS

REFORMS AND IMPROVEMENTS

Steam is an Englishman.

—Anonymous

1700s	Increase in trade, population, and agricultural production
1750–1850	Change in premarital relationships and family structure
1760s–1820s	First Industrial Revolution in Britain; steam power
c. 1815–c. 1860s	Industrialization of northwestern Europe
1830	First railroad completed in Britain
Late 1800s	Second Industrial Revolution; petroleum and electricity

THE RAPID INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT that gripped Europe in the nineteenth century was a direct outgrowth of the Scientific Revolution and, like that earlier event, was not really so much a revolution as a steady accretion of new knowledge and techniques. It was made possible by another “revolution”: the transformation of agriculture that took place at the same time. England led in both of these transformations, and the rest of Europe only slowly and unevenly fell into line.

And to what extent were the lifestyles of ordinary people altered during the transition from a preindustrial to an industrial society? We shall see that the change was substantial, but it was gradual in most cases and only really remarkable over a generation or more. Taken all in all, however, the lives of many Europeans changed more in the century between 1750 and 1850 than they had in all the preceding centuries together.

PREREQUISITES FOR THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Historians have identified several factors that are necessary for an economy to engage in large-scale industrial production. All of these were present in England by the late eighteenth century:

1. *Upsurge in world trade.* The expanding market for European goods and services created by the new colonies was matched by the large volume of exports from those colonies destined for European consumption. In the eighteenth century, French overseas trading grew more than tenfold, and the English were not far behind. Intra-European trade also grew spectacularly, as the colonial goods were often reexported to third parties. (See Chapters 36–38.)
2. *Rising population.* The increased demand for imports was largely a result of the rapidly rising population of most of the Continent and England. Although the precise reasons for this rise are still in dispute, it is clear that the death rate steadily fell and the birth rate steadily rose in Europe after 1750. The English population, for instance, quadrupled in a century—a phenomenon never before recorded in history from natural increase alone.
3. *Increased flow of money.* Commercial expansion required additional capital. Money was needed to finance the purchase of goods until they could be resold. Many individuals tried to profit from the rising consumption by building new factories, port facilities, and warehouses—all of which required money or credit. Capital was raised by the expanding stock markets, partnerships and speculations, and the issue of paper money backed by the bullion coming from America.
4. *Experienced managers and entrepreneurs.* By the later eighteenth century, several pockets of entrepreneurial expertise could be found, primarily in London, Antwerp, Amsterdam, and other cities of northwestern Europe. All of these places had already had two centuries of experience in colonial trade. Now they were the home of numerous individuals who had had experience in organizing and managing fairly large enterprises. These people knew how to calculate risks, how to spread them, and how to use the corporate form of organization and insur-

ance to minimize them. They knew how to raise capital, secure credit, and share profit. They were relatively open to new ideas and new technology that promised good returns on investment.

AGRARIAN IMPROVEMENTS

If an industrial society was to be possible, Europe's farmers would have to produce sufficient food to feed the growing urban labor force. To ensure this production, the crop yields had to be increased. Everywhere in seventeenth-century Europe, croplands were tended in much the same way and with much the same results as in the Middle Age. The ratio of grain harvested to seed sown, for an important example, was still only about 3 or 4 to 1, which was far too low. However, with the world becoming ever more interconnected, high-yield New World crops like the potato helped revolutionize agricultural output.

The most important single step toward modernizing farming was the change from open fields to enclosures, which enabled progressive proprietors to cultivate their lands as they saw fit. These newly enclosed fields were capable of producing two crops yearly, while only one-third (rather than the traditional one-half) lay fallow. The enclosed-field system originated in Holland, which had the densest population in all of Europe and consequently the most precious agrarian land. The Dutch also pioneered many other new techniques that improved crop yields, including the intensive use of manure fertilizer, rotation between root crops such as potatoes and seed crops such as wheat, the use of hybrid seeds, and land drainage.

From Holland the new agrarian practices spread quickly to Britain, and as it became apparent that landowners using the new methods and crops could make profits equal to those of the industrial manufacturer but at much less risk, many larger landlords took up the new idea of market farming (that is, producing for an urban market rather than for village subsistence). This was the advent of agrarian capitalism, in which reducing unit costs and raising the volume of product were just as important as in industrial production.

Without these improvements in agriculture, the huge numbers of ex-farm laborers required by industry and commerce in the nineteenth century might not have become available. They certainly could not have been adequately fed. Not only were they fed, but many of them were fed considerably better than ever before.

THE METHOD OF MACHINE INDUSTRY

Industrial production is aimed above all at *lessening the unit cost of production through improved technology*. The changes that occurred in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century consumption took place not so much because new products were produced but because

industrialized technology allowed the production of familiar products in greater quantity and at lesser cost.

For example, one of the chief early products of industry was underclothing for men and women. There was nothing new about its design, raw material, or general method of production. What was new and revolutionary was the much lower price for a shirt or underpants when those items were woven on a machine—a power loom—from textiles that had been spun by machine from flax or cotton that had been cleaned and deseeded by machine. The factory owner could sell to wholesale outlets at much lower unit prices because perhaps five machine-made shirts could be produced for the cost of one previously hand-woven shirt. The wholesaler could then place those five shirts with a single retailer because the price was so low that the retailer could be sure of disposing of all five quickly. Men and women who had previously not worn underclothing because of its high cost were now able and willing to buy several sets.

Most early industrial products were simply variations of previously hand-worked items that had been adapted to a mode of production that used machines for all or part of the process. These products included clothing and shoes, lumber, rough furniture, bricks, coal, and pig iron. Sophisticated or new products came only gradually, when inventors and entrepreneurs had developed a clearer vision of what could be accomplished with the new machinery and had developed a trained labor force.

The Factory

Before the eighteenth century, it was unusual for a single employer to have more than a handful of workers directly on the payroll. Very often, people took in some type of raw material—such as rough bolts of cloth—and worked it up into a finished consumer product in their own homes, working on their own schedules and being paid when they had completed the task assigned. This was commonly called the “**putting-out**” system because the same entrepreneur secured the raw material, found the parties who would work it, and collected the finished product for sale elsewhere. He bore the risks and made all of the profits, while the workers received a piecework wage. Most clothing, draperies, shoes, kitchenware, harnesses, and table utensils, as examples, were made this way in early modern days. The wages earned were an important part of the income of many rural and urban families.

The shift to factory production was as important in changing lifestyles in the Western world as were the industrial products themselves. In the new **factory system**, an entrepreneur or a company gathered together perhaps hundreds of individual workers under one roof and one managerial eye. They were paid on a prefixed pay scale and worked under tight discipline on a single, repetitive part of the production process. See the Society and Economy box for more about labor practices during this era.

No longer did the individual workers function as partners of the employer and have a good deal to say about

the conditions and the pay they received. No longer would workers have much to say about how their skills would be employed, the nature of what they were making, or where it would be sold or to whom. All of those decisions and many others were now made exclusively by the employer, the capitalist entrepreneur who controlled the factory (or mine, or foundry, or railroad).

ENGLAND: THE INITIAL LEADER IN INDUSTRIALISM

Why did England take the early lead in the industrial production of goods and services? There were several reasons:

1. *Entrepreneurial experience.* Already in the early eighteenth century, the English were the Western world’s most experienced traders and entrepreneurs. The English colonies were spread around the world, and the North American colonies were the biggest markets for goods outside Europe. The national Bank of England had existed as a credit and finance institution since 1603, rates of interest were lower than anywhere else, and the English stock markets were the world’s largest and most flexible for raising capital.
2. *Population increase.* As mentioned earlier, the English population rose about 15 percent per decade throughout the eighteenth century, generating a huge increase in demand and an equally huge increase in the potential or actual labor supply.
3. *Energy or “Steam is an Englishman.”* The key to industrialization as a mechanical process was a new source of energy: steam. The English pioneered the inventions that made steam engines the standard form of mechanical energy during the nineteenth century. All over the world, English steam engines opened the path to industrialized production of goods.
4. *Agricultural improvements.* The improvements in English agricultural production made it possible for the farmers to not only feed the rapidly growing urban sector but to do so with fewer workers in the fields. The excess rural population then migrated from the countryside, contributing to the growth of the urban sector’s demand for foodstuffs.
5. *Key raw materials.* England controlled much of the two basic raw materials of early industry: coal and cotton. The English coalfields were large and easy to access. They provided the fuel for the new steam engines and used those engines extensively to produce coal more cheaply than anywhere in Europe. Cotton came from India, which was by now an English colony, and from the North American colonies. It was carried across the ocean almost entirely in English ships and woven in English factories, and the finished cloth was exported to the rest of Europe without effective competition for a century.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY



TEXTILE MILLS' LABOR

Following the victory over Napoleon, a wave of industrial unrest broke over England as the working conditions of early industrial society became intolerable both to the workers themselves and to the awakening conscience of part of the liberal middle classes. In the 1830s and 1840s, a series of parliamentary commissions were charged with investigating the working and living conditions of the factory and mine laborers. Their reports shocked the British public and were followed by some of the earliest attempts to control the “free market” endorsed by the more extreme followers of Adam Smith.

The following is an excerpt from a commission report on child labor, featuring an interview with a witness named Abraham Whitehead. His and other similar testimony led directly to the first child labor law in British history, passed in 1833:

What is your business?—A clothier

Where do you reside?—At Scholes, near Holmfirth.

Is that not in the centre of very considerable woollen mills?—Yes, I live nearly in the centre of thirty to forty woollen mills. . . .

Are the children and young persons of both sexes employed in these mills?—Yes.

At how early an age are children employed?—The youngest age at which children are employed is never under five, but some are employed between five and six. . . .

How early have you observed these young children going to their work?—In the summertime I have frequently seen them going to work between five and six in the morning, and I know the general practice is for them to go as early to all the mills. . . .

How late in the evening have you seen them at work, or remarked them returning to their homes?—I have seen them at work in the summer season between nine and ten in the evening; they continue to work as long as they can see, and they can see to work in these mills as long as you could see to read. . . .

Your business as a clothier has often led you into these mills?—Frequently.

What has been the treatment that these children received in the mills, to keep them attentive for so many hours at such early ages?—They are generally cruelly treated, so cruelly treated that they dare not hardly for their lives be late to work in the morning. . . . I have seen them so fatigued, they appear in such a state of apathy and insensibility as really not to know whether they are doing their work or not. . . .

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

The committee's report was unpopular with many parents of working children, because it recommended limiting the hours and types of work they might do. What would you think of this attitude? Is it still true of some parents? Can it be justified?

Source: “The Report of the Committee on the Bill to Regulate the Labour of Children,” British Seasonal Papers 15 (London: n.p., 1832), 195.



You can read another account, by J. L. Hammond, of labor during the Industrial Revolution, including child labor, online.

6. **Transportation.** England had the most favorable internal transport system. The geography and topography of England made the country ideal for moving goods to market. Not only were there few natural obstacles to travel and transport, but the river system, connected by canals in the eighteenth century, made transportation cheaper and safer than elsewhere.

As a result of these advantages, it was natural for England to take the lead in industry (see Map 32.1). In the generation between 1740 and 1780, England produced a variety of mechanical inventions, including John Kay's spinning machine, called the *spinning jenny*, and Samuel Crompton's spinning *mule*, which made yarn or thread. By 1800, these machines had been joined by others, including

the cotton gin invented by American Eli Whitney, Richard Arkwright's water frame, and Edmund Cartwright's power loom. Together, these inventions revolutionized the production of cotton cloth. Machines that still used water or animal power were now quickly replaced by the perfected steam engines designed by James Watt and Matthew Boulton. Cheap and reliable steam power became the standard energy source of the Western world's machines for the next one hundred years.

Engineers of all sorts, bridge builders, railroad and tramway developers, and mining superintendents—in short, all types of the nineteenth century's burgeoning technical aristocracy—were first and foremost England's contribution to the industrial world. (See the box on Science and Technology as an example.)

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY



ISAMBARD KINGDOM BRUNEL (1806–1859)

Considering that he was the son of French immigrants, there was nothing surprising about his name; yet it is likely that Isambard Kingdom Brunel (IH-sam-bard Kingdom Broo-NEHL) was the most remarkable engineer of Britain's Early Industrial Revolution. Brunel cut his professional teeth while assisting his father, Marc, in the first attempt to tunnel under the Thames River in an effort to create a subway for Londoners. Although it failed, the young engineer demonstrated a well-rounded ability as an engineer and an uncanny instinct for innovation in almost all his subsequent projects.

While still a young man, Brunel saw the bright future for railroads in Britain, so he invested in several lines. His greatest success was the Great Western Railway, a system that he designed to run on an unusual wide-gauge track (7.25 feet). In the end, the wider track proved superior to existing lines because it enabled Brunel to build larger, wider cars

to transport heavier freight loads and to give passengers a more comfortable ride. Moreover, it was Brunel himself who designed the track bed and the track itself, the cars, bridges, and tunnels for the line—and, according to one source, even the lampposts for London's Paddington Station, the point of embarkation for the Great Western. However, because of its unorthodox design, later system managers refitted the system with standard-gauge four-foot tracks. (It should be added that Brunel designed many bridges for his railway projects and that most still exist. One in particular, the Clifton Suspension Bridge, is striking both for its sturdy design and substantial beauty.)

From a purely engineering point of view, Brunel's most original work was in ship design. Even before the Great Western Railway had opened, the engineer proposed to extend it by ship to connect Bristol with New York City. For that, he organized the Great Western Steamship Company. Many people had their doubts because of the mistaken belief that steam-powered ships could not carry enough coal to make so long a voyage and still have space for cargo. Brunel believed that a larger vessel would use proportionally less fuel than a smaller ship. To prove it, he built the first iron ship, the *Great Britain*, and the first steamship, the *Great Western*, that not only reached New York but also did it in record time. Brunel incorporated another design innovation that gave his ships exceptional speed: the screw propeller.

For his contributions to the Industrial Revolution, several dozen statues of Isambard Kingdom Brunel are found around Britain, and he is considered to have been one of his country's greatest engineers.

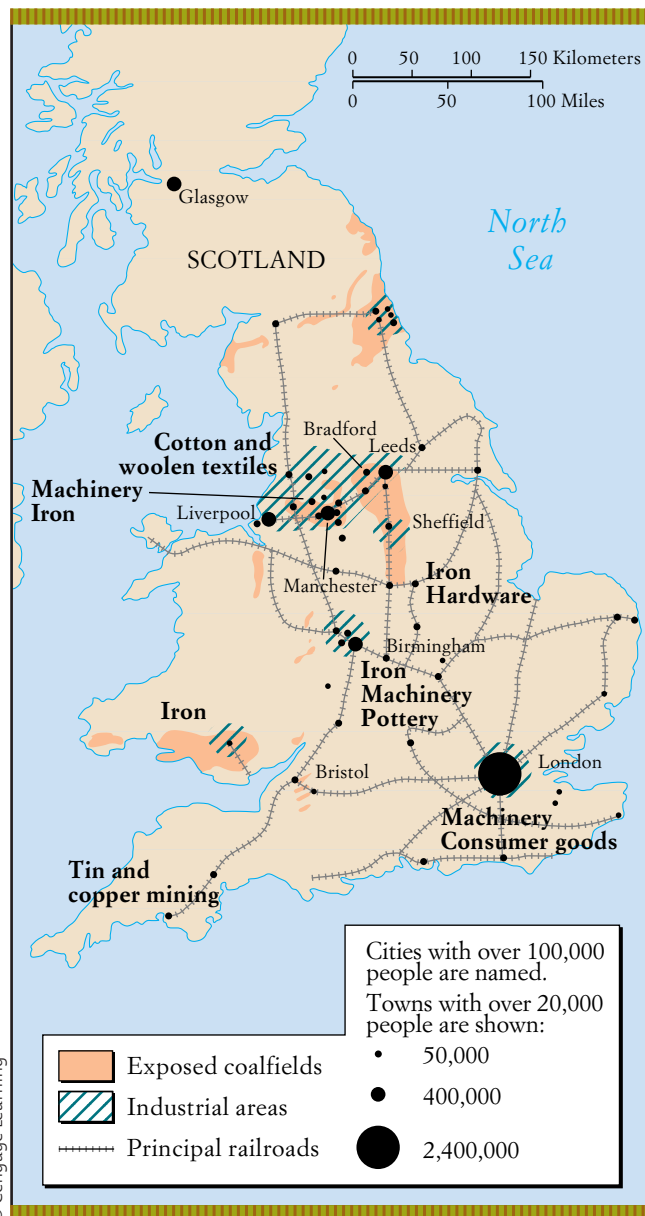
>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What factors in his life might have contributed to Brunel's success? In your opinion, is it likely that just one individual can make such big contributions in several areas today? Do you know of anyone who has?



Howlett, Robert (1831–58)/Private Collection/The Stapleton Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

ISAMBARD KINGDOM BRUNEL. Shown standing in front of the launching chains of the *Great Eastern*, 1857.



MAP 32.1 Britain's Industrial Revolution

The fastest pace in industrial development was in the north of England, where coal and textile production combined to create a strong attraction for laboring immigrants.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Why was coal important? Besides the nearness of the coalfields, what other features of geography might explain the choice of western England for early textile mills? (Hint: Early mills did not run on steam, but relied on moving water to power machinery.)

SPREAD OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

From England, the new processes spread slowly during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. No other country had England's peculiar combination of advantages, but there were other reasons for this tardiness. A major factor was England's attempt to treat industrial techniques as state secrets. These restrictions could not be effectively enforced, and the theoretical knowledge of machine design and technology spread into northern Europe and the United States after about 1820.

Another factor retarding industrialization was the long Napoleonic wars, which disrupted the normal communications and commerce between the Continent and England for the quarter century between 1793 and 1815. It would take another generation before even the more advanced areas of western Europe could rival Britain in industrial techniques.

By about 1830, the areas on the Continent closest to England had begun to industrialize part of their productive capacity. Belgium and northern France began to use steam power first in coal and textile production, the same industries that had initiated the use of steam in England.

By the 1860s, industrial techniques had spread to the Rhine Valley—especially the Ruhr coal and iron fields—as well as to parts of northern Italy and the northern United States (see Map 32.2).

Nevertheless, even as late as the 1860s, eastern Europe, Russia, and Iberia (Spain and Portugal), as well as most of Italy, were almost untouched by the industrial lifestyle



OPENING OF ROYAL ALBERT BRIDGE. Named in honor of Queen Victoria's husband, this span was a design by I. K. Brunel and is one of the triumphs of the transport revolution spawned by industrialization.



MAP 32.2 The Spread of Industry by 1850

The sharp differences between the countries with industrial resources and those without are shown on this map. There is also a notable correlation between industry and the peasantry's freedom from landlord control.

MAP QUESTIONS

Besides their role in industrialization, what possible social and political impacts might railroads have had on nineteenth-century Europe?



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and industrial production. These regions all lacked one or more of the important factors that had to come together for industrialization to proceed. They became the permanent, involuntary clients of the industrialized regions. Some areas, such as eastern Europe and the Balkans, were still untouched well into the middle of the twentieth century. Industrialization was not automatic or inevitable, and large parts of the non-Western world are still only superficially and partially industrialized in their essential production techniques.

Railroads

One of the most spectacular results of steam power was the railroad. Again, Britain led the way, but in this instance, the new invention spread rapidly. The first commercial use of steam railroading was in 1830, when a line connected Liverpool and Manchester, two of the newly important British industrial towns. By the 1840s, lines were under way in most countries of the Old and New worlds, including Russia and the United States.

Private companies built most early rail lines, but railroads were costly, and the large debts the owners incurred were often more than the lines could sustain during the frequent downturns in the economic cycle. As a result, many railroads went bankrupt and were taken over by the government. By the 1860s, most railroad lines were in government hands everywhere but in the United States.

The steam locomotive was the heart of a railroad. Yet the locomotive's mechanics were so simple that only a few years after the first one was mounted on its track, it had reached a state of perfection that hardly changed over the next century. Bigger and slightly more efficient locomotives were built, but they were essentially the same machine as the famous Rocket of the 1830 Liverpool–Manchester line.

The railroad dramatically reduced the costs of shipping and personal travel. It also greatly increased the security of moving goods and people over long distances. By as early as 1850, trains were steaming along in excess of fifty miles per hour—a speed that seemed almost diabolical to many onlookers. By that year, it was possible to travel from London to Edinburgh overnight in safety and comfort. Twenty years earlier, the same journey had taken four or five jolting, banging days in a stagecoach, and the train cost less as well. The railroad had an impact on the first half of the nineteenth century similar to that of the automobile on the first half of the twentieth—another “revolution”!

PHASES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Industrial work and lifestyles did not develop rapidly as a onetime occurrence at the end of the eighteenth century. The changes that began then have continued to the present day, but they can be divided into certain discernible stages.

The **First Industrial Revolution**, which lasted in Europe from about 1760 to 1820, was marked by the predominance of Britain, the central importance of a new supply of energy from steam, and the production of textiles and iron in the factory setting.

The **Second Industrial Revolution** began in the later part of the nineteenth century in various parts of western Europe and produced modern applied science or technology. The chemical and petroleum industries especially came to the fore in this phase, and a new source of energy was developed: electricity. National leadership shifted gradually from Great Britain to Germany (after its formation in 1871) and the post–Civil War United States.

In our own time, industrial production has spread rapidly into many countries that were previously untouched, or almost so, by these revolutions. At the same time, the older industrial countries in the West have moved on to a postindustrial society, in which the production of goods in factories and their transport by railroad has given way in importance to the provision of services and information relying on electronic transmissions. We are, in fact, living through a Third Industrial Revolution symbolized and powered by the computer.

TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND IMPACTS OF EARLY INDUSTRY

During the later eighteenth century in Britain and France (where the records are best preserved), a massive, widespread change in social habits and relationships became apparent. The causes of this change are not well understood, but they seem to be linked with the arrival of Enlightenment science as a primary source of ethical guidance competing with religion. The beginnings of the Industrial Age



Royal Holloway and Bedford New College,
Surrey, UK/Bridgeman Art Library

RAIL STATION. This magnificent 1862 illustration by British painter W. Powell Frith captures the bustling activity of a Victorian-era station and the crowds glad to board the “iron horse.”



THE ROCKET, 1829. This engraving shows George Stephenson's locomotive as it traveled across the English countryside in 1829. Essentially a steam boiler laid on its side with pistons and wheels, the Rocket quickly outdistanced its stagecoach competitors between Liverpool and Manchester.

accelerated changes that had already begun. One striking example is the structure of the family and the household.

The Structure of the Family and Household

For most people, the family they are born into is the most important social institution in their lives. We tend to think of the family as unchanging: a man, a woman, and their children. But is this so? Historians once assumed that, for many centuries before industrialization, the European family had a standard structure that varied little. An extended kin group living under one roof, high rates of illegitimate children, and early universal marriage, so it was thought, characterized this family. Now, however, researchers have established that this stereotype of the preindustrial family is false. The characteristics that were assumed to be commonplace were in fact uncommon during the preindustrial centuries.

Instead, it is now clear that major changes in the family structure took place beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century *before* industry became common.

Three changes were particularly noticeable:

1. A lowering of the average age of marriage from the previous 27 for both men and women to about 22 for women and 23.5 for men by 1850.
2. A sharp increase in the number of children born outside of wedlock, beginning in the towns but soon becoming common also in the rural areas, where the majority of the population lived.
3. A steady increase in the previously low number of aged persons (over sixty) who had to be cared for by younger generations.

The Place of Children

Until the eighteenth century, only the wealthy or the nobility could afford to give much loving attention to infants or very young children. The reason was simple: The mortality rate for infants and children was so high that it discouraged people from putting much financial or emotional investment into them. In many places, three of five children of ordinary people would normally die before age ten, and another would die before age twenty.

Diseases of every type hit children (and the aged) harder than others. In times of famine, young children were often the first victims. Household and farm accidents of a lethal nature were an everyday affair among children (we frequently hear of children of that era drowning in the farm pond or the well, being kicked by a horse, getting cut by sharp tools, or being burned to death). In those days, when medical care for rural people was nonexistent and hospitals were feared, even minor burns or slight infections would become aggravated and often result in death, weeks or months later.

Therefore, the usual attitude toward the infant was a mix of indifference and a good deal of realistic caution about his or her prospects. Most peasants and workers viewed children below age seven or so as debit factors: They demanded time-consuming care and feeding without being able to contribute anything to the family resources. Only after they had become strong and rational enough to do adult work were they looked on as assets.

The urban classes and the wealthy could afford to take a more relaxed attitude toward children's work, but their emotional relations with the young child were about as distant as the peasant's. Urban children died as readily and as unpredictably as rural children. It only made "biological sense" to restrict maternal love and paternal pride to those children who were old enough to have a good chance of a long life. And for most people, the point of having children was to provide a primitive form of social security. Children were expected to see to it that their parents did not suffer the ultimate indignity of a beggarly old age or have to throw themselves on the charity of others when ill or disabled.

At some point between 1750 and 1850, a change became evident, as parents began to show what we now consider normal parental love and tenderness toward newborn and young children. This change occurred first in the better-off segment of society and then seeped downward into the lives of the majority. Why did it happen?

Several factors can be identified: the declining child mortality rate, which gradually increased the chances that a child would survive; the rising numbers of middle-class people who did not need the labor but valued children for their own sake; and the influence of educational reformers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, and Friedrich Herbert. These reformers insisted that children should be given more humane education and treated

as unformed, responsive individuals rather than contrary creatures whose naturally mischievous ways must be corrected by constant, strict discipline.

Another influence on the attitudes of adults toward young children was the introduction of general public instruction in state-supervised and funded schools, which began in Prussia and Austria, among other places, in the mid-1700s. Clearly, children worthy of being educated at parental tax expense were valuable for more than just serving as attendants in their parents' old age (for which the children needed no education).

Relations Between Men and Women

Marriage among the rural folk and most urbanites was still a contract between two families rather than the result of individual erotic attraction. But this, too, changed during the eighteenth century in Europe. Not only did people marry at an earlier age as the century progressed, but social relations among the young also became considerably freer. In the later eighteenth century, premarital sex without marriage plans seems to have occurred with increasing frequency. Both sexes, in countryside and town, were able to “get away” with behavior that the full weight of social opinion would previously have prevented. Why this happened is a subject of some debate among historians. Some say that a psychological sea-change occurred after 1750 that allowed new freedoms in the sexual sphere. Others—the majority—say that the young people simply seized the increasing opportunities that a more mobile society gave them to get together outside the watchful oversight of pastors, parents, and elders.

For most women, marriage was still the main career option, but demographic changes made it impossible for some women to marry. Although the number of males and females is about equal at birth, unmarried females begin to outnumber males after about age twenty-five. This discrepancy was larger in the past than now because males were affected disproportionately by accidents and violence. Consequently, there were fewer eligible males than females in the age cohort most likely to marry. Many women were never able to marry. These “spinsters” were common in all social strata except the very highest. Their married relatives often took shameless advantage of them, forcing them to work as child watchers, laborers, maids, and seamstresses in return for minimal room and board.

OCCUPATIONS AND MOBILITY

Although most people continued to work directly with and on the land (farming, tending orchards, fishing, timbering, shepherding), the number engaged in urban occupations and nonmanual work was gradually increasing by the 1750s. As methods of agriculture improved, large

estates could reduce the number of farm laborers they employed. These displaced persons could normally escape poverty only by moving away to a new life as wage earners in the towns.

Some small minority of these ex-farmers had the intelligence, drive, and luck to take up a skilled trade or nonmanual work, perhaps as bookkeepers, sales clerks, or schoolteachers (for which the only real qualification was semiliteracy). Any who could make their way into these occupations would move upward in the social scale and find the opportunity to better themselves by imitating the manners and ideas of the socially superior classes.

The rapidly increasing overseas commerce of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries extended the horizons of ambitious youths, a good many of whom had left their ancestral villages because they saw only too clearly what a miserable future awaited them there. Some of them ended up in one or another of the colonies, but the majority stayed at home, unable to bring themselves to take the leap into the dark that emigration entailed.

Because there were absolutely no government provisions to aid the needy, the threat of unemployment and of literal starvation was often very real. Many young men spent years teetering on the edge of the abyss before they had sufficiently mastered a trade, established themselves in business, or inherited some land to farm so that they could set themselves up as the head of a family household.

Female Occupations

Prior to the nineteenth century, women worked in a wide variety of occupations, but usually as trades apprentices in their own homes. However, the arrival of the Industrial Revolution narrowed their choices. There were essentially only two options: They could stay at home, hoping for a successful marriage to a local youth of their own class, or they could go into service—that is, join the millions of teenaged daughters of peasants and laborers who left home to become live-in servants. Practically every household, even relatively poor ones, had one or more servants. It was not at all unusual for a poor farmer's house to harbor one or two servant girls as well as a male laborer or two. No middle- or upper-class house in the nineteenth century was without its servant staff, mainly females from rural families who came to town to seek work. Sometimes the servants were related by blood or marriage to the household; sometimes not.

Many of these young women left their employers after shorter or longer periods of service, having found a suitable marriage partner with whom to “set up,” but many others stayed for life. They remained unmarried, contributing part of their meager wage to support the old folks in the village. Some of these women practically became members of the family and were cared for in their old age, but many were turned out like so many used-up horses when they became too old to work.

By the early nineteenth century, when factory work had become fairly common in Britain, young women also had the option of taking a job tending a machine. Entire families often staffed the earliest factories, but increasingly, young women and children replaced the male adults and family units in the unskilled jobs such as cotton spinning and mechanical weaving. The owners of the textile and shoe mills found that young women would work for lower wages than young men commanded and were more reliable. Many country girls preferred factory jobs—where they could be with their peers and have some freedom in their off hours—to going into domestic service with its many restrictions.

THE MIGRATION TO THE CITIES: URBANIZED SOCIETY

Throughout the Western world, a massive flight to the cities began in the eighteenth century and continued almost unchecked through the twentieth century. Most of the migrants from the countryside were young people in the prime of life. The precise reasons for this **urban migration** varied considerably from place to place and era to era, but three motives underlay it everywhere:

1. *Human curiosity and the desire for change.* The young in every culture are more open to change and more eager to embrace it than their elders. When it became relatively easy to move about and experience new things, new places, and new people, young people took advantage of the changed conditions.
2. *The desire to improve economic and social status.* The variety of occupations that the towns offered, the opportunity to gain at least a minimal education, and the belief that talent and ambition had a freer field in the town than in the ancestral village inspired many persons to move.
3. *The desire to find better marital partners.* Young women in particular—whose prospects of finding desirable husbands in their villages were tightly restricted by their families' demands and social standing and who could not easily rebel—took the opportunity to search elsewhere.

Beyond these subjective motivations, we should note the objective economic fact that, by the nineteenth century, the shift of an entire society from a rural to an urban majority was, for the first time in history, viable and sustainable. The gradual spread of commerce and long-distance communications and financial credit arrangements allowed towns to grow regardless of the local food-producing capacity. Bristol in England, Lyon in France, Brussels in Belgium, and Oslo in Norway, to cite some examples at random, no longer depended on the ability of the agricultural region close by to supply their daily bread and meat. They could—and did—get their supplies from Canada, Denmark, or wherever it was most convenient.

Urban Growth

In the eighteenth century, this urbanization of society was advancing rapidly: Among the metropolises, London's population rose from 700,000 in 1700 to about one million in 1800. Berlin tripled in size to about 175,000. Paris rose from about 300,000 to 500,000 in the same period. In every Western country, the number of towns with populations between 10,000 and 25,000 grew considerably. These towns served as important administrative, cultural, and economic centers for the provinces.

The bulk of the new industry and manufacturing was concentrated in these smaller towns as the Industrial Revolution gradually got under way. Land was cheaper there than in the great metropolises, and the smaller towns were usually closer to the sources of raw materials. Manchester, the English textile center, for example, had a population of about 7,000 in the 1740s. By 1790, the population had risen to about 25,000, and it gained at least 50 percent every decade for the next half century.

The census of 1851 showed that, for the first time, a majority of the people in England lived in an urban setting (that is, in places with more than 5,000 inhabitants). About 25 percent of the population of France and Germany lived in urban areas. But the percentage was lower in southern and eastern Europe, where industry was not yet established.

Urban Classes and Lifestyles

In the eighteenth-century towns, especially in Europe, social classes were quite distinct. At the top, dominating politics and setting the cultural tone, was the nobility. In western Europe and Scandinavia, aristocrats increasingly intermarried with wealthy commoners—bankers,



Private Collection/Ken Welsh/The Bridgeman Art Library

TEXTILE MILL WORKERS. This early photo shows the noisy and dangerous conditions of work in a mid-nineteenth-century mill. The many exposed machinery parts were constantly jamming, often at the expense of a worker's daily wages.

merchants, officials of the self-governing cities—and together they formed the governing group.

Beneath them was the urban upper-middle class, or classes, who included less-wealthy merchants, landlords, tradesmen, and professionals. These well-educated, upwardly mobile men and women constituted what the French called the *bourgeoisie*. Many of them opposed the pretensions of the nobles and their wealthy allies and were on a collision course with the aristocratic governors—a collision that finally exploded in the French Revolution at the end of the century.

Below the bourgeoisie were the lower-middle classes, also primarily urban, composed of clerks, artisans, skilled workers, and independent shopkeepers. They were desperately afraid of falling back into the class from which they had emerged: the workers who labored in semiskilled or unskilled jobs for an employer. The lower-middle classes mimicked their social betters among the bourgeoisie, a class to which they might ascend with luck, time, and good marriages.

This lower-middle class, more than the still relatively small and fragmented working classes, generated most of the social discontents that marked the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Only in the later nineteenth century, when the industrial working classes had become much larger and more important in the social structure, did they successfully assert themselves.

PUBLIC HEALTH

Although the lives of ordinary people were improving in several respects, in many areas conditions were hardly better at all. For example, although diet was generally improving, medical and surgical conditions showed little change over the century. Being admitted to a hospital was still almost a death warrant, and the poor would absolutely refuse to go, preferring to die at home. Doctoring was a hit-or-miss proposition, with primitive diagnosis backed up by even more primitive treatment. Surgery was a horror, with no pain deadener but whiskey until well into the nineteenth century. Amputations were the last resort in many cases, and the resultant wounds frequently became infected and killed the patient if shock had not already done so.

Doctors and pharmacists still did not receive formal training in schools of medicine. The trainees completed a haphazard apprenticeship with a doctor, who may or may not have known more than his apprentice. All sorts of quacks were active, bilking the public with their “Electrical Magnetic Beds” and “Elixirs of Paradise.” Both the educated and the uneducated had a low opinion of doctors.

Medical facts now taken for granted were unknown then. The functions of many of the internal organs, germ theory, the dangers of infection, and fever treatment were

still guesswork or not known at all. The mentally ill were just beginning to be given some treatment besides the traditional approach, under which violent patients were locked up under awful conditions and others were kept at the family home. All in all, the treatment of the human mind and body when they fell ill was hardly improved over what the Romans had done 2,000 years earlier. Some would say it was worse.

Housing and Sanitation

The most urgent problem facing the industrial towns in the early part of the nineteenth century was sanitation. In the dreary rows of cheap rental housing (hastily built largely by the mill and factory owners as an additional source of income), overcrowding to an incredible degree was commonplace. Even the most basic sanitary facilities were largely missing. Ventilation of interior rooms was nonexistent, and all types of infectious disease ran rampant. Tuberculosis (TB, or consumption) rapidly became the number-one cause of death in nineteenth-century Britain. It bred in the damp, unventilated back rooms and spread easily through the workers’ slums, where several people—often unrelated—crowded into every miserable abode. Privacy was impossible for the working class to obtain. Illegitimacy and incest were constant menaces to family cohesion and security. In report after report to the British Parliament in the 1830s and 1840s, shocked middle-class investigators noted that sleeping five and six



Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs Paris, France/Archive Chameau/The Bridgeman Art Library

SEVEN DIALS. This 1872 engraving by Gustave Doré captures the irrepressible vitality of the worst slum in London. Seven Dials was known far and wide as a thieves’ haven and a pickpocket’s bazaar. Some of the stolen wares were brazenly put on display for sale immediately, perhaps to the former owners.

to a bed was common, that boys and girls in their teens were frequently forced to sleep together for lack of space, and that greedy landlords regularly extracted the maximal rent by having several poverty-stricken families share tiny apartments.

Similar conditions were soon found on the Continent as industry spread. For many years, civic authorities were either unable or unwilling to tackle the huge tasks of ensuring decent living conditions for the poorer classes. (Recall that the poor did not yet have the vote anywhere.) Despite the relative youth of the new urban populations, towns and cities normally had a higher death rate than birthrate. Only the huge influx of new blood from the villages kept the towns expanding.

LIVING STANDARDS

As the Industrial Age began, the gap between the living conditions of the European rich and poor became wider than ever before in history. The aristocracy and the handful of wealthy commoners lived a luxurious and self-indulgent life. The higher nobility and court officials were expected to have squadrons of servants, meals with fourteen courses and ten wines, palaces in the towns and manors in the countryside, and personal jewelry whose value was equal to the yearly cash incomes of a whole province of peasants. Great wealth, although almost always hereditary, was thought to be a reward for merit that should be displayed as an intrinsic duty as well as honor.

The lifestyle of the urban middle classes was much more modest, although some of the richest, such as bankers, might have six times the income of the poorer aristocrats. Secure in their solid townhouses, surrounded by domestic servants, the members of the middle classes entertained modestly if at all and concentrated on their counting houses, investments, shops, businesses, and legal firms. They devoted much attention to their extensive families. The wife was expected to be a thrifty, farsighted manager of the household, and the husband was the source of authority for the children and the bearer of the most precious possession of all, the family honor.

For most people in urban areas, material life was gradually improving, but the lower fringes of the working classes and the many beggars, casual laborers, and wandering peddlers and craftspeople were hard put to keep bread on the table and their children in clothes. Poverty was perhaps never so grim in European cities as in the early nineteenth century, when it became more visible because of the much-increased numbers of abjectly poor, and it had not yet called forth the social welfare measures that would become common by the twentieth century. As industrial work began to become common in the towns, the uprooted ex-peasants who supplied most of the labor

often experienced a decline in living standards for a while, until they or their families found ways to cope with the demands of the factory and the town lifestyle. This decline could last for an entire first generation of migrants, and only their children benefited from the often-painful transition.

REFORMS AND IMPROVEMENTS

To the credit of the British aristocrats who still controlled Parliament, as early as the 1820s, after the war emergency had passed, several reform proposals to aid the working classes were introduced. By the 1830s, some of the worst abuses in the workplace were attacked. The **Factory Acts** of 1819 and 1833 limited the employment of young children and provided that they should be given at least a little education at their place of work. (Still, it remained entirely legal for a nine-year-old to do heavy labor for eight-hour workdays and for a thirteen-year-old to work twelve hours a day, six days a week!)

Women and boys under the age of ten were not permitted to work in the mines after 1842. Until then, women and young children did much of the deep underground work, which was highly dangerous and exhausting to anyone. In most textile manufacturing, physical strength was not as important as quickness and endurance. Women and children were paid much less than men demanded, and their smaller size allowed them to move about in the crowded machine halls with more agility than men. Boys as young as seven years of age were employed regularly in twelve- or thirteen-hour shifts until the passage of the 1833 act. The families of young working children often opposed and circumvented the reforms, which threatened to diminish the potential family income. No more substantial reform legislation was passed until the early twentieth century.

Little was done to improve basic sanitation in worker housing until the 1860s. In 1842, a pioneering report by Edwin Chadwick on the horrible conditions in the slums and how they might be corrected through modern sewage and water purification systems began to draw attention. But not until the great cholera scare of 1858, when London was threatened by a major outbreak of this lethal waterborne disease, was action taken. Then the upper and middle classes realized that although epidemic diseases such as cholera might originate in the slums, they could and would soon spread to other residential areas. At about the same time, the restructuring of its primitive sewer system allowed Paris for the first time to manage its waste disposal problem. Led by the English and French capitals, provincial city authorities soon began to plan and install equivalent systems. By the end of the nineteenth century, European city life was again reasonably healthy for all but the poorest slum dwellers.

SUMMARY

INDUSTRIAL METHODS OF PRODUCING GOODS via machinery entered European life gradually in the mid-eighteenth century, with England as the leader. The English had several natural advantages and social characteristics that enabled them to expand their lead over the rest of the world until well into the nineteenth century. This First Industrial Revolution was largely dependent on two related changes: the increase in agrarian production and the rapid rise in population and attendant demand for consumer goods. Without these, the factory system of concentrated labor under single management and discipline would not have been feasible.

The industrial system spread slowly at first because of the wars and the difficulty of replicating the English advantages. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, industrialization had spread into much of northern and western Europe and the United States. Coal mining and textiles were two of the initial industries to be affected, and the steam engine became the major energy source for all types of industry. The railroad, introduced in the 1830s, soon effected massive change in the transport of goods and people and contributed to the success of the industrial system in substantial ways. A Second Industrial Revolution commenced in the late nineteenth century, fueled by

petroleum and electricity, and a third is currently under way in the provision of services rather than goods.

The social change introduced by mechanized industry took many forms, affecting family relations, occupational mobility, urbanization, and diet. The family was changed by a decreasing age of marriage and a sharp rise in illegitimacy. Children came to be valued as creatures worthy of love in their own right. Several new occupations were opened to both men and women in factories and mills as industry spread, while the traditional servant jobs multiplied in the expanding cities and towns.

Living standards varied from an unprecedented opulence among the rich to an actual decline in the conditions for recent urban migrants. Slums appeared in the new industrial quarters, which were horribly lacking in basic sanitation and privacy. Nevertheless, to the working classes, the attractions of the towns were manifold and irresistible, particularly for those who sought a better life than the traditional social and economic restrictions that the villages offered. A richer and more varied diet even for the poor gradually made itself felt in better health. By the end of the nineteenth century, sanitation and workers' living and labor conditions had visibly improved.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Factory Acts	Second Industrial
factory system	Revolution
First Industrial Revolution	urban migration
"putting-out" system	

For Further Reflection

1. Why do we refer to the changes that came with industrialization as amounting to a "revolution"?
2. In what ways did the demand for finished goods like textiles and household wares result in *lower* prices for them? How did this (seemingly) contradict the law of supply and demand?
3. What is capital? What part did capital play in making the Industrial Revolution? Scholars have suggested that there was a relationship between European slavery and its Industrial Revolution. Is this true?
4. What relationship was there between Britain's empire and its Industrial Revolution?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- The basic aim of industrial production techniques is to
 - provide more employment opportunities for the labor force.
 - allow a greater variety of jobs.
 - lower the unit cost of production.
 - discipline and organize the labor force more efficiently.
 - move farm workers into cities to work in factories.
- James Watt was the inventor of
 - an entirely new form of mechanical energy.
 - the power loom for weaving.
 - a new machine called the "spinning jenny."
 - an improved and more flexible form of steam-driven machine.
 - a device for raising water from flooded mines.
- The chief driving force for the Industrial Revolution in eighteenth-century England was
 - the threat of being overshadowed by France in the world economy.
 - the invention of an improved source of energy.
 - the creation of the British overseas colonial empire.
 - the encouragement of the British government.
 - the development of the business corporation.
- The first major industry to feel the effect of industrial production was
 - lumbering.
 - railroads.
 - grain farming.
 - paper making.
 - textiles.
- Development of competitive industry on the Continent was delayed by
 - the Napoleonic wars and their attendant disruption of trade.
 - lack of interest.
 - the upper classes' contempt for profit making.
 - lack of suitable and basic natural resources.
 - the need for strong agrarian societies.
- Around the mid-eighteenth century, the European population
 - began to rise as a result of declining mortality and rising birthrates.
 - started to stabilize after a century of steady increase.
 - tapered off from the sharp decline that had marked the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
 - began to rise as a result of medical breakthroughs against epidemics.
 - suffered a severe drop because of emigration.
- Marriage in preindustrial European society could best be described as
 - a relationship based on love between two people.
 - a contractual relation formed mostly by economic and social aspirations.
 - a contractual relation that conformed closely to biological drives.
 - an economic relationship between two individuals.
 - a strategy to "cover" the sexual activities engaged in by the young anyway.
- An important function of children in preindustrial society was
 - to serve in the landlord's military forces.
 - to elevate themselves socially and thus honor their parents.
 - to bring grandsons into the world and so carry on the family name.
 - to pray for the departed souls of their deceased parents.
 - to serve as security for their parents in their old age.
- In the early industrial period, the most common employment for a female
 - involved prostitution at least part-time.
 - was as a domestic household servant.
 - was in one or another white-collar jobs.
 - was to substitute for a man temporarily as needed.
 - was as a field worker.
- The governing class in the cities in the eighteenth century was composed of
 - the aristocracy and the wealthiest commoners, who had intermarried.
 - the military commanders responsible to the royal government.
 - the masses of urban commoners who had obtained the vote.
 - the hereditary aristocracy.
 - the few young people who were financially able to attend universities.



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Advanced Industrial Society

THE SECOND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

New Energy Sources

New Forms of Business Organization

SOCIAL RESULTS OF THE SECOND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

SOCIALISM AFTER 1848: MARXISM

Marxist Theory

Marxist Organizations

RIVALS TO MARXISM

Reform and Revisionism

EMIGRATION OVERSEAS

Destinations

Types of Emigrants

THROUGHOUT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, the West (that is, western Europe and the United States) was clearly the dominant factor in world political and military developments. And this colonial subordination of much of the rest of the globe to Europe was a reflection above all of the West's large and increasing lead in technology and economic organization. In the half century between 1860 and World War I, Europe and the United States themselves went through a peaceful change of massive dimensions. As in the eighteenth century, a dual revolution was propelled by a shift in the sources of energy, which was then reflected in social organization and national politics. As the First Industrial Revolution was driven by steam, the Second Industrial Revolution was driven by petroleum and electricity. These two energy sources transformed urban life and made the city clearly the dominant social organism. Urban areas produced new businesses, new organizations of workers, new professions, and new lifestyles.

In these decades, socialism became for the first time a major force in several countries. As enunciated by Marx, it posed a severe threat from below to the combined aristocratic/bourgeois rule that had become the norm in European politics and economies. Also, while the non-Western world was being incorporated into the new financial and commercial system, Europeans were emigrating in massive numbers to selected areas of the globe, primarily for economic reasons. The Americas, and particularly the United States, were the favored destinations.

Hence all society would appear to arrange itself into four different classes: (1) those that will work, (2) those that cannot work, (3) those that will not work, and (4) those that need not work.

—Henry Mayhew

1848	<i>Communist Manifesto</i>
c. 1850–c. 1910	Massive emigration from Europe
c. 1870s	Second Industrial Revolution begins
1870s–1914	Urbanization increases; labor unions and mass democratic politics emerge; Marxist socialism strengthens

THE SECOND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

As in the late eighteenth century, population growth and rising demand for consumer goods necessitated new energy sources. Europe's overall population, exclusive of Russia, rose from 265 million to 401 million in the second half of the nineteenth century (see Map 33.1). Despite the stabilization of the average western European family at 2.5 children at the end of the century—the eastern Europeans were substantially more fertile—the previous huge population increase, combined with a sharp rise in real income, created a large market for consumer goods and services of all types.

A definite rise in material standards of living was visible throughout Europe west of Russia. With fewer children's hands now necessary for labor, those who were born at this time profited from better public health and nutrition to live longer, healthier lives. They could and did consume more. Goods that were almost unknown in European workers' houses in the early 1800s now became common: machine-produced footwear and clothes, nursing bottles for babies, gas or electric lighting, and books and newspapers.

Adding to this internal market was the rapidly expanding overseas market, both in the European colonies and in some of the independent nations of America and Asia. The surge of imperial ventures that began in the 1850s brought major increases in the availability of raw materials as well as the number of potential consumers in the Asian and African marketplaces. The volume of world trade shot upward in the later nineteenth century, and the West controlled that trade entirely. Britain, Germany, and the United States were the main beneficiaries.

New Energy Sources

The big lead in industrial production that Great Britain had established in the early nineteenth century gradually narrowed after 1850. Belgium and northern France were the centers of the Continent's initial industries, followed by parts of Germany and Italy. After the unification of those two countries, their industrial growth accelerated sharply. As an important example, Germany's steel and iron production exceeded Britain's by 1893 and was almost double British production by 1914.

Whole new industries sprang up, seemingly overnight. Chemicals, oil refining, steamship building, turbines and electrical machinery, and, toward the end of the 1890s, the automobile industry, are outstanding examples. But perhaps the most important of all the new developments was the taming and application of electricity to both industrial and domestic uses.

Electricity had been recognized as a potentially useful natural phenomenon since the eighteenth century (the

days of Ben Franklin), but no practical use could be made of it then. In the 1870s, this situation changed dramatically as a result of the work of German, American, and French researchers. The development of generators and transformers allowed direct current to be sent wherever desired, cheaply and efficiently, and then transformed into easily used, safe, alternating current. The first big urban power plant was constructed in 1881, and electric power was soon being used to light streets, power trams, and bring artificial light into hundreds of thousands of city homes and factories. Soon after, electrical machinery was being used in thousands of industrial applications. Electric railways and subway systems were introduced in every major European city by the 1890s. Probably no other series of inventions has ever contributed so much to easing the physical labor and improving the material life of ordinary people.

Petroleum was the second new energy source. The internal combustion engine, which drew its power from the controlled explosion of gasoline injected into cylinders, was invented in 1876. Although it was clearly an impressive means of producing energy, its full potential was not apparent until the German engineers Daimler and Benz put the engine on a carriage and connected the cylinder pistons to the wheels. Benz's work in the late 1880s is generally credited with the emergence of the gasoline-powered automobile as a practical, reliable mode of transport, although literally dozens of other German, French, American, and British experimenters also contributed in major fashion to its development.

Petroleum and its by-product, natural gas, were to have many other uses, including lighting, heating, and driving stationary engines and pumps. From petroleum also came a whole range of important new chemicals. Then as now, Europe west of Russia had very little oil and depended on imports from other places. American capital (Rockefeller's Standard Oil) and American exploration and drilling techniques soon led the world in the race for oil production.

The Second Industrial Revolution depended largely on scientific research. The Germans with their well-equipped university and industrial laboratories quickly took over the lead in this area and held it without serious competition for many years. Their carefully organized and well-funded research enabled the Germans to dominate new European industry after 1870. The British, the former leaders, were slow to realize that the rules of industrial competition had changed. They put little money into research, from either government or private hands. By 1890, Britain's technological expertise and innovation were falling steadily behind Germany's, and this growing gap had much to do with the rising competition between the two countries in political and diplomatic affairs.

New Forms of Business Organization

New forms of business organization accompanied the new energy applications. In the first century of the



MAP 33.1 European Population Growth in the Nineteenth Century

The Italian Peninsula and parts of central and eastern Europe saw the most dramatic increases in population density during the eighty-year period from 1820 to 1900. In some rural areas in these lands, the lack of industry and the poor soil productivity had created an overpopulation crisis that was only ameliorated by emigration. Government was caught up in conflict with itself; emigration was discouraged and made difficult by national policy (particularly in Russia), while local authorities promoted it. In the latter third of the century, most of the younger male residents of whole villages and counties emigrated to the New World. Some intended to return—and did so—but the majority stayed in their new homelands.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

How do you account for the dramatic growth in Europe's population in this 80-year span of time?

Industrial Age (1760–1860), the standard form of industry had been the private partnership or proprietorship. It was limited deliberately to a small handful of owner-managers, some of whom might work alongside their employees in the office or even on the shop floor. When more capital was needed for expansion, it was borrowed on a short-term basis for specific needs. The public was not invited in, and the banks and investment companies were not partners but only facilitators in arranging funds.

In the **Second Industrial Revolution** (c. 1860–1920), the **corporation** rather than the partnership became the standard, and banks, which thus became part owners of the company, often permanently financed the corporation. *Joint stock companies*, whose shares were traded on public stock exchanges in every European capital, were formed to raise huge amounts of capital from the investing public. The shareholders were technically the owners of the company, but, in fact, they had little or nothing to say about management policy, which was the purview of a board of directors with whom the investor normally had no contacts. This separation of ownership and management was one of the most striking changes in business and commerce of all sorts in the later nineteenth century, and it continues to the present.

SOCIAL RESULTS OF THE SECOND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Second Industrial Revolution accelerated several trends that had begun during the first. Four were particularly important:

1. **Urbanization.** The outstanding feature in Western demography throughout the nineteenth century was the rapid growth of urban areas. Britain was the first European country to urbanize. In 1851, the census revealed that more than half of the English people lived in towns and cities. (At this time, by comparison, only 22 percent of Americans were urban dwellers.) By 1900, Britain alone had more cities with populations of more than 100,000 than there had been on all of the Continent in 1800. Industrial jobs were a major reason for migration to the cities, but they were by no means the only reason. Better education, leisure activities, and marital prospects were also strong incentives.
2. **Organization of labor.** After the failure of revolutions, the workers on the Continent rarely attempted to gain better conditions by street riots or mass demonstrations. Instead, they took to organizing

labor unions, which would fight for improvements in a legal way and attempt to gain government support against abusive employers. In so doing, the Continental workers were following the lead of the British, who had attempted to win reforms in their conditions of life and labor through the **Chartist movement** of the 1840s. Although conservative resistance and police repression frustrated their short-term goals, the Chartists initiated long-term change both in and outside Parliament toward greater democracy and fairer distribution of the country's wealth.

In the 1870s, Great Britain became the first major country to fully legalize labor unions, giving them the right to strike, picket, and boycott. In the 1880s, France took the same course, and in 1890, Germany did also. By the turn of the twentieth century, all western European nations except Spain and Portugal had conceded the rights of labor to use all nonviolent means available in the struggle for a better life.

3. **Social reforms.** The unions did give the laboring classes a new and fairly effective way to express their grievances and sometimes win redress for them. By 1914, few workers had to endure the sort of systematically inhumane working conditions that were common during the First Industrial Age. Child labor laws and industrial safety regulations were now common and enforced by both national and local authorities. A few countries had some provisions for worker employment security and pensions. (Bismarck's Germany led in these respects.) The government, if not the employer, frequently even provided worker health and accident insurance.

The early unions were sometimes socialist in orientation, sometimes not. By the 1890s, however, the Marxist revolutionary socialists were close to taking over the labor movement in several key countries. (The United States was a notable exception; Marxism was never popular there.) This action frightened many employers and their partners in government, and they attempted to suppress or intimidate the socialist leaders. The last decade before World War I saw many bitter disputes between management and labor all over Europe and in the United States. Labor violence was common.

4. **Mass democratic politics.** An important effect of industrial life was the coming of mass politics and parties. In the last third of the century, almost all European governments as well as the United States allowed all of their male citizens to vote, regardless of property qualifications: Germany in 1871, France in 1875, Britain in 1884, and Spain in 1890.



SUFFRAGETTES. One of the many early twentieth-century demonstrations for women's voting rights, this one in the United States. In most cases, Western countries did not grant female suffrage until after World War I.

Only Russia, Hungary, and Italy stood firm against universal male suffrage as late as 1905. By the outbreak of World War I in 1914, all of Europe had male universal suffrage. This advance strongly stimulated the formation of large, tightly organized political parties. Before that time, the people who had the vote were property holders, relatively well educated, and generally aware of the issues of national politics. They did not need an organization to get out the vote, because they knew very well what was at stake in elections and made voting a major part of their public lives.

Now, the much-enlarged number of voters had to be informed about the issues and organized into groups that would identify their interests—and act on them. The vehicle for doing this was a mass political party, equipped with newspapers, local organizations and offices, speakers, and propaganda material. Most of the new voters were men of the working classes, and the new parties concentrated their efforts on them.

SOCIALISM AFTER 1848: MARXISM

The failure of the 1848 revolts inspired much analysis. National antagonisms and the passivity of the country folk were important, but the chief reason, all contemporary observers agreed, was the split between the liberal leaders—professionals and intellectuals—and the urban working classes. This split allowed the conservatives to gain a breathing space after their initial panic and then

mount a political and military counterattack that was successful almost everywhere (see Chapter 34).

Why did the split between the middle-class liberals and the workers occur? The liberals generally did not want social reforms. They only wanted to substitute themselves for the conservatives in the seats of political power. The workers, on the other hand, were economically desperate and wished to gain for themselves the type of thoroughgoing change in the alignments of power that the French peasants had won in the wake of the 1789 revolution. When it became clear to the liberals that the workers wanted to go much further down the revolutionary road, they withdrew to the sidelines or actually joined with the conservatives, as happened in Vienna, Paris, and Berlin. In the end, the protection of property meant more than political or social ideals.

Marxist Theory

One close observer of this development was **Karl Marx** (1818–1883). A German Jew whose family had been assimilated into Prussian Protestantism, Marx grew up in the Rhineland town of Trier. Soon after his graduation from the University of Berlin in 1842, he became deeply involved in radical politics. Pursued by the Prussian police, he had to leave his native city and flee to France as a political refugee. There, he came to know his lifelong colleague, Friedrich Engels, the wealthy, radical son of a German industrialist. The two men formed a close working relationship that was ideal for Marx, who devoted his entire adult life to research and writing and organizing revolutionary socialist parties (see Patterns of Belief).

In 1848, Marx and Engels published perhaps the most famous pamphlet in all of European history: the **Communist Manifesto**. Marx predicted the coming of a new social order, which he called *communism*, as an inevitable reaction against the abuses of bourgeois capitalism. When this order would come, he did not predict, but he clearly expected to see communist society arise within his lifetime. It was equally clear that Marx and Engels expected that communism would be born in a violent revolution by the industrial workers, the proletariat who had been reduced to abject misery and had little or no hope of escaping it as long as capital ruled (see the Law and Government box).

The proletarian revolution was inevitable, according to Marx, and the only questions were the precise timing and how those who wished to be on the side of progress and justice might help it along. Marx issued an invitation to all righteous persons to join with the ignorant and miserable proletariat in hastening the day of triumph. Once the revolution of the downtrodden was successful in gaining political power, a “dictatorship of the proletariat” (not further defined) was to be created, which would preside over the gradual transformation to a just society.

What was the ultimate goal of Marxist revolution? According to Marx, it was a communist society, in which

PATTERNS OF BELIEF

KARL MARX (1818–1883)

“The critical thing is not to understand the world, but to change it!”

With this maxim as his polestar, philosopher Karl Marx became the most notorious, most quoted, and most influential social reformer of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The recent demise of that distortion of his ideas called Soviet communism has put his name and reputation under a heavy cloud from which they may never recover. But for 150 years, Marx and Marxism provided much of the world's dissatisfied citizenry with what they perceived to be their best hope of better times.

Marx was born into a well-to-do Jewish family in Trier, Germany, which at that time was part of the kingdom of Prussia. He studied at the universities of Bonn and Berlin, where his major interest was philosophy, but his interests soon expanded to include economics and sociology, two sciences that were still in their infancies. By the mid-1840s, he was slowly shaping his radical critique of contemporary European society by drawing on all three disciplines: German philosophy, English economics, and French social thought.

Prevented by his Jewish background from realizing his original plan of teaching in a university, Marx returned to Trier after graduating from the University of Berlin. In 1842, he opened a small newspaper, the *Rhenish Gazette*, which was dedicated to promoting social and political reform. He soon got into trouble with the conservative authorities and had to flee to escape arrest. He lived briefly in Paris, where he came to know his lifelong supporter, Friedrich Engels, son of a wealthy German manufacturer. Engels and Marx collaborated on the *Communist Manifesto*, which was published just weeks before the 1848 revolutions.

Soon, Marx aroused the suspicions of the French authorities and had to move on. An attempt to enter German politics as a revolutionary leader failed, and again Marx had to flee his native country, this time to London, where Engels was ready to help. Marx spent the rest of his life in English exile, living in genteel poverty with his German wife and several children.

The world around Marx was in the throes of the first wave of industrialism, and it was not an attractive place for most working people. Air and water pollution were common in the factory towns and in the working-class sections of the cities. Public health was neglected, medical help was restricted to the well-to-do, and welfare facilities of any type were almost nonexistent.

Women and children worked at exhausting jobs for very low pay, and workers were frequently fired without warning to make room

for someone else who agreed to work for less.

Neither law nor custom protected the workers' rights against their employers, and among the employers, cut-throat competition was the rule. Government intervention to ensure a “level playing field” in the marketplace was unknown. When governmental power was occasionally utilized, it was always in favor of the status quo, which meant against the workers.

Marx observed this scene closely and was convinced that the situation must soon erupt in proletarian revolution. The explosion would come first in the most advanced industrial countries, which meant at this time Britain, parts of Germany and France, and possibly the United States. While Engels provided financial assistance, Marx dedicated many years to working out a theory of history and social development that would make sense of the chaos and allow a rational hope of a better world in the future. Eventually, he produced *Das Kapital* (or *Capital*), the bible of scientific socialism, which was published in the original German in 1867 and translated into most European languages by the

latter nineteenth century. Almost all of the work was done in the Reading Room of the British Museum, which Marx visited with clocklike regularity for decades.

In 1864, Marx organized the International Workingmen's Association. This so-called First International lasted only a few years before it collapsed in internal arguments about how the revolution of the proletariat should best be accomplished. Marx was always a headstrong character and was most unwilling to allow others to have their say. Like many prophets, he came to think that any who disagreed with him were ignorant or malicious. Engels was one of the few intimates who remained faithful to the master to the end.

In 1883, Marx died in the same poverty in which he had lived in the London suburb of Hampstead for most of his life. At his death, the proletarian revolution seemed further away than ever, but the movement was slowly growing. It would make giant strides in several countries in the 1890s; and in far-off Russia, a country that Marx held in contempt for its backwardness, a certain Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov, better known as Lenin, was studying *Capital* with an eye toward the Russian future.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What theory or philosophy do you think has taken the place of Marxist socialism as a hope for the world's exploited and oppressed workers? Or do you think that Marxism has not been defeated, but only temporarily rejected as a social philosophy?



MARX AND ENGELS. This rare picture shows Karl Marx with his daughters and lifelong collaborator, Friedrich Engels.

Topfoto/The Image Works



private control/ownership of the means of production would be abolished and men and women would essentially be equal and free to develop their full human potential. For the first time in history, said Marx, the old boast of the Greeks that “Man is the measure of all things” would be fulfilled. A society would be created in which “the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.” At the time, no government took notice of the *Communist Manifesto*. During the 1850s and 1860s, Marx and Engels gradually emerged as two of the leading socialist thinkers and speakers. From his London base (England had the most liberal political association and censorship laws in Europe), Marx worked on his great analysis of mid-nineteenth-century industrial society, *Capital* (1867–1873). This work was the basis of Marx’s boast that his socialism was scientific, unlike the utopian (that is, impractical) socialism of earlier days.

Marx was a child of his times. The 1840s were the “dismal decade,” years of the crudest exploitation of the workers by greedy or frightened employers. They were frightened because many were being driven to the wall by the relentless competition of the free market. As these small business owners desperately looked for ways to lower production costs, they usually resorted to reducing wages. Because what Marx called a “reserve army” of starving unemployed workers was always ready to work at almost any wage, the most elementary job security was totally absent. The result was often an extremely low pay scale for the semiskilled and unskilled workers who made up most of the early industrial labor force. Marx was not alone in believing that this condition would persist until it was changed by militant force from below.

Marxist Organizations

When the Paris Commune arose in the wake of the lost war with Prussia in 1871, Marx mistakenly thought that the dawn of social revolution had come and enthusiastically greeted the radical oratory of the *Communards*. The Commune was speedily crushed, but socialist parties came into being everywhere after 1871 and grew steadily over the next decades. By the end of the century, the socialists were the primary voice of the industrial working class in most countries. Their common denominator was a demand for radical rearrangement of the existing socio economic order. Some of these parties were anti-Marxist in doctrine, either preferring some form of anarchism (see the next section) or wishing to operate mainly through labor unions (a tendency that Marx anathematized as mere reformism), but most were Marxist and subscribed to the principles laid out in *Capital* by the master.

The most important socialist parties were in Germany, Austria, Belgium, and France. In southern Europe, they were outnumbered by anarchists and syndicalists (see

the next section). In Britain and the United States, no socialist party had a wide following, and in Russia, the Marxists were still a tiny exile group at the end of the century.

RIVALS TO MARXISM

In Mediterranean Europe and Russia, the theory of politics called **anarchism** captured many minds. Anarchism is the rejection of the state and the powers that the modern state exercises over its citizenry. Its followers believe that all government is necessarily prone to corruption. Only such authority as is necessary to avoid conflict over the property or civil rights of the citizens should be surrendered by the citizens to their government. Even then, the least possible authority should be granted, and only on a small-scale, localized basis. Anarchists simply do not trust any government. They believe that sooner or later every government will succumb to the temptation to restrict its citizens’ freedoms without just cause.

As a theory, anarchism goes back to the ancient Greeks, but the modern founders of anarchism are Frenchman Pierre Proudhon, whom we shall encounter in Chapter 34, and Russian Michael Bakunin (1827–1876). Bakunin developed the *propaganda of the deed*, the idea that a dramatic, violent act was the most effective way to gather converts for anarchism. The deeds his followers performed were acts of political terror: They carried out bombings and assassinations in the hopes of shaking the structures of government from the top down. In the two decades between 1885 and 1905—the high point of anarchism—about 300 notable lives were sacrificed to this belief, including several reigning kings and queens, prime ministers, presidents (including U.S. president William McKinley in 1901), and assorted generals.

Was the propaganda of the deed successful? It succeeded nowhere. Both governments and popular opinion reacted strongly against the terrorists. Eventually, the theory of anarchism itself became discredited because of its association with political murders. After World War I, little was heard of it until the 1960s.

Syndicalism is a form of political action by the working classes. It is founded on the belief that only the laboring classes and peasants should govern, because only they contribute a substantial asset to society through their work. Instead of the false verbal sparring and make-believe of the political parties, the laborers must create a large-scale association of persons employed in the same type of work. This association, called a *syndicate*, would represent the economic and social interests of the members and confer with other syndicates to find common political means for progress in economics and justice in society. Like anarchism, and unlike communism, syndicalism did not wish to abolish private property but to limit its political power and distribute it more evenly.

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

The most well-known of the nineteenth century's various revolutionary challenges was the manifesto produced by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848 as a platform for the tiny Communist League they had recently founded in London. Most later Marxist doctrine appeared in the following essay in capsule form. The excerpts here mainly concern the theory of the formation of classes and the struggle between them in history:

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. . . . The modern bourgeois society. . . has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing one another: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat. . . .

The bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of modern industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. . . .

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital developed, in the same proportion as the proletariat, the modern working class, developed; a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. . . .

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine. . . . In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

What the bourgeoisie produces above all, are its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Working men of all countries, Unite!

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Do you agree that class struggles have largely defined history, especially in modern times? Do you think that a just society can be reached through violent revolution? Can it *only* be reached through violent revolution?

Source: Excerpted from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (New York: Signet Classic, 1998).



You can read more of *The Communist Manifesto* online.



Syndicalism was stronger than socialism in Spain and Portugal and was a strong rival to it among the peasantry in Italy and France. Syndicalist government offered the poorly paid and insecure working classes and small peasants a theoretical way upward without going to the socialist extreme of class warfare and the abolition of private property. It never succeeded in establishing control of a national government.

Reform and Revisionism

In Great Britain, the labor force was never much attracted to either socialism or its rivals as solutions to the dual problems of concentrated wealth and concentrated poverty. Instead, British workers in the later nineteenth century focused on gaining higher pay and better working conditions through a moderate reformism that centered on the right to strike

and organize unions. In 1906, the reformist, non-Marxist **Labour Party** was formed on a platform of more equitable distribution of wealth. The new party gradually attracted the vote of most union members and much of the lower middle class. It was able to replace the Liberal Party as the main opponent of the Conservatives after World War I.

In the 1880s, Chancellor Bismarck attempted to crush the appeal of socialism in Germany by an attack on two fronts. First, he outlawed the Marxist socialist party, which had been organized in 1875, claiming that it was a revolutionary group that intended to ultimately destroy the state. Then he tried to show that socialism was unnecessary because the powerful and progressive German state would look out adequately for the workers' welfare. During the 1880s, a series of new laws instituting unemployment insurance, accident and health protection, and worker pensions made Bismarck's Germany the most progressive state in the world in terms of social policy.

The blunt attack on the Marxists did not succeed. After a few years, there were more German socialists than ever, and in 1890, the antisocialist law was repealed as a failure. The German Social Democratic Party (SD) steadily gained votes, attracting not only workers but also the lower middle classes and civil servants. With several newspapers, a tight network of local offices, and an extensive member/financial base in the German labor unions, the German party set the pace for socialists throughout Europe.

In 1899, a leading SD theorist, Eduard Bernstein, published a book in which he claimed that the SDs would soon become strong enough to take over the state in peaceful, constitutional fashion. Socialism would then be introduced through the workings of a parliament and government controlled by the Marxists. Thus, the idea of violent revolution in the streets was outmoded. According to Bernstein, Marx (who had died sixteen years earlier) could not foresee that capitalism would be so altered by democracy that the workers would be able to counter it through the ballot rather than on the barricades. The triumph of social justice could and should be obtained without bloodshed.

This idea was heatedly denounced by many in the **Second International**, the Europe-wide association of socialists founded in 1889, but the theory attracted the party leadership in the more industrially advanced countries, especially in Germany and France. By the coming of World War I, **revisionism** (the adaptation of Marxist socialism that aimed to introduce basic reform through parliamentary acts rather than through revolution) was a strong rival to orthodox Marxism as the true path to the workers' paradise.

EMIGRATION OVERSEAS

The largest human migration in world history took place from Europe to overseas destinations during the second half of the nineteenth century. What caused this world-reshaping move? In general, the triggers were economic,

but the emigrations began with the political upheavals of 1848, when tens of thousands of Germans and Austrians looked to America for the freedoms they feared they would never have in their homelands.

From about 2.5 million in the 1850s, total net emigration from Europe rose each decade until it peaked in the years just before World War I. By then, about 12 million people had left Europe in a ten-year period, a number about equal to the entire population of Scandinavia at that time. The war shut this stream down almost completely, and it never again reached those dimensions. In all, some 60 million Europeans emigrated during the nineteenth century and did not return. (Return to the homeland was common: About one of three emigrants to the United States eventually returned to the home country for reasons ranging from homesickness to deportation.)

Destinations

Where were all of these people headed? The river of emigrants flowed mainly to the New World, but Australia, New Zealand, and Siberia (for Russians exclusively) were also important destinations. The French colony of Algeria and the British colony of South Africa also attracted large groups of emigrants. (See Figure 33.1.)

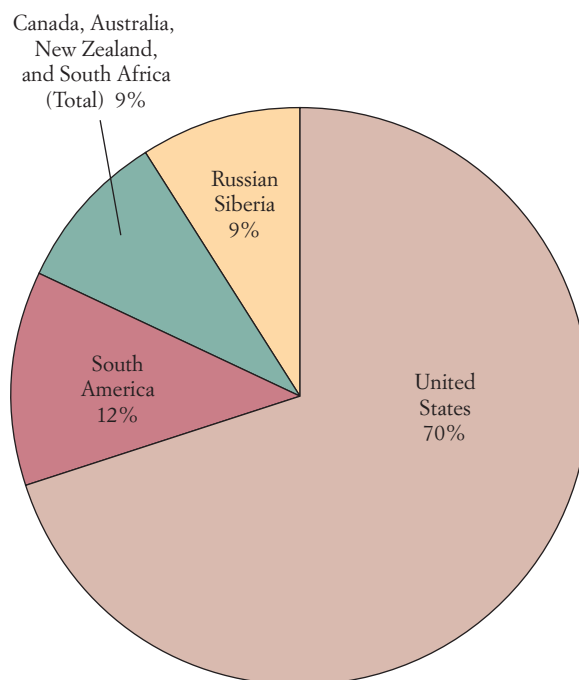


FIGURE 33.1 *European Emigrants' Destinations, 1800–1960.* The United States was easily the most preferred destination, with South America (mainly Argentina and Brazil) a distant second. What countries did the emigrants leave? Great Britain and Ireland supplied about 33 percent of the total; Italy, about 30 percent; and the rest of Europe, the remainder. The ethnic balance shifted steadily from northern and western Europe to southern and eastern as the nineteenth century matured. At the peak of European emigration in the decade just before World War I, an average of about 1.2 million emigrated annually.



Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

IMMIGRANTS IN THE REGISTRATION HALL AT ELLIS ISLAND. This 1910 photo captures the human faces of some of the millions of immigrants who poured through the huge New York immigrant facility, which is now a museum. By this time, the dominant nationalities were Italian and eastern European. New York City's population was more than one-third foreign-born during this era.

In terms of proportionate impact on a given nation, Argentina was the most dramatic example of immigration in the world. About 3 percent of the total Argentine population arrived from Europe (mostly Spain and Italy) every year in the early twentieth century—three times the rate that the United States gained from the same source. But in absolute terms, the United States was easily the most popular single destination. It received about 45 percent of the grand total of immigrants worldwide during the nineteenth century.

Why did these emigrants leave? First and foremost, they were seeking better economic conditions. The rise and fall of emigration rates corresponded closely to European business cycles. In hard times, more left for the “land of golden opportunities,” but a large proportion left because they were dissatisfied with domestic political and social conditions and had little faith that the future held any more promise than the present.

Types of Emigrants

Who were the emigrants? Most were not the very poor or ignorant. Instead, they were people who had been able to save a little or had relatives who were better off and helped them get a start. Many were small farmers who had too little land to ever get much farther up the ladder and feared for their sons' future when that little would be divided by inheritance. Some were skilled craftsmen, who believed that guild-type restrictions would prevent them from becoming independent entrepreneurs. Some were educated people who saw no chance of fully using their



American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library

LOWER EAST SIDE OF NEW YORK. This “slice of life” shows Mulberry Street, one of the chief street markets in slum New York, in about 1869. Much of the population of such neighborhoods spent little of the day inside their cramped apartments if they could help it.

education in a class-bound society. In the later phases of the movement, the poor and ignorant also began to leave, assisted by relatives who had emigrated earlier and had managed to establish themselves in their new lands. Unmarried young men were the largest single contingent of emigrants, followed by young girls, usually the sisters and/or fiancées of males already in the new country.

The ethnic origins of the emigrants varied by chronology of departure. Most of those who left for the New World in the mid-nineteenth century were from Britain, Ireland, and Germany. In the later decades, they tended to be from eastern and southern European countries. By World War I, the Austro-Hungarians, Russians, Poles, and, above all, the Italians supplied the great bulk of the emigrants. A disproportionate number were Jews from the Russian empire (including Poland) who were fleeing ethnic persecution.

By the later nineteenth century, in the industrial economies of northern and western Europe, the working classes could find reasonably secure factory and white-collar jobs. Hence, they were less likely to emigrate than the unemployed and underemployed peasants and laborers of eastern and southern Europe. As a rule, the more literate and better prepared went to North America, Australia, or South Africa. South America received mainly those with lesser prospects.

SUMMARY

A **SECOND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION** WAS fueled by the electrical and petroleum industries and the myriad uses to which these new sources of energy were applied in the last third of the nineteenth century. The newly developed corporation replaced the partnership, and banks and joint stock companies became the usual means of raising capital in this same period.

In this second phase of industrialization, mass political parties became commonplace throughout western Europe. They sometimes represented newly organized labor and were almost always based in the rapidly expanding urban centers. By 1900, most industrial countries had introduced

the universal male franchise. These developments contributed to the steady gains of socialism, particularly the Marxist variety after about 1880. Karl Marx's theories posited inevitable class warfare and a revolution of the proletariat against its capitalist oppressors. At the end of the century, this view was increasingly challenged by revisionism and/or other rivals in the search for a more just distribution of national wealth.

The later nineteenth century also saw the most extensive emigration in recorded history, as up to 60 million Europeans opted to leave their homelands permanently and travel to the New World or other areas for better economic or political prospects.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

anarchism	Revisionism
Chartist movement	Second Industrial
<i>Communist Manifesto</i>	Revolution
corporation	Second International
Labour Party	Syndicalism
Karl Marx	

For Further Reflection

1. Why do you suppose that Britain, the first nation to industrialize, never experienced the violent revolutions that mainland Europe suffered in the mid-nineteenth century?
2. How did the efforts at social and political reform reflect the changing social and economic climate in early industrial Europe?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions in CengageNOW and on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The Second Industrial Revolution generated
 - a. worker revolts in 1848.
 - b. capitalist exploitation of the workers to the maximum extent possible.
 - c. industrial research and electrical energy.
 - d. mining and iron making.
 - e. scientific experimentation.
2. The countries that were in the forefront of the Second Industrial Revolution were
 - a. Britain and the United States.
 - b. the United States and Germany.
 - c. Japan and the United States.
 - d. Germany and Britain.
 - e. Japan and Britain.
3. The most important of the new forms of business emerging in the late nineteenth century was the
 - a. partnership.
 - b. proprietorship.
 - c. nonprofit company.
 - d. corporation.
 - e. savings and loan industry.
4. Labor unions first gained the legal right to organize and to strike in
 - a. Germany.
 - b. the United States.
 - c. Britain.
 - d. Holland.
 - e. France.

5. The first European country to pass laws providing for universal male suffrage was
 - a. Italy.
 - b. Britain.
 - c. France.
 - d. Spain.
 - e. Germany.
6. Which of the following pairs is logically incorrect?
 - a. Karl Marx and scientific socialism
 - b. Eduard Bernstein and revisionist socialism
 - c. Michael Bakunin and anarchism
 - d. Pierre Proudhon and anarchism
 - e. All of these are paired correctly.
7. Which of these systems of government would operate only under the auspices of the laboring classes and the peasants?
 - a. Communism
 - b. Socialism
 - c. Anarchism
 - d. Legalism
 - e. Syndicalism
8. The bulk of the European emigrants of the nineteenth century were
 - a. landless laborers seeking a new start in North and South America.
 - b. dissatisfied small farmers, businessmen, artisans, and skilled laborers.
 - c. Jews and others fleeing political persecution.
 - d. relatively successful shop owners, artisans, and white-collar workers.
 - e. wealthy families who wanted the benefits of living in the world's most modern nation.
9. In the early twentieth century, the country supplying the largest number of emigrants to the United States was
 - a. Germany.
 - b. Ireland.
 - c. Russia.
 - d. Italy.
 - e. France.
10. Which of the following was *not* a new phenomenon in the late nineteenth century?
 - a. The corporation as the dominant form of business organization
 - b. The spread of anarchist philosophy
 - c. A dramatic rise in emigration to the United States from Europe
 - d. Revision of the Marxist plan of violent revolution
 - e. The growth of political parties



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34

Europe: New Ideas and New Nations

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THE UNIFICATION OF THE GERMANIES

THE MULTINATIONAL EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

THE UNITED STATES IN THE INDUSTRIAL AGE

THE MODERN NATION-STATE

The folk learn more from a defeat than the kings do from a victory.

—Alessandro Manzoni

1815–1850	Economic liberalism, conservatism, nationalism, and socialism emerge
1830	July Revolution (France): Louis Philippe (1830–1848)
1832	Reform Act in Great Britain
1848	Popular revolts in France, Austria, Prussia, Italy
1849–1850	Failure of revolts; conservatives regain control
1851–1871	Louis Napoleon (Napoleon III): Second Empire (France)
1853–1856	Crimean War
1859–1870	Unification of Italy
1861	Freeing of serfs in Russia; Civil War in the United States
1862–1871	Unification of Germany
1870	Franco-Prussian War

THE ANCIENT REGIME OF pre-1789 Europe could not be brought back. In countries other than France, many of the political, legal, and social reforms that the French Revolution had brought or attempted to bring were delayed or even temporarily reversed. In France, however, the changes since 1789 were too popular to be ignored, and the forces unleashed by the Industrial Revolution in England were going to remake the society of western Europe by the mid-nineteenth century. The throne-shaking revolts of 1848 were the direct result of the changes set in motion by industrialization and by the ideas of 1789.

After the defeats of 1848, European liberals and nationalists were in retreat during the next decade, and conservative statesmen were everywhere in control. But only twenty to thirty years later, many of the goals of the liberals had been reached, and nationalism was already one of the givens of policy making. The universal male franchise was introduced in several countries. Governments in many places legalized labor unions, and Russia freed its serfs. The Western world was entering the Second Industrial Revolution and the massive social changes that accompanied it.

LIBERALISM IN POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

Much of the history of the past two centuries, especially in Europe, has been a reflection of sustained, revolutionary changes in politics and economics. The political revolution was highlighted by events in the United States between 1775 and 1789 and in France between 1789 and 1800, which we looked at in earlier chapters. The economic revolution was slower and less spectacular, but it was at least as important over the long run. It was generated by the changes in industrial production that took place beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, particularly in Britain; by the conquest of space through the railroads; and by the immense growth of population in Europe and the United States.

As is often the case, changes in one sphere reinforced changes in the other in all kinds of ways. Two examples will suffice:

1. In the 1790s, during the period of the Directory in France, a tiny group of conspirators tried to eliminate property-based distinctions, and their efforts at sharing equally the products of human labor got nowhere. A generation later, another group of theorists was determined to replace the abuses and exploitation of early capitalism with the humane ideals of equality and mutual care. This was the origin of an organized multinational effort to introduce governmental responsibility for the welfare of the citizenry.
2. The middle classes guided the eighteenth-century political revolution on their own behalf. Later, the more perceptive among them recognized that without the active assistance of much of the laboring classes, they could not gain and hold power against the aristocracy. The industrial laboring classes were growing rapidly but lacked leadership from within their own ranks. Instead, during the later nineteenth century, a partnership grew up in western Europe between the middle-class reformers and newly enfranchised working-class voters, which brought about substantial improvement in the condition of ordinary people.

The liberal sons and daughters of the Enlightenment everywhere formed a “party of reform,” dedicated to changing the traditional class-based system of political representation. By 1815, much had been achieved in those respects in America and France, but the conservative reaction nullified some of those gains everywhere in Europe. Only in France and England was much of the liberal political agenda retained. Parliaments in both countries, similar to Congress in the United States, were responsible to the voters rather than to the king, and freedom of conscience was guaranteed.

The Gospel of Free Enterprise

Another side of the liberal philosophy focused on freedoms in the marketplace and the rebellion against the traditional restrictions imposed by mercantilism. Economic liberalism grew directly from the path-breaking work of Adam Smith, whose ideas were mentioned briefly in Chapter 32. What did Smith’s adherents want?

- ♦ *Laissez-faire*. If government would only let them alone to do what they saw best fit (*laissez-faire*), the merchants and manufacturers of every nation would produce goods and services to meet the demands of the market most efficiently and economically.



Hamburg Kunsthalle, Hamburg, Germany/Bridgeman Art Library

THE WANDERER IN THE SEA OF CLOUDS. Caspar Friedrich was the best known and possibly the most technically accomplished of the early generation of Romantic painters. He painted this brooding introspective in 1818.

- ♦ *Free trade.* The existing mercantile system of quotas, licenses, and subsidies should be eliminated, and producers should be allowed to trade with any place and anyone at prices that the free market would set.
- ♦ *The less government, the better.* As the first two conditions suggest, the economic liberals despised governmental controls of any sort in the economy (even though Smith made certain important exceptions to *laissez-faire*). They believed that the free market alone would provide proper guidance for policy decisions.

In early-nineteenth-century England, extreme *laissez-fairism*—often called **Manchester liberalism** because of its popularity with the cotton mill owners in Manchester—provided the employers of industrial labor with an excuse for the systematic exploitation of the weak. Using theorists such as Thomas Malthus (*An Essay on Population*, published in 1798) and David Ricardo (*The Iron Law of Wages*, published in 1817), the Manchester liberals believed that the poor would always be poor because of their excessive birthrate and other supposed moral faults, and that it was the well-off people's duty to protect their material advantages by any means they could. Because sympathizers with this line of thought—the *Whigs*—came into control of the British House of Commons after the electoral *Reform Act of 1832*, the British government grew unsympathetic toward the idea of social protection of the lower classes. Only in the 1870s and later did a sufficient number of reformers emerge who rejected this heartless attitude and busied themselves with the improvement of the lot of the poor majority.

CONSERVATISM

The liberals, though gaining strength, were by no means the sole players in the European political field after 1815. Supported by the wave of anti-Napoleonic nationalism, conservative forces in Britain and France were powerful for at least a generation, and elsewhere even longer. Conservatism in the first half of the nineteenth century meant one of two things: One was *moderate conservatism*; the other was *reaction*.

Moderate Conservatism

Conservatives of all stripes believed that an official religion was a necessity for instilling proper respect for law and tradition. They could not imagine a state in which church and government were separated by law. They supported a constitution but rejected political democracy as being the rule of the mob. They believed that only those who had a stake in society, evidenced by property, could take on the burdens of self-government.

Moderate conservatism was supported by a large percentage of ordinary Europeans—probably a majority—who

had been appalled by Jacobin radicalism and Napoleon's arrogance. The clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, were the leaders of moderate conservatism in much of the Continent. The more enlightened aristocrats, who could see what would happen if turning the clock back were to be adopted as state policy, also contributed to moderate conservatism. They wished to avoid revolutions in the future by making some necessary concessions now. In economics, they favored the continuation of government controls in trade (especially foreign trade) and industry. They thought that Smith was well meaning but wrong and that without such supervision by the authorities, selfish and greedy entrepreneurs would only harm the national welfare.

Reaction

Reactive conservatism was the rule in Prussia, Austria, and Russia, where few if any political concessions were made to the new social structures being created by the changing modes of production. This led to explosive pressures, which eventually burst forth in the revolts of 1848 and the upheaval of World War I and its revolutionary aftermath.

In Prussia and Austria, the reactionary conservatives ruled for a generation after 1815. They denied a constitution; retained the established church, whether Catholic or Protestant; and maintained strict class distinctions in justice, taxation, and voting rights. Both countries also maintained a form of serfdom until 1848.

In Russia (which meant not only the Russian ethnic groups but also much of what is now independent Eastern Europe), the reactionaries were also in command. Tsar Alexander's successor, Nicholas I (ruling 1825–1855), was a sincere believer in God's designation of autocracy for Russia and a dyed-in-the-wool reactionary. During his reign, Russia was called the **Gendarme of Europe**, eager and ready to send troops to put down liberal agitation or revolutionary change wherever it might rear its ugly head. All of Europe was split during the entire post-Napoleonic generation between these reactionary forces and their liberal opponents.

NATIONALISM

Besides the struggle between liberal and conservative, another source of conflict appeared in post-1815 Europe: popular nationalist feeling. Modern political **nationalism** has its origins in France between 1792 and 1795, when the Jacobins insisted on the duties imposed on all citizens by patriotism. Later, when the French occupied half of Europe, their subjects' patriotic reaction against the occupier contributed mightily to the growth of nationalism elsewhere.

Early nationalism was generally a culturally benign phenomenon. It was positive in its goals and tolerant in its outlook. Thus, one could simultaneously strive for the freedom of the individual and the free nation. Sometime in the 1840s and later, however, nationalism in much of Europe lost its constructive, tolerant character. This later phase was marked by the rise of negative qualities with which we in modern times are thoroughly familiar: “we” versus “they” and right against wrong; nationalism as a zero-sum game where one nation’s gain is another’s loss and vice versa. This nationalism was characterized by a conviction of cultural superiority over other nations. It degenerated to its worst in the Balkans and eastern Europe, where many distinct peoples lived in mixed communities and regions without clear territorial lines. Here, nationalism soon became an excuse for one war after another in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

SOCIALISM IN THE PRE-MARX ERA

As we have seen, the earliest socialists were a handful of conspirators in France in the 1790s. All of these preceded Marx. What did the early socialist thinkers wish to achieve? Three chief economic goals were involved:

1. *A planned economy.* The unregulated free market was an entirely wasteful, haphazard way of supplying the needs and wants of most people.
2. *Greater equality.* There was too much for the rich, too little for the rest, and too few ways in which that situation could be changed peaceably and fairly.
3. *Ownership of income-producing property by the state rather than private parties.* Only the state was powerful enough to resist the wealthy and ensure that the means of producing wealth were not controlled by a few.

The most influential of the early socialists worked in France. Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825) was perhaps the most important of all. He believed further that the state (that is, the government) had the positive duty to look out for those who were unable to look out for themselves—the misfits, the incompetent, and the disabled. Because industrialized production would be so much more lavish than anything previously seen, the economy of scarcity would soon be abolished, and it would be no hardship for the productive majority to care for these “welfare cases.” Charles Fourier was an obsessive theorist of technology and organization. His vision of special self-contained units of precisely 1,620 persons living and working together was one of the oddities of early social thought. Fourier was particularly important as a forerunner of feminist equality

in work and politics and as the upholder of the demands of the emotional, passionate side of human nature in industrialized society.

Pierre Proudhon was the first modern anarchist (see Chapter 33). He believed that the power of the state must be destroyed if men and women were ever to be truly free and capable of living humane lives. He was convinced that government was at best a barely tolerable evil because it was always controlled by the wealthy and was almost always the oppressor of the poor. In 1840, he posed his famous question, *What Is Property?* to which he gave a resounding answer: Property is nothing but organized theft! It has been stolen from the sole creator of value, the worker, by the owning class. And it should be taken back—by force, if necessary.

In England, utopian socialism’s leading figure was Robert Owen. Owen was a remarkable man whose hard work and ambition made him a wealthy mill owner at the age of twenty-seven. Inspired by a rugged Christianity, he was convinced that industrial production and a decent life for workers were compatible. At his famous cooperative textile mill in New Lanark, Scotland, Owen put his theories into practice and created a profitable enterprise that also provided well for every need of its workers and their families.

In the 1840s, socialism was still very much an idea or theory of outsiders, condemned as being against the laws of God and man. It was not taken seriously by most middle-class liberals and most economic liberals thundered against it as unnatural. For their part, conservatives thought socialism terribly misunderstood human nature and was foredoomed to fail.

POLITICAL EVENTS TO 1848

In the period just after the Vienna Settlement of 1815 (see Chapter 31), European international affairs were relatively calm (see Map 34.1). The Quadruple Alliance of the victors formed at Vienna was easily strong enough to suppress any attempts to overthrow the peace, as long as its members agreed. Revolts by liberals in Spain (1820) and Italy (1822) were quickly squelched, but a nationalist guerrilla war by the Greeks against their Turkish overlords (1827–1830) was allowed to commence and eventually succeed because it was a special circumstance of Christian versus Muslim. (The Greek rebellion had a special connection to nineteenth-century English literature; see the Arts and Culture box on Lord Byron.)

During this decade, the Spanish-American colonies were also allowed to break away from backward Spain, which was too weak to suppress their revolts by itself. First Mexico, then most of South America rebelled against Madrid and became independent states by 1825. Brazil, Portugal’s one colony in the New World, also broke away during this same period (see Chapter 39).



MAP 34.1 Prussia and Austria after the Peace of Vienna, 1815

The center of the continent was the scene of an increasing rivalry for leadership of the German-speaking peoples. Austria and Prussia both emerged victors in 1815, and both were bulwarks of the reaction against French revolutionary ideas.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What issue served as the source of conflict between these two German states?

The Liberal States: France and Britain

In an almost bloodless revolution in July 1830, the French threw out their unpopular Bourbon ruler. In his place came Louis Philippe (ruling 1830–1848). Louis gladly accepted from Parliament a moderately liberal constitution, which stated that sovereignty lay in the people, not in the throne.

The **July Monarchy**, the eighteen years of Louis Philippe's reign were a major step forward for liberalism. Citizen rights were granted and usually observed by the government, but those rights were much more extensive for the well-off than for the majority. Social tensions were steadily building. Victor Hugo's great novel *Les Misérables* is the best mirror of this epoch.

Over the protests of the Conservative Party (the **Tories**), in 1832, the Liberals in the British Parliament (the **Whigs**) passed the most important reform of voting rights since the Glorious Revolution. This **Reform Act of 1832** stripped away many of the traditional political advantages of the landholding aristocrats and strengthened the previously weak urban middle classes. Overnight, the House of Commons seats were distributed to urban and industrial districts. Because the Whigs controlled these districts, the composition of the Commons changed drastically.

By making Parliament into a more representative national body, British government diminished the danger of revolution. The British middle classes were assured of a Parliament in which their voice would be heard and through which they could attain peaceable, orderly change. In the later nineteenth century, these concessions would be extended to the working classes. Revolution and radical socialism never gained much following among the common folk in Britain for that reason.

The Reactionary States: Austria, Russia, and Prussia

In the reactionary countries, the story was different. In Austria, Russia, and the Germanies, the rulers spent the generation after Napoleon attempting to hold back all thought of political liberalism. Through censorship, police and military force, diplomacy, and eventually war, they threw a dam across the tide of reform, which held until 1848. The Austrian emperor, the Russian tsar, and the Prussian king rejected the kind of concessions the French and British governments had made to their citizens. As a result, revolt seemed to many thinking people the only hope of bringing these countries into modern political and economic life.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

CHARLES FOURIER (1772–1837)

The most interesting of all the early socialist theorists was Frenchman Charles Fourier. Although perhaps not entirely sane, he nevertheless pinpointed many of the unpleasant truths about modern industrial society seventy-five or a hundred years before those truths were accepted by most.

Fourier was born into a well-off family in a provincial city and received an excellent education, but he lost his property during the French Revolution. He fought for the Napoleonic regime for two years, but ill health forced him to resign his army post. He then began a life of scholarship and propagandizing his ideas.

In 1808, he anonymously published his basic work, *The Theory of the Four Movements*, in which he explains that human society has been corrupted by the unnatural restraints that we impose on ourselves. Only when those restraints have been lifted will humans achieve their potential. Fourier's focus on the importance of emotions, or passions, and on the necessity of women finding satisfaction in their emotional life make him an important forerunner of the feminist movement. However, Fourier's demand that passions be given free expression quickly stamped him as an eccentric and a dangerous challenger to accepted values.

In the economic aspect of this doctrine, Fourier worked out an answer to the blight of early industrialization—the socioeconomic unit he called the *phalanx* (Greek for a military unit). He insisted that individualism and the competition it fostered were the prime cause of social evils. The new society would consist of voluntary associations, where cooperation would be the rule in every aspect of life.

The phalanx envisioned by Fourier consisted of exactly 1,620 persons, equally divided by sex, with sufficient farmland around the common dwelling and workplace—the *phalanstery*—to supply the members with food. Work would be assigned as much as possible by preference, but the dirty tasks would be rotated, and there would be no “high” or “low” occupations. The work would be suited to the natural temperaments of different age and gender groups. For example, young children with their natural affinity for dirt would be assigned to act as public scavengers and garbage collectors! Those who desired could marry, but all could rightfully engage in free sexual expression, which was considered a basic human need. Needless to add, such reasoning did not convince many people in a Europe still largely controlled by church and censor.

Although he led a reclusive life, Fourier continued to publicize his theories to his dying day, but he never had the satisfaction of seeing them translated into fact. Despite the best efforts of his friends and converts, there was but one French experiment with *Fourierism*, as the theory was termed in the 1830s. It ended quickly in total failure. Instead, Fourier's most important impact was in the New World. Several American experiments in communal living in the first half of the nineteenth century drew their inspiration and some of their structure from Fourier. Brook Farm, the famous New England venture in an intellectual and communal society, was one of these.

In his later life, Fourier devoted his energies to finding a rich backer, who would supply the necessary capital to establish a phalanstery, or a series of them, under his own supervision. Reportedly, having published an appeal for the equivalent of a million dollars or so in his tiny newspaper, Fourier would go to his office at noon on the appointed day to wait for the unknown benefactor to drop the money in his lap. No matter how many times the benefactor failed to appear, the next time the notice ran, Fourier would go in all confidence to wait for the gift.

This sort of unworldliness pervaded Fourierism, as well as its founder, and kept the authorities from becoming too concerned about his challenge to the status quo. Fourier was contemptuous of the competing theories of Saint-Simon and Owen, believing that their failure to appreciate the importance of human passions rendered their whole approach to socioeconomic questions invalid. Although it is beyond dispute that much of his own theory would, if applied, do more damage than good to people, it is still impressive to note how well Fourier understood some of the damage that modern individualistic and competitive societies inflict on their members. While the phalanxes and phalansteries may be condemned without hesitation as unworkable daydreams, the emotional repression, social isolation, and alienation from one's fellow beings that they were meant to counter are also indisputably bad for the human body and soul.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What would happen among your college classmates if a Fourier phalanx were to be erected along his principles? What do you think of Fourier's insistence that human emotions must be considered in providing a work environment?



ARTS AND CULTURE

GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON (1788–1824)

The triumph of the Industrial Age also saw a vigorous reaction against it in the **Romantic movement**, which seized much of Europe during the mid-nineteenth century. Beginning in Britain, this movement first attacked the excessive faith in rationalism that characterized the later-eighteenth-century Enlightenment. By the 1820s, it had become a rejection of the narrow money grubbing that many believed had come into British urban life with the Industrial Revolution. Recognition of the power of the emotions came to be seen as an essential element of all the arts, but particularly the art most given to expression of feeling—poetry. Among the British Romantic poets, George Gordon (Lord Byron) took the first place through not only the magnificence of his verse but also the enormous publicity his unconventional life generated. Several of the finest Romantic poems are from his pen, but Lord Byron's place in history has also benefited from what would now be called successful media exposure.

Born to a dissipated and irresponsible father and a loving but unbalanced mother, Byron's early years were unstable. He was lamed by a clubfoot that grew worse under the attentions of a quack doctor who tried to heal the boy with painful braces. His erratic schooling was successful at least in arousing a love of literature and encouraging his inclination to write. At age sixteen, he fell in love with Mary Chaworth, a girl slightly older than he, whose tantalizing cold-blooded attitude toward her teenage admirer, Byron later said, was the turning point of his emotional life. From this time on, this handsome and passionate man became involved in a steady procession of short- and long-term affairs with women of all descriptions. There is much evidence of sexual ambivalence as well in his relations with men both in Britain and abroad.

Byron's poetic efforts began to see the light of day in 1807, when he was a student at Cambridge. His gifts were equally apparent in his lyrics and in his satires of his detractors, which could be savage. In 1809, he entered the House of Lords (his father had been a minor noble) and soon took off for a two-year visit to the Continent. Most of his time was spent in Greece, a place and its people for whom he developed a lasting affection.

The major literary product of his trip was the magnificent *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, which became the rage of all London and made Byron's reputation overnight. The long poem beautifully caught the moods of the growing reaction against conventional manners and values, personified in

the autobiographical *Childe Harold*. The magnetic Byron now took advantage of his notoriety to enter into one sexual affair after another—an “abyss of sensuality,” as he put it, enhanced by both wine and drugs.

Seeking perhaps some stable influence, in early 1815, he suddenly married a rich young woman, but the marriage went awry almost as soon as it commenced. Only a scant year later, his wife was hurrying back to her parents and requesting legal separation despite her just-born daughter. After some squeezing of his in-laws for money, Byron agreed to sign the separation papers; in those days, this was tantamount to an admission of guilt. His social reputation was now destroyed, not only by the scandalous separation but also by dark hints, never denied and much later confirmed, that he had committed incest with his half-sister, Augusta Leigh. In 1816, he left to visit his friend, the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, in Switzerland. He never set foot in Britain again.

For the final seven years of his life, Byron was mainly in Italy, where he wrote much of his finest work, including the *Don Juan* epic as well as several of his poetic dramas. The Italian years were made happy by his permanent attachment to the young Teresa Guiccioli, the love of his life, who finally released him from the aimless philandering he had engaged in for fifteen years.

In 1823, the Greeks' rebellion against their Turkish overlords attracted Byron's attention, and he hastened to Greece to put his money and energies into the cause. He contracted a lethal fever and died in his adoptive country in 1824. Throughout the rest of the century, his reputation grew, not only as a poet but as the literary symbol of

the brave-but-doomed individual who challenges the destiny of ordinary souls and must eventually pay for his temerity by defeat and death. Denied the honor of burial in Westminster Abbey because of his shocking escapades, Byron finally received a memorial stone in the abbey floor in 1969. His beloved Greeks had acted much earlier to memorialize him in their country.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Should the character or private life of a great artist influence one's judgment of him or her as an artist? Lord Byron eventually was banned from England for his political and social ideas. Do you think his banning was a legitimate expression of society's condemnation of his private life?



National Portrait Gallery, London, UK/Bridgeman Art Library

BYRON AS THE GIAOUR. This portrait was painted in 1813, shortly after Lord Byron returned from his tour of the Near East, which produced several of his best poems and established his fame.



The Revolts of 1848

The revolt that broke out in the streets of working-class Paris in late February 1848 swept through Europe during the next year. These revolts of the lower classes, combined with an explosion of nationalist conflicts and assertions of popular sovereignty, set all of Europe aflame. Of the major countries, only Britain and Russia were spared.

The revolts did not have a single cause, nor did they have the same outcome. Nevertheless, at least three underlying similarities can be established: (1) The revolts were initially led by middle-class liberals; (2) the workers soon created their own more-violent revolutions against both aristocrats and the middle classes; and (3) national divisions contributed to the failure of the revolts throughout central and eastern Europe.

Consequences

In instance after instance, during 1848 and 1849, the barely concealed split between the middle class and the lower class enabled the conservative forces to defeat the goals of both in the short term. The liberals got only a conditioned increase in political representation; the workers got nothing.

1. *France.* The Second Republic established by the revolt lasted but three years before Louis Napoleon (Napoleon III), nephew of the great Bonaparte, used the power of the presidency to which he had been elected in 1848 to declare himself emperor. So began the Second Empire in France, which saw the realization of most of the liberals' economic and political goals, but little for the workers.
2. *Prussia.* After a year of wrangling about the exact form and provisions of a liberal constitution for a united Germany, the bulk of the German states

reverted to the conservative regimes that had been briefly pushed aside by the revolts. German liberals had suffered a permanent defeat.

3. *Austria.* The new Austrian emperor, Franz Joseph (ruling 1848–1916), relied on his aristocratic advisers to gradually regain control of the revolutionary situation. The Vienna government crushed the separatist independence movements among the Czechs, Hungarians, and Italians within the empire and then intimidated the German liberals in Austria proper. By the summer of 1849, Austria was embarked on a decade of old-fashioned royal absolutism.
4. *Italy.* It is important to remember that Italy was no more than a collection of small kingdoms and the Papal States. Austria controlled the industrial north, the kingdom of **Sardinia-Piedmont** and the papacy divided the middle, and the reactionary kingdom of Naples controlled the south and Sicily. Liberal Italians had long wanted to unite Italy under a constitutional monarchy. They favored the Sardinian kingdom as the basis of this monarchy because it was the only state that had a native Italian secular ruler. Many middle-class Italians, especially those in the northern cities, were anticlerical and antipapal. They viewed the popes as political reactionaries and upholders of class privilege.

In 1848, anti-Austrian and antipapal riots broke out in various parts of Italy. Sardinia declared war on Austria. This proved to be a mistake. The Austrians were decisive victors. Pope Pius IX (in power 1846–1875) was so frightened by the Roman mobs that he opposed any type of liberalism from then on. In 1849, it appeared that a united Italy was as far away as it had ever been.

Thus, the revolts and attempted revolutions had accomplished very little by 1850. Both middle-class liberals and working-class radicals had been defeated by military force or its threat. Yet, within a generation's time, almost all that the middle classes had fought for and even some of the demands of the radicals had come into being in many European capitals. The necessity of introducing a more industrialized economy overrode the objections of the Old Guard. Many of the thousands who were imprisoned for treason or violating public order from 1849 to 1850 would live to see the day when their governments freely gave the rights for which they had long fought.

RUSSIA

The first severe failure of the international alliances set up by the Vienna treaties was the **Crimean War** (Crimée-an War; 1853–1856) between Russia on one side and England, France, and Turkey on the other. Expansionary ambitions led Tsar Nicholas I to demand Turkish concessions in southeastern Europe. Once assured of British and French help, the Turks unexpectedly resisted. The conflict was mostly fought on the Crimean Peninsula in the Black Sea (see Map 34.2).



BARRICADES IN VIENNA. Edouard Ritter painted this canvas shortly after the events it depicts in revolutionary Vienna. Bourgeois revolutionaries atop the hill make common cause for a brief interval with the laborers gathered below.

Historisches Museum der Stadt, Vienna, Austria/Bridgeman Art Library



MAP 34.2 Europe After 1871

The unification of the Germans and of the Italian Peninsula had been completed by 1871, but southeastern Europe was still in political flux. A disintegrating Turkey meant that Bosnia would soon fall under Austrian occupation, and a lost war against Russia would force the Ottomans to recognize the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, Romania, and Bulgaria in 1878. In 1912, a new

war allowed the kingdom of Albania to emerge from the Ottoman Empire, while Greece and Serbia were enlarged.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Compare the large map of Europe in 1871 with the small inset map of Europe in 1914. Which European power lost some of its territories? Why did this happen?

Militarily, the war was a general debacle for all concerned. The Russian commanders and logistics were even less competent than those of the allies, so in time, Russia had to sue for peace. The Peace of Paris of 1856 was a drastic diplomatic defeat for St. Petersburg, and for the next twenty years, Russia was essentially bottled up in the south, unable to gain naval access to the Mediterranean. Its pressing internal problems would have to be addressed if it were to play any sizable role in future world affairs.

The Great Reforms

The military embarrassment in the Crimea hardened the determination of the new ruler, **Tsar Alexander II** (ruling 1855–1881), to tackle Russia's primary social and

economic problem: the question of the serfs. Russia's serfs still lived in almost total illiteracy, ignorance, and superstition. Not only were they growing increasingly resentful of their noble landlords and masters, but they were an immense drag on the Russian economy. Most had little money to consume anything, nor could they contribute to the nation's capital for desperately needed financial and industrial investments.

In 1859, a determined Alexander commanded a quick resolution of the serf problem. In the following two years, a specially appointed court commission worked out the details, and in 1861, the Tsar issued an order that abolished serfdom in Russia. Altogether, around fifty-five million individuals—serfs and their dependents—were directly affected.

What, then, were the results of the long-sought emancipation? It unfortunately had only a very limited success. Many were disappointed with their allotted portions of land, which were either small or of poor quality. Instead of outright possession of the land, they received only a tentative title, subject to restrictions imposed by the government. The serfs could not mortgage or sell the land without permission from the village council, which was difficult to obtain. So, instead of creating a class of prosperous, politically and socially engaged farmers as the authorities in St. Petersburg had hoped, the emancipation of the serfs actually made a good many worse off than before.

Besides emancipation, Alexander II presided over several other major reforms in Russian public life. These so-called **Great Reforms** included changes in the army and judicial systems. Most significantly, the central government reorganized local and provincial authority, changing its previously purely appointive nature. It allowed the election of a county commission, called the *zemstvo* board. Originally, the *zemstvo* boards had few real powers, but they acted as a catalyst of civic spirit and helped the local peasants become aware of what they could do to better their lives.

Seen in the longer perspective, however, what Alexander did not do was more important than what he did. Like several of his predecessors, he did not think the time ripe for Russia to have a constitution, an elected national legislature, or strong local government bodies. Russia's central authority remained what it had always been—an autocracy

(government by a single person having unlimited power). Every variety of revolutionary doctrine was to be found in the Russian underground by the 1890s, ranging from orthodox Marxism to peasant communes to nihilistic terrorism. As late as 1905, however, the government of the tsar still seemed to be in undisputed control of the illiterate peasants and a small and doctrinally divided group of socialist workers in the towns.

FRANCE

The nephew of the great Napoleon won the presidential election in France that was held in the wake of the 1848 revolt. Riding on his uncle's name and claiming to be a sincere republican, Louis Napoleon was the first modern ruler who understood how to manipulate the democratic franchise to create a quasi-dictatorship. Within a few months of his election, Napoleon sensed that there would be no effective opposition if he imitated his uncle and made himself emperor of the French, as Napoleon III. This Second Empire lasted twenty years, which divide into two distinct segments. Until the 1860s, it was an authoritarian regime led by one man's vision. After that, Napoleon gradually liberalized his rule and allowed political opposition. The main reason for the change was his increasingly unpopular and misconceived foreign policy: a frivolous colonial adventure in Mexico in 1863–1864 and failure to stop an aggressively expanding Prussia. To ameliorate these problems, he then had to encourage a previously tame legislature to share leadership responsibilities.

Napoleon was more successful in changing the primarily agrarian France of 1851 into a mixed economy with the firm beginnings of industrial development in place by 1870. By then, capitalist industry was also taking root in many smaller cities, such as Lyon, Marseilles, Nancy, Brest, and Rouen.

Napoleon and his Second Empire came to a disgraceful finish in the **Franco-Prussian War** of 1870, which was the emperor's last foreign policy miscalculation. Foolishly taking the field, he was captured by the enemy, forced to abdicate, and died in quiet exile in England. At the end of the war, the first attempt at socialist revolution had taken place in Paris—the capital city whose residents strongly resented the terms of the peace settlement—but the army crushed the group with great bloodshed. This **Paris Commune of 1871** was extremely unwelcome to the majority of the French. From this time onward, the split between the conservative villagers of the French provinces and the radical workers and intellectuals of “red” Paris that had originated in the French Revolution of 1789 was wide open.

Following the lost war, the monarchists failed to agree on a single candidate. This enabled those who favored a republic to gradually establish themselves in power. By 1875, the **Third Republic of France** was more or less in place; it was a liberal state with a strong national assem-



THE CRIMEAN WAR. The war in the Crimea was the first to be photographed. Here, the English journalist Roger Fenton shows us an officer and men of the Fourth Dragoons in their encampment in 1855. At their side is one of the first military nurses, a colleague of Florence Nightingale.

Courtesy of the Council, National Army Museum, London, UK/Bridgeman Art Library

bly and a weak presidential executive. A confused mass of political parties ranged across the whole spectrum from extreme reactionaries to Marxists and anarchists. About the only political topic that most French agreed on during the later nineteenth century was the necessity of someday gaining revenge on Bismarck's Germany and reclaiming the "lost provinces" of Alsace and Lorraine (shown on Map 34.3). France's **revanchism** (ray-VAHNSH-ism)—the desire, rooted in wounded national pride, to make up for the loss of national territory by seeking colonial territories abroad—incited France to take part in the "new imperialism" of the leading European powers in the years that lay ahead (Chapter 36).

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

One of the major changes in the political map of nineteenth-century Europe was the completion of the unification of Italy (see Map 34.4). This had been the goal of two generations of Italian statesmen and revolutionaries, going back to the Napoleonic wars. In the 1860s, unification was thrust through over the opposition of both Austria—which controlled much of northern Italy—and Pope Pius IX.

The father of Italian unification was the liberal-minded aristocrat Count **Camillo Cavour** (1810–1861), who became the prime minister of the kingdom of Sardinia in



MAP 34.3 Unification of the German Empire

After the battle of Königgrätz in 1866, the Austrians were put out of the running for primacy among German speakers. The surrender of French emperor Napoleon III at the head of his army at Sedan completed the task Bismarck had set for himself and the Prussian military.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What does the map suggest about the likelihood that Germany would be involved in future conflicts with its neighbors? Which ones, specifically?



[View an interactive version of this or a related map online.](#)



MAP 34.4 The Unification of Italy

The military and diplomatic triumphs of the 1860s produced an Italian kingdom that was composed of two distinct regions: North and South.



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

1852. Sardinia had long been the best hope of those who wanted a united Italy. However, the center of political gravity in the kingdom had long since moved from backward Sardinia to Piedmont, and in particular to the progressive and modern industrial city of Turin. A believer in **Realpolitik**, or politics based on practical considerations only (and not ideology), Cavour built Piedmont into the leading economic force in Italy, as well as the major political power, during the 1850s.

Cavour fully realized that Austria would never willingly let go of its Italian provinces; therefore, a foreign ally was needed, and that ally could only be France. Carefully, he drew the all-too-willing Napoleon III into a so-called defensive alliance and then provoked a war with Vienna in 1859. The Austrians were outmatched and forfeited the large Lombard province to Cavour.

As Cavour had reckoned, after the defeat of Austria, much of the rest of Italy threw in its lot with Piedmont. The newly christened kingdom of Italy, based in Turin, now embraced about half of the Peninsula. The rest was divided among the pope, the reactionary Bourbon king of Naples and Sicily (who wished to remain independent), and the remaining Austrian possessions.

The romantic and popular revolutionary, Giuseppe Garibaldi, now entered the scene, leading a volunteer army

through southern Italy, routing the royal government of Naples, and joining Sicily and southern Italy to the Italian kingdom in 1861. A few months later, Cavour died, with the job of unification by conquest almost complete.

Two pieces of the picture still remained to be fitted in: the Austrian province of Venetia and the Papal States centered in Rome. Venetia was gained in 1866, as a prize for joining with Prussia in another brief victorious war against Austria. France, where the Catholic population was insisting that Napoleon III preserve traditional papal liberties, however, guarded the Papal States. When the Franco-Prussian War broke out in 1870, Napoleon had an excuse to order the French garrison withdrawn. The Piedmontese quickly annexed the Papal States and made Rome the capital of the new Italian kingdom.

In the two generations that followed, the new Italy was a very mixed success story. Lacking all important industrial material resources except manpower, Italy was the weakest of the European great powers and suffered from a large gap between self-proclaimed stature and political, social, and economic realities. This country was in most ways really two distinct countries: the industrializing, urban, liberal North and the agrarian, rural, feudal South.

The South (from Rome down) and Sicily were controlled by reactionary aristocrats—mainly absentee landowners

whose impoverished peasants still lived in serfdom in everything but name. The Catholic Church was all-powerful and an ally of the aristocracy. The population outside the towns resembled its Russian equivalent: It was almost entirely illiterate, superstitious, and unaware of anything outside its native region. The South had no modern industry or transport, and no prospects of any.

Educated, wealthy landowners and a large commercial middle class that lived and worked in good-sized cities such as Turin, Milan, and Venice controlled the North (from Florence up). These towns, which had ties to transalpine Europe, were rapidly industrializing, producing a proletariat that would soon be one of Europe's most fertile fields for socialist ideas. The northerners viewed the Sicilians and the South in general with contempt and despair, refusing to regard them as equal fellow citizens of the new state. The "national culture," as well as government money, was tilted heavily in favor of the North and would remain that way into the mid-twentieth century.



"DROPPING THE PILOT." The tension between the ambitious young William II and his chancellor, Bismarck, comes through in this cartoon from *Punch*. William found it impossible to continue his predecessor's warm relations with the old man who had piloted Prussia and Germany since 1862, so he tragically dismissed him.

picion and bile between northern (Protestant) and southern (Catholic) Germans left over from earlier centuries of sectarian warfare and the determined opposition of Austria.

Bismarck's policy aimed at removing the Austrians from German affairs as soon as possible. To this end, Bismarck provoked Austria into declaring war on Prussia, so that Austria appeared to be the aggressor in the eyes of the other Germans, who tried to remain neutral. The Prussians won the **Austro-Prussian War** of 1866, unexpectedly, in one bloody battle. Instead of seeking territory or money damages, however, Bismarck insisted only that Austria withdraw from German political affairs, leaving the field to Prussia to create a new **Confederation of Northern German States**.

The capstone of Bismarck's policy for unity was to provoke a third war, this one against the traditional enemy west of the Rhine: France. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 was the result of clever deception by the Prussian chancellor to maneuver the French into becoming the formal aggressor. As Bismarck had reckoned, the southern German states could no longer remain neutral in

this situation. Fevered nationalist opinion overrode religious considerations and forced the governments to join the Prussians, as fellow Germans, against the ancient enemy.

Soon, the captured Napoleon III had to abdicate, and France sued for peace. Bismarck now put forward the Prussian king as emperor of Germany, as a wave of national triumph swept the country. The Germans, after all, were the most numerous nation in Europe and had been artificially divided for many centuries. The new Germany, which counted 70 million inhabitants, extended from Alsace (annexed from France) almost to Warsaw and from the North Sea to the Alps, and was intensely nationalistic.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE GERMANIES

During the same years that the Italians were attempting to construct one state came the unification of Germany (see Map 34.3). The fashion by which Germany was united would have a dominant influence on the later history of the country. It followed the conservative Realpolitik style of two men: the Prussian king William I (or Wilhelm I; ruling 1861–1888) and his chancellor and trusted friend, **Otto von Bismarck** (1815–1898). For good or evil, modern Germany was largely the product of Germans' rising sense of nationalism and Bismarck's cunning ability to use it to bring about the creation of a single, powerful national state—Germany.

Like almost all nineteenth-century patriots, Bismarck wished to see the German people united rather than remain fragmented among the sixteen kingdoms and city-states left by the 1815 Treaty of Vienna. Above all, he wanted to complete what many years of Prussian policies had attempted to do with only modest success: to unify all Germans under the political leadership of Berlin. The chief reasons for the failure thus far included lingering sus-

THE MULTINATIONAL EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

In the center of the European map stood the Austrian empire. The fourth-largest state in population and third largest in territory, Austria—under the guidance of its longtime foreign minister, Metternich—had played a major role in international affairs for a full generation after

1815. After the national-liberal revolts of 1848 had been crushed, a decade of absolutist rule had ensued under the young Kaiser Franz Joseph.

After the defeats in Italy in 1859 and by Prussia in 1866, the emperor had to come to terms with them. He did so in the *Ausgleich* (OWS-glike) of 1867, a compromise that divided Austria into roughly equal halves—Austria and Hungary. Each was independent of the other in everything except foreign policy, defense, and some financial matters. While the Hungarians were placated, other minority peoples within the empire—Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Italians, and others—were less satisfied. Those living in Hungary were now under the uncompromising domination of the highly nationalistic Hungarians (Magyars), which they strongly resented. Those in Austria were subordinate to the Austro-Germans, and for a time, the internal affairs of this half of the Dual Monarchy were more harmonious. But by the 1890s, the “national” question was heating up here as well. The obstructionist minorities in Parliament paralyzed the liberal, constitutional government. To get anything done, the emperor had to violate his own constitution and rule by decree. Austria-Hungary became the prime European example of the negative aspects of nationalism.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE INDUSTRIAL AGE

At its independence from Britain, the United States was still an agrarian society, with its four million inhabitants concentrated along the eastern coast. Skilled tradesmen and master craftsmen were in short supply, and 85 percent of the labor force were farmers and their auxiliary helpers and servants. Even in the urbanized areas of New England and the mid-Atlantic region, as late as 1800 there was practically no large-scale commercial production.

By the Civil War, this situation had changed markedly. Thanks to steady waves of immigrants from Europe and slaves from Africa, the United States had more inhabitants than Great Britain—about thirty million. Half a dozen cities had populations of more than 100,000, and farm labor now made up less than half of the total employment. The dependence on British engineering and machinery that had characterized the first generation after independence was now entirely gone. American manufacturers and industrial techniques were rapidly proving that they could compete throughout the world.

New England was the original center of American industry. Factories producing consumer goods such as textiles and shoes, harnesses and wagons, and metal tools and kitchenware located there. They took advantage of both the abundant waterpower provided by the many rivers and the large pool of labor from the overcrowded and poverty-stricken rural areas. New England’s expanding population had long since exceeded the supply of reasonably arable



Private Collection/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Art Library

PROTEST AND REPRESSION. This engraving illustrates what many middle-class people feared would be the inevitable result of labor organization. In 1891, a labor protest in France resulted in violent suppression at the hands of the police.

farmland. The new immigrants who came by the tens of thousands in the 1830s and 1840s often found that they had only two choices: they could try the unsettled frontier life in the West or go to work at a factory, railroad, mine, or construction site, becoming employees of others in one capacity or another. Most chose the latter mode of living, believing its rewards were safer and more predictable.

Mill towns such as Lowell, Massachusetts, and Bridgeport, Connecticut, became common. They were similar in many ways to those in England but less dreary and unsanitary because of cheaper land and a different building style. Compared to the early industrial towns in Europe where workers for the most part faced exploitation and limited horizons, American towns offered a degree of democracy and social mobility. Although the stories of Horatio Alger ascents from rags to riches were mostly myths, Americans generally did have far more opportunities to improve their condition than were available to the working class in Europe. The belief that a relatively high degree of economic equality and opportunity was and must remain open to Americans permanently shaped American political and social ideals.

THE MODERN NATION-STATE

We have seen that in the quarter century between 1850 and 1875, great political changes occurred in several major European states: Russia, France, Italy, Germany, and Austria-Hungary (review Map 34.2). These changes were accompanied by sweeping changes in the economy and the structure of society. Toward the period’s end, the Second Industrial Revolution—powered by petroleum and electricity—was in full swing, bringing technological advances that had a direct impact on the everyday lives of everyday people.

What emerged in Europe and the United States during these years was in fact the modern nation-state, in which an ethnic group (the nation) exercises control over a territory (the state) through domination and mass participation in government. Its political-governmental outlines had been initiated in the French Revolution but were not perfected until the industrial-technical breakthroughs of the late nineteenth century. A host of familiar concepts first came into daily life during this period, including the following:

- ♦ Mass political parties electing legislatures and executives who were more-or-less responsible to their voters

- ♦ Mass school systems turning out disciplined, trained minds to take over the technical tasks of a much-more complex society and economy
- ♦ Labor unions representing the rapidly increasing numbers of workers negotiating with the representatives of impersonal corporations

All of these developments were characterized by a large group, a mass or class, coming into a predominant position, while the individual and his or her idiosyncrasies, desires, inclinations, and so forth receded into the background.

SUMMARY

THE DUAL REVOLUTIONS IN POLITICS and economics started in the later eighteenth century but matured in the nineteenth. In the era after the Napoleonic wars, Europe divided politically into liberal, conservative, and reactionary segments, all of which were attempting to meet the new challenges thrown up by the Americans' successful revolt against their colonial overlord, and the French Revolution.

The liberal spirit that was forcing its way into prominence in France and Britain took a less-benign form in economics than in politics. The ideas of Adam Smith and others were selectively adopted by the Manchester liberals and used to justify harsh exploitation of the workers. They triggered experiments with socialism that attracted little attention because of their utopian nature and, in most cases, quick failure. The Europe-wide revolts of 1848 mostly failed in the short run, but the forces in society that had touched them off proved too strong to resist, and they triumphed to at least a limited extent in the following generations. Therefore, the 1860s and 1870s produced major changes in almost all of the political and territorial maps of continental Europe.

The modern nation-state with its mass-participatory institutions was coming into existence, although its pace varied from place to place. In Russia, attempts at basic reform fell short because of the Crown's and the nobility's fearfulness and reluctance to allow the people—particularly

the newly liberated serfs—a full share in governing themselves. Instead, the aborted political reforms resulted in the growth of a revolutionary movement that would blossom in the early twentieth century. In France, the empire of Napoleon III brought progress internally but failed in foreign policy and was destroyed by the lost war with Prussia. Italy was finally unified in the 1860s, in part voluntarily and in part through conquest by the kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont. What emerged, however, was two Italies, south and north, that had little in common and would remain isolated from each other for generations.

German chancellor Bismarck was the most successful of the statesmen who attempted to realize national destiny. Unified by war and nationalist fervor, Germans entered into a Prussia-dominated empire after 1871 and immediately became the most potent military force on the Continent. One of the countries the new empire surpassed was Austria-Hungary, a former rival that was now defeated militarily and split by conflicting nationalisms. In the United States, steady industrial growth on a regional level in New England was greatly expanded on a national scale after the Civil War. By the end of the century, the American economy rivaled Germany's for leadership of the industrial world. In the last half of the century, the West engaged in a new imperialism that was driven by disparate motives and particularly focused on Asia and Africa. Chapters 36, 37, and 38 deal with this subject.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Austro-Prussian War
Otto von Bismarck
Camillo Cavour

Confederation of Northern
German States
Crimean War

Franco-Prussian War
Gendarme of Europe
Great Reforms
July Monarchy

Manchester liberalism
nationalism
Paris Commune of 1871
Realpolitik

Reform Act of 1832
Revanchism
Romantic movement
Sardinia-Piedmont

Third Republic of France
Tories
Tsar Alexander II
Whigs

For Further Reflection

1. Today, when people use terms like *liberal* and *conservative*, what do they mean? How do these modern terms compare in usage and meaning with their nineteenth-century connotations?
2. Would modern liberals or modern conservatives accept the views of nineteenth-century Liberals?
3. Would the economic positions of the Manchester Liberals be considered as liberal or conservative today?
4. What did nineteenth-century socialists seem to have been trying to achieve? Whose interests did they appear to have been representing? Could Smith or Ricardo have been sympathetic to their social and economic agendas?
5. Compare and contrast Cavour's role in unifying Italy with that of Bismarck in creating Germany.

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. Which of the following had its modern birth in the 1789–1814 era?
 - a. Constitutional monarchy
 - b. Nationalism
 - c. Autocracy
 - d. Meritocracy
 - e. Liberalism
2. The Gendarme of Europe was
 - a. France.
 - b. Great Britain.
 - c. Russia.
 - d. Germany.
 - e. Turkey.
3. Charles Fourier propagandized for a society structured
 - a. in small communities of self-directing workers.
 - b. in a military fashion.
 - c. in large states with dictatorial leadership by the working classes.
 - d. in communities of fellow believers housed in monasteries.
 - e. in small states governed by the wealthy.
4. The most important parliamentary act in nineteenth-century British history was the
 - a. passage of the United Kingdom Act.
 - b. passage of the Reform Act of 1832.
 - c. decision to exile Napoleon to St. Helena.
 - d. passage of the Factory Act of 1819.
 - e. ousting of the Tories from Parliament.
5. Which country was least affected by the revolts of 1848?
 - a. France
 - b. Great Britain
 - c. Italy
 - d. Austria
 - e. Prussia
6. The biggest single governmental problem in mid-nineteenth-century Russia was how to
 - a. defend the enormous borders against simultaneous attacks.
 - b. make the czar's government more efficient.
 - c. bring the military into the modern technical age.
 - d. bring the serfs into the national economy.
 - e. industrialize the country enough for it to compete with other countries.
7. The Paris Commune was
 - a. an attempt to impose a socialist regime under Karl Marx on France.
 - b. an imaginative attempt to introduce democracy through popular vote.
 - c. an uprising against the imperial government that had lost a war.
 - d. a kind of new religion prompted by anti-Christian radicals.
 - e. a group of Parisian artists who gathered to support each other in perfecting their craft.
8. Cavour's role in unifying Italy was that of
 - a. the diplomat-statesman.
 - b. the rabble-rousing tribune of the people.
 - c. the military commander.
 - d. the right-hand man of the pope.
 - e. the author of the Italian constitution.

9. The crucial question for Bismarck as Prussia's chancellor in the 1860s was how to
 - a. strengthen the army.
 - b. crush the socialists' opposition.
 - c. unite the German people politically.
 - d. strengthen the constitutional rights of the citizens.
 - e. use his military to best effect.
10. One significant aspect of the modern nation-state is
 - a. the development of independent thought and action among individuals.
 - b. the need for close ties between church and state.
 - c. the subordination of the individual to the community.
 - d. an increase in social welfare spending.
 - e. a greater tolerance for members of opposing groups.



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The Islamic World, 1600–1917



THE DECLINE OF THE MUSLIM EMPIRES

The Strengths and Weaknesses of Ottoman Civilization
The Decline of the Ottoman Empire

SAFAVID AND MUGHAL DECLINE

THE MUSLIM LANDS UNTIL WORLD WAR I

REFORMS OF THE MUSLIM RULING ELITES

The Tanzimat
Egypt and Sudan Under Muhammad Ali and Khedive Ismail
Reforms Under the Iranian Shahs

SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL RESPONSES

Wahhabi Fundamentalism and Jihad
The Salafi Movement
Arab Nationalism

The Islamic religion is a religion of unity throughout. It is not a religion of conflicting principles but is built squarely on reason, while Divine revelation is its surest pillar.

—*Shaykh Muhammad Abduh*

FOR THE GREAT ISLAMIC empires, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a time of steady social and political decline and loss of power against the West. The European counteroffensive against Islam had begun already in the Middle Ages, as Iberian Crusaders fought for the reconquest of Spain and Portugal, and French, German, and English armies tried to retake Palestine, albeit unsuccessfully. Until the sixteenth century, the civilization and armies of Islam enjoyed the advantage, and there remained a standoff between Europe and the great Muslim empires. But by the mid-eighteenth century, the European Renaissance and the Scientific Revolution, which was perhaps its most important byproduct, altered the balance of power in Europe's favor. European fleets invaded the Indian Ocean, defeating the navies of the Ottoman sultans and their Indian allies, and occupied the most important commercial centers from Mozambique to Macao. Slowly, too, the battle for control of the Mediterranean shifted in favor of Venice and the Habsburgs and their Spanish allies after a key naval victory that was fought off the coast of Italy, at Lepanto, in 1571. On land, a "Holy League," organized by the pope in the late 1600s and led by the Ottomans' old rivals, the Habsburgs of Austria, gained the military advantage in the Balkans. By the time of Catherine the Great, Russian armies began driving the Ottomans and Safavids out of their possessions around the Caspian and Black seas.

Since the eighteenth century, Islamic peoples and states have remained on the defensive as Western imperialism and ideas have created steady inroads into their midst. The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century responses of Islam

1500s–1722	Safavid Empire in Persia
1526–1857	Mughal Empire in India
early 1600s	Ottoman decline begins
c. 1700–1830	External attacks on Ottoman Empire
late 1700s	Wahhabist movement begins
1880–1898	Mahdi rebellion in Sudan
1890s	Beginnings of Salafi and Arab nationalist movements

to these incursions are the same paradigms that are still with the world today. The initial responses took the form of state-directed reforms that tried to control and limit the impact of Western ideas, particularly those concerning religion and culture, but the more enduring responses were those broader ones that arose out of Islamic leadership and societies as a whole.

THE DECLINE OF THE MUSLIM EMPIRES

The Strengths and Weaknesses of Ottoman Civilization

The strengths of the Ottomans were most evident during the earlier centuries of their rule, as one would expect, and the weaknesses later. But some of each are clear throughout the long reign of the Ottoman Dynasty, which lasted from about 1300 to 1922. Aside from their military merits, the Ottomans' strengths included extraordinary artistic sensitivity in literature, architecture, and symbolic imagery; a commitment to justice for all, no matter how weak; a tolerance for nonbelievers that was unusual for its time; and a literary language (Turkish with an Arabic-Persian overlay) that was truly an international bond as well as the channel for a rich literature. In economic and administrative affairs, the Ottomans had a far more efficient tax system and better control of their provincial authorities than any European government of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. Unfortunately, these institutions were to weaken later on.

Although a vast bureaucracy assisted the sultans, among the Ottomans' weaknesses were a government that depended for the most part on the qualities and energy of one or two individuals—the sultan and the grand vizier. It was no accident that the name of the empire was that of its founding figure, Osman (AHZ-mun; in Turkish, it was called the Osmanli Empire), and of its ruling dynasty. The sultans were not just the principal administrators; the sultanate provided the institutional machinery and energy that drove it. It was the central fact of the empire. Other weaknesses included a theory of government that was essentially military in nature and needed constant new conquests to justify and maintain itself; an almost complete inability to convert the Qur'an-based Sharia code of law to changing necessities in legal administration; a collective blind eye to the importance of secular education and to all types of technology; and an excessive reverence for tradition, which produced the kind of stagnation that follows from excessive conservatism.

From the middle of the 1700s on, the weaknesses of the Ottoman state in Europe rendered it prey to an increasingly aggressive West. First the Habsburg Dynasty in Vienna and then the Russian Romanovs went on the counterattack

against Turkey in Europe, driving back its frontiers step by step (see Map 35.1). In the early 1800s, rising nationalist consciousness among the peoples of the Balkans made them rebel against an Ottoman control that had become increasingly intolerant and oppressive as it declined. The European powers provided them with encouragement and assistance until the Turks' domain was reduced to Bulgaria, Albania, and northern Greece. At that point, about 1830, the external attacks ceased when the aggressors became wary of one another. The "sick man of Europe" was allowed to linger on his deathbed until 1918 only because his heirs could not agree on the division of the estate.

The Decline of the Ottoman Empire

Suleiman's reign (1520–1566) was the high point of the sultan's authority and also of the efficiency and prestige of the central government. Beginning with Suleiman's son and successor, Selim (seh-LEEM) the Sot, many of the sultans became captives of their own viziers and of the intrigues constantly spun within the harem. After 1603, rather than exposing young princes to the rigors of military service, as had been past practice, the sultans began to restrict their sons to being reared entirely within the harem. There, as the sultanate began to decline, the power of the harem and the court bureaucracy grew. More and more, young princes were subject to manipulation by court eunuchs and the sultans' many wives and concubines, who vied for power or to see their sons succeed to the throne. Whichever prince succeeded to the throne, this practice gravely weakened his fitness to rule.

Nevertheless, the empire did not run straight downhill after 1600. Once every few decades, a dedicated grand vizier or a strong-willed sultan attempted to reverse the decay. He would enforce reforms, sweep out the corrupt or rebellious officials in one province or another, and make sure the army was obedient, but then the rot would set in again. By the end of the 1700s, effective reversal was becoming impossible.

Besides the personal qualities of the sultan, several other factors contributed to the long decline:

1. *Economic.* Starting around 1550, the shift of European trade routes from the Muslim-controlled Near and Middle East to the Atlantic Ocean (and later the Pacific Ocean) dealt a heavy, long-term blow to Ottoman prosperity.
2. *Military.* After the 1570s, the Janissaries and other elite units were allowed to marry and settle down in a given garrison, which gradually eroded their loyalties to the central government and allowed them to become local strongmen with local sympathies, often allying with local craft guilds, in conflict with government interests. Moreover, by the seventeenth century, the Ottomans reached the limits of expansion possible with the types of weapons and



MAP 35.1 European Gains in Islamic Lands

European imperialism and the rise of nationalist movements in the Balkans cost the Ottomans considerable loss of territory throughout the nineteenth century.

MAP QUESTIONS

Besides the Balkans, what other parts of the Mediterranean basin did the Ottoman Empire lose by 1900? What explains these losses? On the other hand, what might explain their ability to hold on to the areas they did keep?

organization on which their armies were based. Although the Ottoman armies had been the most innovative in earlier centuries (for example, in the use of artillery and firearms), a conservative resistance to further change and the practice of nepotism set in, particularly among the Janissary corps. The repeated failures of Ottoman armies to win decisively when far from their winter quarters in Istanbul meant that the military initiative passed to the Europeans by the late 1600s.

3. **Technological.** From the seventeenth century on, the Ottomans failed to comprehend how Western technology and science were changing. Increasingly, they found themselves unready when confronted in tests of power. They almost always responded by attempting to ignore the unpleasant realities. They failed to acknowledge or give up old ways when the situation demanded change. This characteristic was spectacularly apparent in military sciences, where the once-pioneering Turks fell far behind the West in all spheres, including training, organization, weapons, and tactics.

SAFAVID AND MUGHAL DECLINE

None of the Safavid rulers who followed Akbar the Great matched his statesmanship. Consequently, by the 1700s, the Safavids had disappeared as a dynasty. In contrast to the Ottomans and Mughals, they had been unable to advance from an empire relying on its original tribal alliance to a centralized bureaucratic empire. Though they had tried, with the help of Georgian Janissary-type infantry, in the end they fell victim to invading Afghan tribesmen and a renewal of tribal competition in Iran through most of the 1700s. At the end of the century, a new dynasty, the Qajars (KAH-jars), established themselves, and under them Iran continued to remain under tribal rule. The Qajars, however, tried with mixed results to bureaucratize Iran in the course of the nineteenth century.

In India, Aurangzeb (aw-rang-ZEB; ruling 1656–1707), though a triumphant warrior, was responsible for reversing the climate of toleration that Akbar had introduced and that had been generally maintained for the ensuing half century. Aurangzeb was a confirmed Muslim, and he reintroduced a distinctly Islamic character to public life.

This change heightened the latent frictions between the ruling class and their Hindu, Zoroastrian, Jain, and (few) Christian subjects. Although his large, efficient, and tax-eating army was too big to challenge directly, Aurangzeb's rule set the stage for eventual rebellion by the Hindu majority, led by the Marathas (muh-RA-thahs) against his weaker successors. The entire eighteenth century witnessed a slow decline of the emperor's powers and prestige and a gradual whittling off of the territory he controlled. The latter condition was the result of both internal (Maratha) and external (European) challengers.

In the expanding empires of the Safavids in Persia and the Mughals in India, the appearance of European explorers and traders during the 1500s did not create much of a stir. At that time, the European presence in India was limited to a relative handful of traders in a few ports such as Goa and Calicut. As will be seen in Chapter 37, what seemed to be an insignificant presence to the rulers of India portended a very different future for Indians and neighboring peoples of Southeast Asia.

THE MUSLIM LANDS UNTIL WORLD WAR I

The three Muslim empires of earlier times in Asia were either overthrown or much weakened by the nineteenth century. The Mughals in India, the Safavid Persians, and the Ottoman Turks had been overwhelmed by Western military and financial powers where they came into conflict with them. By the mid-1800s, the British had made most of India an outright colony, and Persia was effectively divided into Russian and British spheres. The Ottomans had repeatedly been defeated by Russia in Europe and had been forced to watch as even the facade of their political overlordship in North Africa faded away and was lost to invading French armies after 1830 (see Chapter 36). Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798, and while he and his army were expelled by an Anglo-Ottoman alliance in 1804, for all practical purposes, Egypt became independent under its new military governor, Muhammad Ali Pasha. Finally, in 1882, Britain invaded and occupied Egypt, adding that country to its worldwide

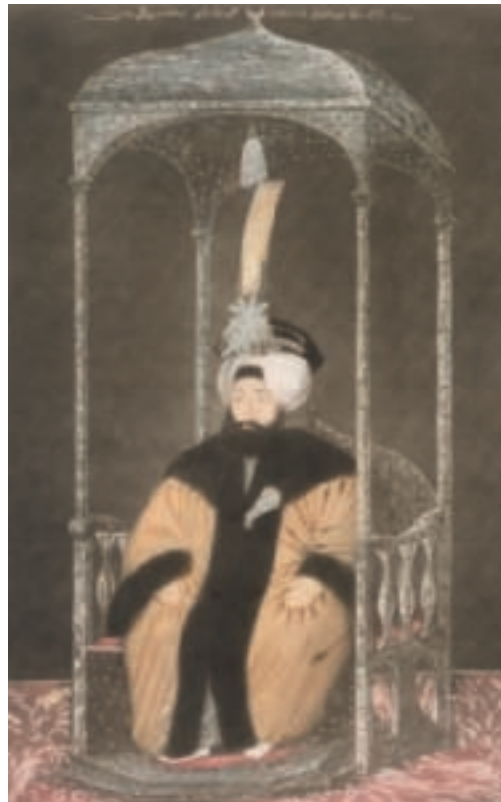
empire. Only in the Middle East did some substance of Turkish control remain.

But these political and military weaknesses were not the only indicators of decline. The Islamic world would have to overcome a series of psychological and technical barriers if it were to regain its equality with the West. The fundamental tradition of Islam, wherever it attained power, was to understand itself as a community of righteous believers who were actively spreading the sole, authentic word of God and establishing his rule on earth. For a thousand years, since the time of the Prophet Muhammad, this viewpoint had been the driving force behind the expansion of the religion around the globe.

From about the mid-eighteenth century, however, this view could no longer be sustained, as the unbelievers took over former Muslim territories from the Balkans to the islands of Southeast Asia. The learned and powerful men of Islam reacted in several ways. Some assumed that these reverses were temporary and that the lands would soon be regained. Others looked—for the first time—to the West for inspiration in technology and, above all, military science, to help them counter and overcome Western superiority.

Unfortunately for Muslim ambitions, the first trend prevailed over the second. The ulama and the imams of the Ottoman domains could not accept the secularism of post-French Revolution Europe, but a few grudgingly recognized that Muslim practice would have to incorporate some Western elements if it was not to be utterly overwhelmed. Yet they still believed in the inherent superiority of the community of God (*Dar al-Islam*) over the unbelievers (*Dar al-Harb*). As a result, they only sporadically and inconsistently attempted to adopt some European science and technology without changing the conservative cast of Islamic education and government, which frowned on innovation.

A vast body of traditions and prejudices opposed those few who attempted to bring large-scale Western ideas into Islam. A few Ottoman sultans had come to realize that resisting the West without the assistance of Western science and education would be hopeless. They tried to implement limited reforms, yet they were unable to carry them through



OTTOMAN SULTAN SELIM III. Selim was the first to institute the permanent and thoroughgoing reforms of the Ottoman military and administration known as the *Tanzimat*.

Stapleton Collection, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library

against the twin obstacles of tradition and apathy. Consequently, as a cultural and political force in the world, Islam had entered a state of severe decline by the late eighteenth century. Unwilling to adapt to the modern world beyond a superficial level, the Muslim lands seemed destined to a future in which they were the permanent pawns of the European powers.

REFORMS OF THE MUSLIM RULING ELITES

By the 1890s, this inability to resist external pressure had produced four different responses in the Muslim world. The first of these was simply ignoring or rejecting the changes that were occurring. This was the easiest response, and many of the ulama and the general population continued to take for granted the superiority of all things Islamic over other ways and ideas. The second amounted to attempts at accommodation, which began when the ruling elites in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and Iran tried to impose limited, largely military, reforms. The third was the beginning of what is now called *Islamic fundamentalism*. The fourth was *pan-Arabism* or *Arab nationalism*, which are related but not identical attempts to create a sense of unity among the Arab peoples of the Middle East and North Africa.

The Tanzimat

The Ottoman Empire was the first Islamic state to try modernizing along European lines, and in many respects, it was the one that experimented the longest and whose attempts ultimately went the deepest in changing its society as a whole. Egypt and Iran also tried to implement similar reforms in the 1800s. However, in each of these cases, the reforms were state-directed—that is, they did not begin as a popular response to the Western challenge—and the ruling elite intended to limit them only to the military sphere.

With the further defeats and losses of territory that came after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, the Ottoman sultans and grand viziers of the eighteenth century finally realized that they had lost the military advantage to the Europeans. To save the sultanate and what remained of the empire, they had to modernize the Ottoman military machinery. As early as 1719, the grand vizier tried introducing reforms that were essentially conservative: The objective was not a wholesale reform of Ottoman society or Islamic institutions, but rather was limited to improving military instruction. Alas, in 1730, a popular uprising against these “Frankish (European) manners” ended his experiment, and the grand vizier paid for his perceived mistakes by being executed. Other similarly brief and unsuccessful experiments were tried in the following decades. Sultan Selim (seh-LEEM) III was the first to initiate far-reaching and successful reforms, later called

the **Tanzimat** (TAN-zih-maht; “New Order”) **Reforms**. Beginning in 1793, he tightened government control over the crumbling and corrupt provinces, and created new schools for the training of officers who were to become the backbone of a new, European-style Ottoman army and navy. European instructors were brought in, books were imported—many from France and reflecting the new thought of the European Enlightenment—and a new library was made available to the students. Again though, in 1807, another uprising of the ulama and the Janissaries deposed Selim and temporarily set back the reforms.

The next sultan, Mahmud II (mah-MOOD; reigning 1808–1839), permanently reignited the reorganization in 1826 when he ended the opposition of the Janissaries and the ulama once and for all after luring them into an ambush. Immediately afterward, he dismantled the Janissary corps, banned the religious (Sufi) brotherhoods, and seized all sources of funding previously controlled by the ulama (*waqfs*, for example). New reforms promptly followed, as the sultan and his viziers created schools for training students in European languages and sciences, and set new controls over education, administration, and communications. When Abdul Mejid (AHB-dool meh-JEED) succeeded to the sultanate in 1839, he added even more far-reaching reforms. His **Rose Chamber Rescript of 1839** revolutionized Islamic



A JANISSARY. This portrait shows a member of the Sultan's Janissary corps as the fighters appeared about the time of Sultan Selim III. At one time the elite of the Ottoman army, the Janissaries had become largely reactionary by the eighteenth century. It was a revolt of the Janissaries that ended Selim's reforms in 1806–1807.

Private Collection/Stapleton Collection, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library

society by declaring the legal equality of all Ottoman subjects, regardless of religion or ethnicity. In the succeeding decades (1839–1861), Abdul Mejid reinforced the terms of the Rose Chamber Rescript by replacing the moribund feudal estate system with individual land ownership and by creating a new law code modeled on European paradigms along with new courts to administer it equally to all his subjects.

Up to this point, the reforms remained state-directed, but in 1861, the Tanzimat entered a new phase. A new sultan, Abdul Aziz (AHB-dool ah-ZEEZ), proved to be a reactionary who was opposed to further liberalizations of Islamic law and society. By then, the direction and extent of reform had begun to slip from state control. Decades of training Ottoman subjects in European sciences and ideas (including those of Enlightenment liberalism) had created a broader base and momentum for change. A group of young intellectuals and journalists, called the **Young Ottomans**, had started to exert pressure for the political liberalization of Ottoman society. Using European nations as their model, they clamored to replace the sultanate with a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary system. In 1876 when Abdul Aziz died, they and other reformers within the government supported Abdul Hamid II (AHB-dool hah-MEED) for the succession, on the promise that he would liberalize the government. The reformers got

their constitution, and an election was held for the first time in Ottoman history for the creation of a parliament. Once in power, however, Abdul Hamid proved to be just another autocrat: He ended the Tanzimat by dismissing the parliament and suspending the constitution. Throughout his long reign (1876–1909), he used a vast system of spies to put down all resistance and impose strict control over all Ottoman subjects. He also gradually began to ally the empire with Germany. A nationalist reform party of army officers deposed him in 1909 and set up a military junta in place of the sultanate. Called the Committee for Union and Progress (shortened to CUP), it continued to govern using the policies and methods Abdul Hamid had established. More important, perhaps, the CUP led the Ottoman Empire into World War I as an ally of Germany.

Egypt and Sudan Under Muhammad Ali and Khedive Ismail

Appointed as the Ottoman viceroy to Egypt in 1805, **Muhammad Ali Pasha** filled the political vacuum that had been left in Egypt after the forced withdrawal of French forces in 1805. His reign in Egypt was highly unusual for two reasons: (1) its longevity, lasting until 1848, and (2) his success in modernizing the armed forces. He accomplished the first of these goals through bribery and intimidation. Regular gifts of large sums of cash were sent to the sultan and influential members of the Ottoman Court to ensure that he would not be removed from his position. By such methods, he succeeded not only in ensuring that he would remain as Egypt's governor, but also that the position would remain in his family. (The last of his line, King Farouk, was deposed in 1952.)

Far more important for Egypt, though, were Muhammad Ali's reforms. An Albanian by birth, he had served in the Ottoman forces against the French. In those years, he had become utterly convinced of the military superiority of European armies, so to strengthen his position, he implemented a far-reaching program of military reforms similar to what was occurring in Istanbul at that time. Above all, he turned to the French for his models. Missions were dispatched to France to pursue studies in military science, engineering, and medicine. He brought scores of French technicians and officers to Egypt to advise him. He forcefully conscripted thousands of Egyptian peasants, whom he outfitted with the latest weapons, and placed them under the command of Turkish and European officers. To help support these measures, he established munitions industries and created a modern system of schools and public health. He encouraged private landownership, and sugar and cotton were added as important new cash crops.

State monopolies of vital industries such as sugar refining plus textile, iron, and weapons manufacturing were established. Emboldened by his successes, the viceroy also expanded his holdings outside Egypt. Much like the



Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK/Bridgeman Art Library

SULTAN ABDUL HAMID II. The last sultan of the Ottoman Empire and the last Islamic caliph, Abdul Hamid ended the Tanzimat. Throughout his long reign from 1876 to 1909, he suppressed liberal reforms and the growing Arab nationalist movement.



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MUHAMMAD ALI PASHA, VICEROY OF EGYPT. Many consider Muhammad Ali to have been the founder of modern Egypt. His reforms of the army reached into many other aspects of Egyptian life, including its economy.

ancient pharaohs, he sent his armies up the Nile to occupy the Sudan. The Egyptians founded the city of Khartoum (khar-TOOM) as their primary command center. In 1838, he sent his son to invade Syria, challenging Ottoman authority there. Unfortunately, this aggressiveness against the Ottoman sultanate invited Anglo-French intervention, and the viceroy's navy was destroyed in a battle fought off the coast of Greece in 1839. This disappointment set back the Egyptian reform movement for several decades.

Under Muhammad Ali, foreign investment played a key part in Egypt's modernization. This continued under his successors, particularly in the building of Egypt's railroads and the construction of the Suez Canal, which British and French investors largely capitalized. This created a difficult problem for Egypt's rulers, who were forced to wrestle with the enormous debts they incurred to foreign banks and other investors. The third of Muhammad Ali's sons to rule, Ismail (ISS-mah-il), greatly added to the problem because he loved everything European. It was his fondest desire to make Egypt into a European nation, and he hoped to be accepted by European leaders as one of them. Therefore, when the Suez Canal was opened for the first time in 1869, he spent lavishly on a huge fête, to which he

invited all of the European heads of state and royal families. To impress them, he commissioned the Italian composer, Verdi, to compose an opera, *Aida* (ah-EE-dah), and he rebuilt large parts of Cairo and Alexandria to resemble Paris. Ultimately, he bankrupted his country and was forced to sell Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal Company to Britain. Worse, he was forced by the European powers to turn over the management of Egypt's treasury to a committee made up largely of his principal investors. An uprising of army officers who opposed this European intervention finally forced Britain to occupy Egypt in 1882 in order to protect its interests in the canal. Britain installed Ismail's son as the new *khedive*, and they remained as a colonial occupier in Egypt until 1922.

The Egyptian occupation of the Sudan led to some unexpected resistance, which also entangled the British. Between 1881 and 1885, Muhammad Ahmad, called **the Mahdi** (MAH-dee; "the Expected One"), led a successful revolt against Egyptian (and British) presence there. Khedive Ismail (kheh-DEEV ISS-mah-il) sent a British officer, General Charles Gordon, as his governor of the Sudan, but Gordon was killed in an assault by the Mahdi's followers at Khartoum. The Mahdiyya (Mahdist rebellion) combined elements of national resistance to foreign rule and Islamic fundamentalist reaction against innovations. Following his victory, Muhammad Ahmad formed a government in which he imposed traditional laws and established courts of Islamic judges to enforce Islamic law. Believing that he was sent as a savior of Islam, a Mahdi, he believed he communicated directly with God, so he also modified Islam's Five Pillars to support the principle that loyalty to him was part of true belief. Muhammad Ahmad died of typhus six months after the capture of Khartoum, but the Mahdiyya lasted until British forces finally defeated the rebels in 1898 and set up a protectorate over the Sudan.

Reforms Under the Iranian Shahs

Under the Safavid shahs and the Qajar Dynasty that replaced them in the eighteenth century, Iran did not experience the full impact of growing European cultural superiority and military might that the Ottoman Empire did in the 1700s. Consequently, it did not start down the path of reform until well into the nineteenth century. Shah Nasir ad-Din (NAH-seer ahd-DEEN) was the first Qajar ruler to introduce significant restructuring. Like Selim III and Muhammad Ali Pasha, he tried to reform the shah's army to counter steady Russian encroachment in the Caspian Sea region and British expansion in India. The result was an intensification of military and commercial ties with the West, and gradually Iran was drawn into the world market. As Iranians developed a taste for imports, more turned to growing cash crops such as tobacco, cotton, and opium to pay for them.

Under pressure from Britain to lower tariffs, Iran imported a flood of cheap European-manufactured goods,

putting indigenous producers out of business. Moreover, for help in building modern transport and communications systems, Nasir ad-Din made overly generous concessions to European firms. In 1890, the granting of a tobacco monopoly to a British firm created a serious crisis when, led by a Muslim cleric by the name of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani (jah-MAHL ahd-DEEN al-af-GAH-nee), national resistance to foreign interference in Iran broke out. Afghani, fearing Big-Power political intervention in Muslim countries such as Iran, convinced local merchants that the concessions would bring harm to local people and compromise Iran's religious and political autonomy. The shah expelled Afghani from the country in 1891, but he was forced in the end to withdraw the monopoly when another cleric declared a national prohibition on the smoking of tobacco. However, Western control over Iran's mineral and oil rights was established by another concession to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and between 1908 and 1912, Iran began its first exports of oil to the industrial West.

Meanwhile, as happened in Turkey under Young Ottoman leadership in the 1870s, demands for a constitutional and representative government to make it more democratic began circulating among Iran's young, increasingly Western-educated intelligentsia. The catalyst for this movement was Shah Muzaffar ad-Din's (MOO-zah-fahr ahd-DEEN) attempts at punishing Tehran's merchants for price-fixing. The ulama and young intellectuals united in defending the merchants and demanding reforms to curb the shah's actions. Popular support grew so fast that Shah Muzaffar was obliged to capitulate to the protesters' demands for a constitution and a *Majlis* (MAHJ-lees; National Assembly).

In 1907, the Majlis convened for the first time, but the shah's willingness to use military force against it effectively weakened it for many years. Although the movement for popular reform ended in a partial failure, nationalist feelings had been born in Iran, and the constitution and the popular movement that supported it remained vivid memories among Iranian reformers that had their echoes in the 1950s and in 1979 (Chapter 52).

SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL RESPONSES

Wahhabi Fundamentalism and Jihad

Throughout its long history, Islam has witnessed periodic episodes of revivalism. Sometimes, especially during times when Islam was in crisis, these developments took a decidedly fundamentalist and violent form. At other times, as was the case in the late 1800s, they assumed the character of movements of reform and accommodation. A modern example of the former violent reaction was **Wahhabism** (wah-HAHB-ism), a militant reform

begun in the late 1700s when a desert shaykh, Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab (AHBD-al-wah-HAHB; 1703–1792), joined forces with a tribal leader, Muhammad ibn Saud (sah-OOD; from whom the Saudi royal family is descended). Together, they fought a jihad to purge Islam of Sufis, Shi'ites, and all others whom they accused of introducing innovations, which they believed were responsible for the decline of Islam. Largely inspired by the ultraconservative writing of a late-thirteenth-century theologian, Ibn Taymiyya (teye-MEE-yah; see Patterns of Belief box), the Wahhabis believed that Islam would survive attacks against it by its enemies only by returning to the fundamental sources of the faith, namely the Qur'an and collections of oral traditions (called *hadith*) concerning the Prophet Muhammad. Only the example of the primitive Islamic community as it was assumed to have existed at Medina in the time of Muhammad served as an acceptable model for Muslim life to the Wahhabis. Therefore, all Muslims had to be forced to follow that example. Ibn Abd al-Wahhab labeled all who disagreed with this view as heretics deserving of death.

These zealots declared holy war on all neighboring tribes to force them to accept their more purified version of Islam. "Enforcers of obedience" maintained moral order, and they still do so in modern Saudi Arabia. "Objectionable innovations" targeted for destruction even included mosque minarets and grave markers; therefore, they even planned attacks on the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina. In 1802, they destroyed the tomb of the Shi'ite Imam Husayn at Karbala, Iraq. In 1803, they succeeded in capturing Mecca, the holiest city of Islam, and Medina, where they destroyed the markers of Muhammad's grave. The Ottoman sultan, Mahmud II, sent Muhammad Ali Pasha in 1811 to drive them out. As the original fundamentalist sect of Islam, Wahhabism has inspired many similar violent reactions to change, especially to any innovations originating in the West. In the nineteenth century, to a varying extent, it helped inspire resistance to European ideas and imperialism in Africa and the Middle East.

Today, Wahhabist-inspired fundamentalism is notorious for fueling Islamist terrorism against the United States and other Western nations. Fundamentalism was and is marked by a thoroughgoing rejection of Western influences and Western ideas, including such notions as political democracy, religious toleration, the equality of citizens, and various other offshoots of the Age of Enlightenment and the American and French revolutions. To a fundamentalist (the word is a recent appellation), the task of government is to bring about the reign of Allah and his faithful on earth—nothing less and nothing more. Any obstacles that stand in the way of this process should be swept aside, by persuasion if possible, but by force (jihad) if necessary. There can be no compromise with the enemies of God or with their varied tools and facilitators, such as secular schools, mixed-religion marriages, and non-confessional parliaments. In the rise of Wahhabism



Chateau de Versailles, France/Lauros/Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library

THE HAREM OF A CAIRO SHAYKH, c. 1870. The harem was actually the private quarters of a Muslim home, the place where women and children were protected from strangers.

in Arabia and the bitter resistance by Abd al-Qadir's followers to the French in Algeria (see Chapter 36), modern Islamic fundamentalism found its first heroes. Many others would come forth in the twentieth century.

The Salafi Movement

Not all who advocated a return to the early community of Islam did so by demanding the wholesale rejection of all things Western. As we saw previously, Muslims who lived under autocratic regimes (such as the Ottomans and the Qajars) agitated for Western-style liberal democracies and constitutional governments to replace the systems they had endured for centuries, but others wanted even more—namely the reform of Islam to permit modern ideas and ways of life to penetrate Islamic societies. Chafing under European occupation of parts of Africa and the Middle East, some Muslim leaders in Egypt and India in the 1890s were distressed that Islamic civilization had fallen hopelessly behind the West, especially in technology and the sciences. One of these concerned leaders was

Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, who urged Muslims to reform themselves in order to find the strength to meet the challenges of the West. Afghani believed that the key to the future of Islam was to reject blind obedience to religious tradition, and he called for Islam to modernize itself.

It was left to the Egyptian shaykh Muhammad Abduh (AHB-doo) to develop a program of reform. Between 1889 and 1905, Abduh served as the grand mufti and as the rector of Egypt's most prestigious mosque university, the Azhar (AHZ-hahr). In these positions, he was able to influence many students and intellectuals to accept limited modifications of Islamic law and thus admit the teaching of new subjects, such as science and geography. Above all, he realized that this change required discarding adherence to tradition that had been the rule since the tenth century. Calling for modernization based on Islamic principles, Abduh and his followers began what came to be known as the **Salafi movement** (SAH-lah-fee). Rather than simply accepting the ways of the past, even the ways of the early community, as Ibn Taymiyya and the Wahhabists had advocated, Abduh called for returning to the days of the "pious ancestors" (*Salaf*, from which Salafi comes) before the tenth century, to the time when Islamic civilization led the world in intellectual experimentation. Firmly adhering to the belief that God favored Muslims, Abduh believed that Allah could not desire to see Muslims in their present state of inferiority and subjection to "Christian" Westerners. Rather, he reasoned, God wished the Muslims to return to the days of free intellectual enquiry when they studied all of the sciences. That focus, he believed, would enable them to catch up with the West.

Many of Abduh's ideas spread rapidly in some intellectual circles throughout the Islamic world. Seyyid Ahmad Khan (AH-mahd HAHN) and Muhammad Iqbal (ICK-bahl) advocated similar reforms for the modernization of India, as did Shaykh al-Amin bin Ali Mazrui (al-ah-MEEN bin AH-lee maz-ROO-ee) and Shaykh Abdallah Saleh Farsy (ahb-DAHL-lah SAH-lee FAR-see) in East Africa, for example. Unfortunately, though, most ulama continued to ignore all innovations.

Arab Nationalism

Pan-Arabism is an outgrowth of Arab national consciousness that began to be articulated in the late nineteenth century, especially among Lebanese and Egyptian Christians. (Note that the word *Arab* or *Arabic* refers to an ethnic group, not a religious one. There are many Arab Christians in Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria, and they were among the leaders of Arab nationalism.) Ottoman recognition of the equality of all Ottoman subjects in the nineteenth century, regardless of religion, meant that they could no longer refuse admission to missionaries to work among the Christian communities of the empire. The establishment of mission schools in Lebanon and Egypt gradually introduced Christian Arabs to the Enlightenment ideas

PATTERNS OF BELIEF

THE FOUNDING FIGURE OF ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM AND REFORM

Many Muslims today consider Taqi al-Din Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) to have been the leading intellectual of the ultraconservative Hanbali school of Islamic thought in the Middle Ages. His writings inspired the eighteenth-century Wahhabi movement, an Islamic fundamentalist movement founded by Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab, and also influenced the reform thought (*Salafi*) of Shaykh Muhammad Abduh and others.

The son of a Hanbali scholar, Ibn Taymiyya received his education in Damascus, where afterward he lived for about fifteen years as a schoolmaster. Living at a time when the Muslim world was divided internally by sectarian differences and under repeated assaults by Christian Crusaders and the Mongol armies, he sought to overcome the problems of Islam. He held that this was to be done by reviving a strictly literal interpretation of the Qurʾan and Islamic law of the Prophet Muhammad and by opposing customs and innovations he considered to be illegal innovations, such as Sufism and the worshiping of saints. Because of the zeal with which he expressed his opinions, he offended many secular and religious officials. He spent much of his life in various prisons in Cairo, Alexandria, and Damascus, and finally died in prison.

Ibn Taymiyya was convinced of the utter perfection of Islam. Furthermore, as did most ulama, he thought Muhammad had been both the Messenger of God and the perfect Muslim. Reasoning thus, to him, later additions to Islam—such as theological speculation, Sufism, and saint worship—detracted from the perfection of Islam as it was in Muhammad's days. To solve current problems, he struggled to revive an understanding of Islam as Muhammad and his close companions (*Salafi*; hence the adjective *Salafi* sometimes is applied to his revivalism) had originally defined the faith. Although the ulama of all four schools of Islamic law (*Sharia*) accepted this last point, where Ibn Taymiyya and

most Hanbali scholars differed was in their rejection of every other form of Islam, or sources of Islam other than the Qurʾan and the traditions of the Prophet. He stated that the goal of a true Muslim was not to think or speculate about God, nor to “know” Him, nor love Him, nor to seek Him in any way. Rather, he thought the only legitimate goals for a Muslim were to carry out God's will through worshiping Him and obeying Him. Any other form of religious belief and practice for Muslims was mere “innovation” (*bida*)—hence unbelief (*kufi*). Therefore, in his words, it was the duty of every Muslim to wage jihad against anyone who failed to subscribe to these beliefs:

The command to participate in jihad and the mention of its merits occur innumerable times in the Koran and the Sunna. Therefore it is the best voluntary [religious] act that man can perform ... Jihad implies all kinds of worship, both in its inner and outer forms. More than any other act it implies love and devotion for God, Who is exalted, trust in Him, the surrender of one's life and property to Him, patience, asceticism, remembrance of God and all kinds of other acts [of worship] ... Since lawful warfare is essentially jihad and since its aim is that the religion is God's entirely and God's word is uppermost, therefore according to all Muslims, those who stand in the way of this aim must be fought.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

In your experience, how do the views of Ibn Taymiyya compare to the views of religious fundamentalists or revivalists of other religions, such as Christian, Jewish, and Hindu?

Source: Rudolph Peters, *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996), 47–49.

of political liberalism and nationalism for the first time. In Beirut, editors of a few small Christian newspapers called for increased political self-identity among all Arabs, regardless of religion. These ideas spread rapidly into Syria, Egypt, and Iraq, where they appealed especially to anti-Turkish dissidents who wished to see an end to Ottoman rule. By the 1890s, various vocal Arabic societies had appeared, which advocated political independence from the Ottoman Empire for the Arab provinces.

The reaction of the autocratic Sultan Abdul Hamid to these ideas was predictable: He was able to use his

secret police to suppress such talk and hound the leaders of the pan-Arab movement into hiding. Agents were sent disguised as ulama to exacerbate tensions and traditional rivalries between tribes, clans, and families, as well as between Christians and Muslims. These actions were temporarily alleviated when the officers of the CUP deposed the Sultan in 1909, but soon, conservatives within the junta clamped down on Arab aspirations by ordering that all ethnically based organizations be disbanded. None of this action seriously discouraged the Arab nationalist movement, though. In 1905, many were openly promoting



the creation of an independent, Arabic-speaking nation, stretching from Iraq to the Suez Canal. By 1913, as the Ottoman Empire was on the brink of entering a world war as an ally of Germany, an Arab Congress met in Paris to hammer out a consensus scheme for an autonomous Arab

state. Although the Congress failed to gain the support of the major Western powers that it had hoped for, events during the war soon changed the whole history of the pan-Arab movement, as well as that of the entire Middle East (see Chapter 52).

SUMMARY

THEIR WORLDWIDE EXPANSION IN THE Age of Discovery brought Europeans into more frequent and, inevitably, more violent contact with other world civilizations. For many centuries beforehand, Muslims and European Christians had fought across religious frontiers in periodic “holy wars.” And in these encounters, both intellectually and militarily, the Muslims had generally enjoyed the upper hand. In the centuries following the Renaissance, the balance of power between Europe and the lands of Islam began shifting slowly in favor of the West, and bewildered Muslims responded in several ways that set the pattern for interactions between Western nations and Muslim peoples that has continued to this day. Although these responses differed considerably, they all shared two features: (1) their continued religious base, and because they were religious, (2) the continued assumption of the superiority of all things Islamic, even to a Western civilization that clearly had become wealthier and more powerful.

Because of this assumption, for example, the first responses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

to the shift of power were state-directed and limited to relatively insignificant borrowings from Western technology—particularly military technology. Muslim leaders were willing to learn from the West, provided that what they learned did not affect what they believed were rules for living and truths that Allah had mandated. Inevitably, though, such attempts at maintaining a barrier between science and religion had to fail, especially because what the Muslims coveted—science, hence the scientific method—derived from a Western revolution in thought that was highly secular. In the modern era, Westerners learned not to discard their beliefs, but to suspend them in trying to understand and master their world while leaving what happened after death to their faiths. So, in the end, Muslim religious extremists found that their greatest “enemy” was not Western Christianity but Western secularism. Islamic civilization, like the medieval civilization that modern Westerners finally discarded, has struggled to separate religion from everyday life.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

the Mahdi	Salafi movement
Muhammad Ali Pasha	Tanzimat Reforms
Rose Chamber Rescript of 1839	Wahhabism
	Young Ottomans

For Further Reflection

1. After having been one of the most advanced of the world civilizations for many centuries, why did Islamic civilization in general lose ground to European civilization in the modern era?
2. In your opinion (and, as always, state your reasons), from what you already know about African and other Asian civilizations, is it likely that they would have shared some of the weaknesses of the leading Islamic civilizations of the fifteenth-to-eighteenth centuries? Discuss some of these common weaknesses.
3. Despite their decline vis-à-vis Western civilization, do you think that Islamic civilizations might have continued to grow in other ways?
4. What were some major departures in the ways in which some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Muslims responded to the threats of Western civilization from past Muslim responses to external threats?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- A major source of internal trouble for the Ottoman rulers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was/were
 - the spreading atheism of most of the Turkish upper class.
 - the professional military units called Janissaries.
 - the missionaries from Europe in the Ottoman cities.
 - the attacks from the Mughal Empire of India.
 - their inability to control their police forces.
- In Arabia, the Wahhabi fundamentalist movement became politically allied to what family? The
 - Muhammad Ali family
 - Alawi family
 - Hashimite family
 - Hijazi family
 - Saudi family
- Which of these was not cited as a reason why the Ottoman Empire weakened after the seventeenth century?
 - The empire became militarily overextended.
 - New trade routes bypassed Ottoman territories, weakening the economy.
 - Later sultans were less well prepared to rule, passing much of their youth in the harem.
 - The sultans failed to perceive the growing threats posed by the Western powers.
 - Islamic attitudes and institutions helped to block needed changes.
- Which of the following is/are true about the Tanzimat Reforms?
 - They were initiated and directed by the sultans' government.
 - They were popularly supported from their inception.
 - They failed in their objectives.
 - They were forced on the Ottomans by the European powers.
 - Both a and d are true.
- The Rose Chamber Rescript was significant because it
 - ended the Ottoman monarchy.
 - advocated the creation of a new, modern army.
 - established the legal equality of all Ottoman subjects.
 - banned Islamic law.
 - ended the feudal system of military estates.
- An Islamic leader who influenced movements for reform in both Iran and Egypt and who advocated Islamic modernization was
 - Nasir ad-Din.
 - Muhammad Abduh.
 - Mahmud II.
 - Abdul Hamid II.
 - Al-Afghani.
- In Iran, national resistance to a reform-minded government finally gelled around the issue(s) of
 - government attempts to stop merchants from fixing prices.
 - efforts by the Shahs to modernize their armies.
 - attempts by the government to regulate education.
 - government concessions of monopolies to foreigners.
 - both a and b
- Many people today trace the roots of Islamic fundamentalist violence to
 - the Salafi movement.
 - the Sudanese Mahdiyya.
 - the writings of Ibn Taymiyya.
 - eighteenth-century Wahhabism.
 - the establishment of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
- In many respects, the founder of modern Egypt was
 - Nasir ad-Din.
 - Mahmud II.
 - Selim III.
 - Muhammad Ali.
 - Khedive Ismail.
- The Mahdist uprising in the Sudan was a result of
 - efforts by the Egyptian Khedive to modernize Sudanese society.
 - the Egyptian occupation.
 - the British occupation.
 - Sultan Abdul Hamid's efforts to suppress Arab nationalism.
 - the expansion of the slave trade under Egyptian rule.



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36

European Imperialism and Africa During the Age of Industry

THE BACKGROUND OF THE NEW IMPERIALISM, 1790–1880

Rivalry for New Markets
Strategic Issues
Nationalism and the Clash of Rival Imperialisms
The “White Man’s Burden”

THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA, 1880–1914

REACTIONS TO EUROPEAN DOMINATION

CHANGES IN AFRICAN SOCIETIES

Undermining of the Old Ways
Economic Changes

Take up the White Man’s
burden—Send forth the best
ye breed—Go bind your sons
to exile, to serve your captives’
need; To wait in heavy
harness, On fluttered folk
and wild—Your new-caught,
sullen peoples, Half-devil and
half-child

—Rudyard Kipling

THE LAST QUARTER OF the nineteenth century witnessed an extraordinary surge in Western activity in the non-Western world. This reached a climax in the 1870s and later with a sudden enthusiasm by the major European powers and the United States for seeking new colonies abroad and consolidating old one—often called the **New Imperialism**. The most dramatic manifestation of this New Imperialism was the **Scramble for Africa**, which began around 1882 and lasted until World War I. During these years, about half a dozen European nations engaged in a sudden and furious footrace to lay claims to what the King of the Belgians, Leopold I, called “this magnificent African cake”—a continent in which hardly anyone had shown any interest during the Age of Informal Empire—and that at times threatened to bring them to blows. The “scramble” for Africa perhaps remains the most spectacular and irrational example of the New Imperialism, yet much of Asia and the Pacific islands were also the objects of a huge land grab by the United States and Japan as well as the European powers. This chapter explores the background of the New Imperialism and the European colonial period in Africa, while Chapter 38 examines the case of China.

1880s–1914	Scramble for Africa
1884–1885	Berlin Conference
1899–1902	Boer War in South Africa
1918–1939	Interwar period: rapid changes in many African societies

THE BACKGROUND OF THE NEW IMPERIALISM, 1790–1880

Prior to 1880, only Algeria and Cape Colony (South Africa) were under direct European control. By 1914, only Ethiopia and Liberia remained outside formal European control. What factors caused this sudden turn of events?

Rivalry for New Markets

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the economic and military situation among the European powers was shifting rapidly. In this era of the Second Industrial Revolution, Britain faced serious competition from other nations for industrial supremacy—especially from Germany and America—and its balance of trade went into deficit. Furthermore, Europe as a whole suffered from a depression that lasted from 1873 to 1896. This Long Depression contributed greatly to the New Imperialism as the Western powers sought new markets for their manufactured goods and sources of raw materials needed to keep their industrial plants operating. In addition, many financiers in Europe and America sought investment opportunities in new markets that offered endless supplies of cheap labor and little or no competition. In the past, protected “spheres of influence” or colonies—particularly “white colonies”—around the globe had provided outlets of this sort for free capital. Where new markets could be found and “opened up” to free trade and investment, the opportunities for profits were greater than in the home countries (or so-called *metropoles*).

Strategic Issues

The British government came under intense pressure from industrialists and financiers to secure lucrative markets in India and East Asia from their European rivals. For Britain, obtaining a controlling interest in the Suez Canal, and ultimately control of Egypt itself, was critical to assure easy passage from East to West. For its part, Germany did not even exist before 1871. But once unified, it quickly became a rising industrial power close on the heels of Britain. Bismarck had little interest in overseas empire: European politics were of greater concern, but he too came under pressure from German industrialists. In addition, international rivalry in Africa provided him another opportunity to keep France isolated and out of any alliances that could threaten German security. Tiny Portugal remained concerned only with protecting its old colonies in Angola and Mozambique against the designs of powerful rivals like Germany and France. To fend them off, it forged an alliance with Britain.

Nationalism and the Clash of Rival Imperialisms

Competing nationalisms proved to be a compelling force for empire building among the major players. Initially,

Bismarck was motivated by the search for German overseas markets, but by the 1880s, the powerful new currents of German nationalism became a greater driving force. Many patriotic Germans felt that no nation could be taken seriously as a great nation if it did not have an overseas empire. Their models, of course, were Britain and France. To have its rightful “place in the sun,” Germany needed to stake its claims overseas along with the other European powers. Pan-Germanism thus made Germany the third-largest colonial power in Africa, after acquiring colonies in what are now Togo, Cameroon, Namibia, and Tanzania.

France, too, acquired its colonies in Africa and Asia out of strong feelings of wounded national honor and the need to assert the glory (*gloire*) of France. Most damaging to its national image was the loss of Alsace-Lorraine in the Franco-Prussian War and the British occupation of Egypt, so France felt compelled to compensate with conquests in Africa and Southeast Asia (see Chapter 37). The result was that most of what France added as “French West Africa” was worthless desert and scrubland (see Map 36.1).

Italy, another newly formed nation, sought its “place in the sun” out of a desire to assert national glory. Like France, however, it ended up with very little of any real commercial value: desert land in Libya and marginal scrubland (Sahel) in Somaliland and Eritrea. Italy was also the only colonial power to be defeated by an African army in its attempts at conquest in Africa: A war to conquer Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1896 resulted in defeat at the Battle of Adowa.

The “White Man’s Burden”

Finally, and by no means least, many well-intentioned folk at all levels of American and European society felt, as Rudyard Kipling expressed in the verse above, that it was the “**white man’s burden**” to “civilize” the Asians and Africans. Some, like the missionary David Livingstone, advocated “legitimate trade” as a substitute for the slave trade. Consequently, Western businessmen and women now came to see Africans and their lands in a wholly new light: They could “save” Africans from themselves, while bringing them the mixed blessings of the Bible and Western civilization. In other words, what was happening to the non-Western world was not a power play by rapacious foreign exploiters but an act of duty toward fellow humans who—perhaps without acknowledging it—needed the West’s magnanimous aid.

THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA, 1880–1914

By the 1880s, sufficient geographic information was available about the interior of the continent to allow the European nations to begin to stake their claims. Belgium and Germany vied with the British in Central and East Africa. The Portuguese took Angola and Mozambique under firm control at this time. The French cemented their hold on West



MAP 36.1 Africa Before World War I.

Following the scramble of the 1880s and 1890s, all of Africa except tiny Liberia in the west and mountainous Ethiopia in the east was brought under European rule. The German possessions were given to Britain, France, or South Africa following the war.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Note the French, British, Belgian, and Portuguese possessions. Considering the geography (example: French West Africa), potential commercial value (examples: Nigeria and the Belgian Congo), and history (examples: Angola and Mozambique) of these regions, can you explain how these parts of the African continent ended up as possessions of each respective colonial power?

Africa and west-central Africa. Italy took the area around the Horn of Africa, while King Leopold II of Belgium got the resource-rich Congo basin as his prize. Spain ended up with part of Morocco and “Rio de Oro” (now Mauritania).

The “process” by which this was accomplished was very messy indeed. The rapid shift from “informal empire” to colonial occupation took the form of a “scramble” for territory by the nations of Europe. The instability this brought into the international arena threatened Europe’s peace. German Chancellor Bismarck called for a **Berlin Conference** in 1884 to find an agreed-upon formula to regulate the contest among the powers and to temper the most contentious disputes. After negotiations, the conferees ended by defining **effective occupation** as the standard for the recognition of territorial claims, a formulation that all-too-frequently resulted in armed force being used against indigenous states and peoples. Essentially “effective occupation” meant pro-

viding proof that local Africans had formally ceded their sovereignty to the “protecting power,” the Europeans who declared the right to rule. Also, the “occupying power” had to establish some sort of formal “presence” in the territories they claimed, which usually meant an administrative apparatus to maintain order, interdict slave trading, and govern. More immediately, the new rules of effective occupation set off rounds of treaty making, conquest, and more foot races among competing powers to stake their claims.

By 1900, all of Africa had been allocated to European rule, with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia (see Map 36.1). No attention whatever was given to local custom or economic relations when the borders of the various colonies were drawn. Whole peoples were split, and teams—sent out from Paris, London, or Berlin to partition the continent—shattered ancient ethnic and social affiliations. That this disregard for African geographic and ecological traditions



Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Woodfin Camp and Associates, Inc.

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN. This engraving from 1895 shows the European concept of “civilized” administration being brought to the Africans. A district official listens judiciously to the complaint before issuing his decision, backed up if necessary by African soldiery in the background.

was an egregious mistake became clear when the colonial system was dismantled after World War II and border disputes occurred all across the continent.

Once in power, one of the first tasks of the new overlords was to train an African constabulary under white officers to break up slaving raids and put down resistance to colonial rule. Another was the establishment of district offices, often staffed by young civil servants fresh from the mother country who were given extraordinary responsibilities in maintaining the peace and establishing European administration. In the British colonies, it was not unusual to see a twenty-seven-year-old, three years out of Cambridge and backed only by his constables, given life-and-death authority over a district population of perhaps 30,000 individuals. Direct challenges to the new dispensation were rare. Officers could move about freely without fear in the villages, although the nearest European might be a couple hundred miles away. Attacks on the Europeans, when they occurred, were almost always motivated by the whites' breaking of religious taboos, taxation, or repeated cruelties.

REACTIONS TO EUROPEAN DOMINATION

Although terribly outgunned (literally as well as figuratively), Africans did not passively submit to European

overlords. Many African leaders sought to check or defeat the Europeans' encroachments throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Historians of Africa have divided the types of African resistance into two categories. **Primary resistance** involved the initial, violent reaction of individual societies against colonial rule. Its distinguishing characteristic was its relatively small scale, involving the actions of perhaps a few villages from a single ethnic group (or “tribe”). Primary forms of resistance almost never involved planned strikes against outposts or settlements, but were more likely to be sudden attacks against colonial representatives performing specific duties associated with their offices. Tax collection (which Africans perceived as simple theft), forcible recruitment of labor, and arrests were the actions most likely to cause such attacks. Almost invariably, these invited retaliation by constabulary forces against villages and farms. Called “hammering” by some, Africans' homes and crops were set afire, livestock confiscated, and resisters killed.

Secondary resistance was a delayed response (sometimes years later) that followed the failure of primary resistance. It took longer to subdue than forms of primary resistance; was far larger in scale; and, most significantly, typically involved thousands of people, drawn from many ethnic groups over a wide region. Its basis was not the defense of a specific, ethnically based way of life, but often took the form of spirit-possession cults, led by prophets who promised immunity from white man's weapons. In regions that had large numbers of Muslims, Islam served as a basis for resistance to “Christian” regimes (see the Law and Government box).

In the end, though, with the single exception of the Italians' campaign in Ethiopia, the Europeans' superiority in weaponry and tactics won out, albeit after overcoming resistance that sometimes lasted for years. Against the Maxim guns and exploding artillery, bravery alone was not enough.

Once conquered, the African elites faced two choices: submit and attempt to assume the manners and values of their new masters or withdraw as far as possible from contact with an alien overlord. In the French and British colonies, African leaders generally chose the first way, encouraged by colonial administrators. In the Belgian, Italian, Portuguese, and German colonies, the Africans often chose the second way, because they were given little opportunity to do anything else until after World War II.

In some cases, those who withdrew and remained committed to African tradition retained more prestige in the eyes of their people than those who associated with the conquerors and mimicked their manners. Having seen the power of the Europeans, however, many believed that the whites' ways were superior and sought to associate themselves with those who provided access to those ways.

Of the three types of Europeans with whom Africans were now in contact—merchants, administrators, and

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

ONE WHO RESISTED

Samori Touré (c. 1830–1900) was born into a Dyula (JOO-lah; Muslim trader) family in what is now the country of Guinea at a time when the increasing use of imported European firearms had begun to change traditional ways of waging war in West Africa. While still a teenager, Samori enlisted in the service of the warlike Cissé clan where he learned how to handle and care for modern firearms. According to West African oral tradition, he stayed “seven years, seven months, and seven days” with the Cissé before fleeing and joining another warrior clan, that of the Berété. After these early experiences, he created his own professional army to protect his clan from slave raids at the hands of the Cissé and the Berété, appointing his own brothers and friends as his commanders.

To forge his army into an efficient fighting machine, Samori needed to create his own state that he could defend so long as he had a steady supply of modern firearms. To accomplish the latter, he conquered the ancient gold-mining region around Buré (Boo-RAY; in modern Guinea and Sierra Leone), whose income allowed him to purchase breech-loading rifles from British merchants in Sierra Leone. Throughout the late 1870s and 1880s, he further consolidated his position by seizing control of many of the old Dyula markets and trade routes of the western Sudan. His new state, called Wasulu (WAH-soo-loo), in due course was comprised of large portions of what are now Guinea, Sierra Leone, Mali, and Ivory Coast. Many smaller states, ethnic groups, and religious traditions were engulfed by Samori’s kingdom. A Muslim, Samori was personally tolerant of most pre-Islamic customs and lifeways, yet to help bind his state together, he coerced many to convert to Islam. He took for himself the title of *Almamy*, commander of the (true) believers. By these measures, he placed his state under the Islamic written law (*Sharia*), providing a common source of behavior and identity that connected his followers to him personally while providing an alternative to the prospect of life for himself and his followers under the rule of unbelievers.

Beginning in the 1870s, the French began to expand aggressively eastward from Senegal, attempting to create a West African empire that would extend as far as the Nile River in what is now Sudan. Other sorties were to the southeast to link up with their positions in Ivory Coast (Côte d’Ivoire). Inevitably, these exploits brought them into conflict with Samori. Samori, hoping to exploit Anglo-French rivalry, countered with an offer to the British to put his kingdom under their protection. The offer was refused, but the British agreed to continue allowing the sale of repeating rifles to Samori to enable him to defend his state from further French aggression.

Sustained hostilities began in 1885 when a French expedition under Colonel A.V. Combes moved to seize Samori’s gold fields at Buré, forcing Samori to mount a defense. Samori succeeded in forcing Combes to withdraw by maneuvering his Wasulu forces around the French lines of communication, thus cutting Combes off from his supplies and command center. Samori had at his command a well-equipped, battle-hardened army that had enabled him to fight the Europeans to a stalemate. However, the French knew they had time as an ally. They evolved a strategy of unrelenting attack and attrition that successfully prevented Samori from consolidating his position, while exploiting the dissent Samori faced within his kingdom from non-Muslims to seize large chunks of his base.

In 1891, the French launched a direct attack on Kankan, located in the core area of Wasulu. By skilled new maneuvers similar to those he had employed successfully against his old adversary, Colonel Combes, Samori managed a few more victories against isolated French columns but failed to expel the French from the core of his kingdom. In 1892, a small, elite force finally captured Samori’s capital at Bissandugu. Making matters even more difficult for him, the French persuaded the British to interdict the supplying of breech-loaders to Samori, guns that were crucial to his continued struggle.

Resistance, however, was not over. Rather than trying to hold on to a position that by now had become untenable, Samori shifted his entire base of operations eastward, away from territory now held by the French. Hoping to discourage pursuit, he ordered the complete destruction of everything along his line of retreat. This bought him time to retrench and consolidate his position and delayed further French advances, but it also created more distance between himself and his few remaining sources of firearms. Furthermore, the defeat and surrender of other armies of resistance inevitably gave the French the upper hand against Samori. The end came in 1898 when, in an attack on Samori’s new position on the upper Niger River, a French commandant captured him. Two years later, in June, 1900, Samori Touré, perhaps the greatest of those who dared resist the march of European colonialism in Africa, died as an exile in Gabon, French Equatorial Africa.



Musée des Arts d’Afrique et d’Océanie, Paris, France/Lauros-Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library
SAMORI TOURÉ.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

For what reasons do you think men like Samori and others put up such a stout and prolonged resistance against the Europeans? For what were they fighting? What were Samori’s sources of strength? (Hint: Be sure to think beyond the obvious military answers.)



“THE RHODES COLOSSUS.” This contemporary cartoon from Punch magazine depicts the strategic aims of British imperialists in Africa. Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902), famous as the diamond magnate who founded the de Beers monopoly in South Africa, struggled to advance British ambitions to create adjoining British territories in Africa stretching from Cape Town to Cairo.

CHANGES IN AFRICAN SOCIETIES

By the early twentieth century, the Europeans had completely demolished the traditional division of lands and severely affected commercial and cultural relations among the Africans. The old boundaries based on topography and clan and ethnic associations had given way to European diplomatic agreements and horse trading. In the same fashion, traditional African power relations had been either destroyed or severely altered by the imposition of European-style officials, police forces, and courts, manned either by whites or by their African pawns.

Personal relations between masters and underlings varied, sometimes even within the same empire. French officials and African subordinates generally got along well in West Africa but poorly in

Central Africa because of local variations in the French administration. In some instances, the whites and the African Muslim upper class got on well, but most Africans, who saw them both as exploiters, resented them. In colonies with large numbers of settlers, as in British Kenya and South Africa, the whites generally exploited their African labor and established an impenetrable social “color line,” regardless of central government policies.

Undermining of the Old Ways

At the beginning of the twentieth century, although Christianity had already made a slight dent in African traditional religions, the Islamic faith had far more prestige and adherents throughout the northern half of the continent. The burgeoning colonial cities like Dakar, Lagos, and Nairobi increasingly attracted Africans, but the majority continued living in their rural villages. Their standards of living were simple, and illiteracy was nearly

missionaries—the latter were perhaps the most important for the evolution of African culture. Missionary efforts at basic education in the local languages were responsible for the creation of a small group of educated Africans who were determined to become like their white mentors. The education offered rarely went beyond the ABCs. By the 1930s, however, the select few who did advance became conscious of the gap between what the European liberals and intellectuals preached and what the governments practiced in their treatment of the colonial peoples. From their ranks in the mid-twentieth century were to come the nationalist leaders of Africa. They saw that the most telling critique of Western colonial practice was to be found in the classic ideals of the West. Like their Asian counterparts, the African intellectuals used the weapons that their Western education delivered to them to free themselves from colonial authorities and to lead their peoples to independence.

universal outside the cities and the few villages with mission schools, but where they were permitted to continue growing their traditional food crops and breeding their livestock, they were not impoverished in any material sense. However, where forced to turn to cash cropping or to wage labor, poverty and social disruption tore asunder the cultural fabric of African societies.

Everywhere in the villages, the old ways of the Africans' culture and institutions lingered on, but subtle changes were under way beneath the surface. The "native rulers" appointed by colonial authorities frequently abused the powers given them by the Europeans. Because these powers usually exceeded traditional authority, their villagers only resented them. People found that the guiding spirits of the ancestors no longer seemed to be effective, so more and more youths sought their futures in the white man's religions, schools, cities, and jobs. The white man's medicine likewise provided an ancillary, and often more effective, source of healing. In these and other fashions, mostly unintended, the Europeans' coming as permanent overlords had a cumulatively erosive effect on the old ways. Many Africans found themselves adrift between the colonialists' preferred models of belief and conduct and the age-old traditions of African life.

Economic Changes

What benefits to the home countries came from the establishment of African colonies? In 1880, the European colonial governments had few if any long-range plans to develop their new territories economically. The chief concern shared among them was to avoid expense or to find ways in which the Africans could be brought to pay for the military and civil expenditures incurred. They had to walk a fine line between excessive expense to the home country taxpayer and excessive coercion or taxation in the colony. A rebellion would be not only distasteful but also expensive to the home government. Ideally, cash cropping and development of African mineral resources would allow a cost-free colony. For most colonial governments, however, this goal proved to be a mirage. Only a few of the colonies (Gold Coast, Nigeria, Senegal, Kenya, and South Africa) with **cash crops** such as palm oil, peanuts, coffee, tea, and cotton were better than a break-even proposition for the home nations. The hoped-for large domestic markets for excess European industrial capacity never developed. The Africans' cash incomes were far too small to absorb large quantities of consumer goods, and it proved impossible to attract private investments into Africa on any scale comparable to what was going into the Americas or even Asia. Only in one or two situations—notably the copper mines and rubber plantations of the Congo and the diamond and gold mines of the Cape Colony—did the African bonanza materialize. Cecil Rhodes, the British capitalist and greatest of the private empire builders of the nineteenth century, had envisioned



National Archives/HP/Art Resource. NY

A TOBACCO PLANTATION IN COLONIAL RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE).

Along with peace and European-style republican governments, the "white man's burden" meant introducing cash economies to Africa. This colonial-era poster emphasizes this theme, along with colonial paternalism.

a thorough Europeanization of Africa, driven by railroads and mineral wealth. By 1914, it was already clear that this would not happen.

The individual colonies varied sharply in economic aspects. In the center of the continent, the Congo was a royal plantation, held by a private firm in which the Belgian king held a majority share. Originally explored by Henry Stanley (of Stanley and Livingstone fame), the Belgian Congo was a vast area along Africa's second-largest and longest river. It was an important source of several industrial raw materials, especially copper and rubber.

Relatively few Europeans settled permanently here. The main reason for claiming and keeping this kingdom

of the west-central rain forest was to exploit its abundant material resources. A great scandal ensued in the early twentieth century when it was gradually revealed how brutal the royal enterprise had been toward its workers and how little had been done to improve the lives of its African peoples. Despite many assertions that European rule was justified by its potential to benefit Africans, the final judgment is spoken by a simple figure: The population declined by half in twenty years (1885–1905) of Belgian royal oversight.

In a few colonies, the economic impact of colonial rule was visible and direct. In British South and East Africa and in Algeria, whole agricultural districts were taken from the Africans to be used exclusively by the whites. Everywhere, new requirements that taxes had to be paid in money forced Africans into providing cheap labor for white businesses and farms. Closely aligned with business interests, for example, colonial governments pressured the “kaffirs” (Boer term for Africans) of South Africa’s gold and diamond mines into dangerous and exhausting work.

The three European governments had somewhat different goals for their colonies and administered them in different ways, which were arrived at by necessity and experiment rather than by plan. French possessions were administered from a central office in Dakar and were linked directly with the Paris government. The Africans were given little margin to govern themselves. Through methods of direct rule called at various times **assimilation and association**, the French exerted strong pressure on the upper-caste Africans to learn French and acquire French manners and values. If they did so, they were paternalistically considered as “black Frenchmen and women.” They could then enter the colonial bureaucracy and even become French citizens, although very few ever did.

The French made considerable effort to convert Africans to Catholicism, but they met with little success until the twentieth century. Very little economic development occurred in these colonies, which were for the most part desert regions deficient in natural resources or rain forest that discouraged exploration. Only in the twentieth century have modern irrigation works made it possible to develop some agriculture in former French colonies such as Mali, Chad, and Mauritania.

The British possessions to the south were more favored by nature and attracted more attention from those seeking profits. A few colonies (Gold Coast and Nigeria) began as the private possessions of monopoly firms similar to the British East India Company in India. Sierra Leone began as a refuge for freed Africans from intercepted slave ships after the maritime slave trade was banned. The British rulers, whether private or governmental, relied heavily on local assistants, whom they appointed to exercise actual day-to-day government under loose supervision. This system of **indirect rule**, which was similar to what the British did in parts of India (Chapter 37), was implemented partly to reduce administrative costs for the home country and to ease the transition from traditional methods of rule.

As a result of the (sometimes coerced) introduction of commercial crops such as peanuts, palm oil, cotton, cocoa, sisal, tea, and coffee in the late nineteenth century, Europeans’ African dominions were gradually integrated into the world market. This proved to be yet another mixed blessing. Before the Great Depression, while prices for commodities remained high, the African colonies prospered. As in the rest of colonial Africa, however, the replacement of food crops by cash crops proved to be a disaster for Africans in the long run. Colonial authorities discouraged industrial development. The manufacturing of finished goods was left to the mother countries, and Africans were permitted only to provide raw materials. So when the prices of their cash crops and other raw materials (including mineral exports) fell, Africans’ dependence on the world market proved to be “the mother of poverty.” Unable to sell their cash crops at reasonable prices, many went hungry or starved when they could not earn enough to purchase food.

Such methods steadily forced Africans into Western-dominated, capitalist economies of trade and cash. These economic changes undermined centuries-old lifestyles and beliefs that had been rooted in values that traditionally favored family and community ties. In the villages, prestige shifted from those who came from respected lineages or who had religious authority to those who accumulated wealth. The way was being prepared for Africans’ belated entry into the world marketplaces, albeit often to their considerable disadvantage.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

WOMEN OF COLONIAL AFRICA

MARY KINGSLEY: EXPLORER AND ANTHROPOLOGIST

As an explorer and writer, Mary Kingsley greatly influenced European ideas about Africa and African people. She was born in Islington, England, in 1862, the daughter of a doctor and an invalid mother. As a girl, she was housebound to help care for her mother, so she acquired little formal education. Nevertheless, she was exceptionally intelligent and naturally curious, and she made ample use of her father's large library and loved to read and hear stories of foreign lands.

When both of her parents died in 1892, the thirty-year-old Mary was free of family responsibilities and was then able to travel. Her first decision was to visit Africa to begin collecting ethnographic information for a book on the cultures of the peoples of Africa.

She traveled to the Portuguese colony of Angola in 1893 and managed to earn the trust of local people. They taught her the skills that enabled her to survive in the difficult conditions she would encounter in the African wilds. After a short visit home in 1895, she returned to Africa and traveled by canoe up the Ogowe River and spent time studying the Fang peoples of west-central Africa. During a second return to England, she wrote *Travels in West Africa* (1897), for which she achieved instant notoriety. In many ways, Kingsley's writings went against nineteenth-century currents of opinion about Africans and their ways of life. Her criticism of missionaries for trying to change Africans, in particular, created an instant uproar among the Church of England clergy. Both in her books (she wrote a second shortly before her death) and public lectures, Kingsley described and defended many facets of African life that shocked the staid English middle class. She also opposed the common view that Africans were "undeveloped white men" and that their minds were inferior to those of whites.

A true modernist in her opinions, unfortunately Kingsley's voice was lost when she died of typhoid in 1900 while working as a nurse among Boer prisoners of the Boer War.

ELSPETH HUXLEY AND WHITE SETTLEMENT OF KENYA

Elspeth Huxley (1907–1997) possessed a rare combination of energy, intellect, and sensitivity that served her well through multiple careers in her long life as a successful journalist, writer, and even government advisor. After her birth in Britain,

Mary Evans Picture Library/Alamy



MARY KINGSLEY ON THE OGOWE RIVER, c. 1896.

Huxley's parents moved to the new colony of British East Africa—later Kenya—and arrived in Thika, near Nairobi, in 1912 to start new lives as white settlers and coffee planters.

At 18, Elspeth left Kenya for England and America, but returned in 1929 to her adopted country to take a position as Assistant Press Officer to the Empire Marketing Board. After marriage and the births of three children, she resigned her post in 1932 and began traveling widely and writing. Among her earliest works was *Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya*, which was an apologetic biography of a famous settler. Later in life, she served as an advisor in the confederation of the two colonies of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). Throughout these years, Elspeth Huxley worked and wrote as an advocate and apologist of colonialism in "the Dark Continent." However, in the 1950s, as many of Britain's African possessions began the process of decolonization, she became an advocate for the independence of the colonies.

Huxley is most noted for *Flame Trees of Thika*, an autobiographic account of her early upbringing in Kenya, which poignantly documents the lack of preparation of many European settlers for life in the African "bush"—something that resulted in many failures and bankruptcies. In 1981, it was made into a television miniseries. However, her best work is *Red Strangers*, which details what life had been like for the Kikuyu people before the arrival of colonial government and the white settlers who occupied much of their land. Huxley's book was rare for exhibiting a clear awareness of African life in an age when white colonizers thought Africans to be bereft of histories or civilizations of their own.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Why do you suppose the views and writings of these early colonial women seemed to focus so little on the experiences of (other) Europeans in Africa? Why was Kingsley interested in Africans? Was Huxley?



SUMMARY

DURING THE ERA OF THE New Imperialism, Europe added almost 9 million square miles—one-fifth of the land area of the globe—to its overseas colonial possessions. Europe’s formal holdings now included the entire African continent except Ethiopia, Liberia, and Saguia el-Hamra, the latter of which would be integrated into Spanish Sahara. Between 1885 and 1914, Britain took nearly 30 percent of Africa’s population under its control, compared to 15 percent for France, 9 percent for Germany, 7 percent for Belgium, and only 1 percent for Italy. Nigeria alone contributed 15 million subjects, more than in the whole of French West Africa or the entire German colonial empire. It was paradoxical that Britain, the staunch advocate of free trade, emerged in 1914 with not only the largest overseas

empire thanks to its long-standing presence in India, but also the greatest gains in the “scramble for Africa,” reflecting its advantageous position at the scramble’s inception. In terms of surface area occupied, the French were the marginal victors, but much of their territory consisted of the sparsely populated Sahara.

Political imperialism followed economic expansion, with the “colonial lobbies” bolstering chauvinism and jingoism at each crisis in order to legitimize the colonial enterprise. The tensions between the imperial powers led to a succession of crises, which finally exploded in August 1914, when previous rivalries and alliances created a domino situation that drew the major European nations into World War I (Chapter 41).

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

assimilation and association	New Imperialism
Berlin Conference	primary resistance
cash crops	Scramble for Africa
effective occupation	secondary resistance
indirect rule	white man’s burden

For Further Reflection

1. What changes occurred in European nations during the nineteenth century that led to the Scramble for overseas colonies? What changes occurred in Africa?
2. In your opinion, which European nations were *primarily* responsible for the New Imperialism? More specifically, which ones were most to blame for creating the conditions that set off the Scramble for Africa?
3. Once Europeans established their colonial presence in Africa, how did their goals in governing Africa seem to undergo changes?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book’s website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. By 1900, the entire African continent had been colonized by Europeans except
 - a. Liberia and Zanzibar.
 - b. South Africa and Ethiopia.
 - c. Kenya and Tanganyika.
 - d. Ethiopia and Liberia.
 - e. Ethiopia and Egypt.
2. Which of these statements about the New Imperialism of the 1800s is true?
 - a. It affected only Africa.
 - b. The Scramble for Africa was its most irrational manifestation.
 - c. Its only cause was a European desire to find new markets and sources of raw materials.
 - d. Its origins go back to the Berlin Conference.
 - e. The Berlin Conference settled all the disagreements among the European powers in their competition for overseas territories.

3. Which of the following statements most accurately describes the actions of European countries in Africa?
 - a. The British imported their own governors, having no confidence in local Africans to rule adequately.
 - b. The French tried very hard to convert their colonial subjects to Catholicism.
 - c. French subjects were given great latitude in governing themselves.
 - d. Most colonial administrators were so fearful of revolt that they almost never left their compounds without being heavily guarded.
 - e. Most British officers in Africa were seasoned veterans in their forties.
4. The main reason Europeans were interested in the Belgian Congo was a desire to
 - a. explore the Congo River.
 - b. maintain a trading center there.
 - c. extract slaves for the American trade.
 - d. extract gold.
 - e. take advantage of its natural resources.
5. In the years prior to the Scramble, which of these European powers would have seemed to be the least likely one to be interested in overseas colonies?
 - a. Britain
 - b. Portugal
 - c. Germany
 - d. Belgium
 - e. France
6. German Chancellor von Bismarck convened the Berlin conference to
 - a. find a formula all the European powers could accept for making claims to overseas possessions.
 - b. settle outstanding disputes with France over the future of Alsace-Lorraine.
 - c. create a common-gauge railway system throughout Europe.
 - d. find a formula for regulating the role of private industry in Africa.
 - e. find a formula all the European powers could accept for dividing up Africa's mineral resources.
7. To conquer Africa, Europeans
 - a. relied on European taxpayers to meet the large expenditures new colonial possessions would require.
 - b. largely depended on Africans to fill the ranks of their armies of conquest.
 - c. often relied on each other to provide mutual military support.
 - d. often relied on friendly African kings and chiefs to handle the military responsibilities.
 - e. essentially had to rely on European recruits for their colonial armies.
8. Generally speaking, European policies on educating Africans during the years of colonial rule
 - a. were successful in training most Africans to a basic level of literacy.
 - b. placed the entire cost and responsibility on the colonial administrations.
 - c. prepared Africans for eventual self-rule.
 - d. split the responsibilities between the administration and missionary societies.
 - e. left most Africans with little or no education.
9. Which part(s) of Africa saw few European settlers?
 - a. East and South Africa
 - b. Central Africa
 - c. North Africa
 - d. West Africa
 - e. South Africa
10. What was the purpose of the British policy of indirect rule? To
 - a. force African traditional rulers to send their children to school.
 - b. give African rulers powers they didn't hold under their traditional ways of ruling.
 - c. make use of traditional African rulers to assist in administering the colonies.
 - d. assimilate Africans to European thought and culture in order to "civilize" them.
 - e. force Africans to convert to Christianity.



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India and Southeast Asia Under Colonial Rule

INDIA

The Appearance of the Europeans
Life Under Company Rule, 1757–1857
The Great Mutiny and After

SOUTHEAST ASIA

BEGINNING WITH THE PORTUGUESE in the fifteenth century, Europeans commenced a spate of global explorations that persisted throughout the next four centuries (see Chapter 22). With much to be won, by the end of the 1500s, direct trade had reached an advanced state with Asia, Africa, and the American hemisphere, and nearly every European nation had found ways of participating in the division of the spoils. Throughout this process, and even after the discovery and settlement of the Americas, Asia continued to offer the richest prizes for those desiring the profits that could be garnered through commerce. The Portuguese were again at the vanguard of a systematic occupation of the principal Indian Ocean and Eastern Asian entrepôts. It was not long, however, before more muscular rivals eclipsed them. The Dutch expropriated the Spice Islands, while the English and the French were forced, for the most part, to focus their efforts on India and other portions of Southeast Asia.

INDIA

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the period when European military and commercial enterprises in India began, the Mughal Empire was still a viable state. The great Akbar and the next three shahs who followed him—Jahangir, Jahan, and Aurangzeb—could afford to tolerate the presence of foreigners from faraway Europe carrying on trade in their ports, with little heed being given to any hazards they might present. These powerful rulers had built a unified state out of the numerous smaller entities that had preceded them, and the history of India itself was one of a land—not a nation by any standard—which had seen invasions and settlements of one set of exotic interlopers after another. Therefore, what could a few hundred more foreigners matter?

Yet they did matter. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 marked the beginning of the end of effective Mughal administration, and the next 150 years saw a gradual reversal of the conquests of Babur and Akbar, as the centrifugal forces of India's religious and regional differences reasserted themselves and the subcontinent gradually broke up into several dozen minority states, each ruled by its own

We divide, you rule.

—*Maulana Mohammed Ali to British*

1510	Goa becomes seat of Portuguese Indian Ocean empire
1521	Portuguese seize control of Malacca
1603	British East India Company (B.E.I.C.) founded
1757	Battle of Plassey; Bengal and Orissa become B.E.I.C. possessions
1824–1886	British conquer Burma
1839–1842, 1878–1880	Afghan Wars
1856–1857	Great Indian Mutiny
1858	Queen Victoria assumes control of India; B.E.I.C. is dissolved
1876	Victoria crowned as Empress of India
1885	Indian National Congress founded in Delhi
1887	French establish Indo-Chinese Union

nawab (nah-WAHB: Mughal ruling official). It was this breakup that provided an opening for a new set of foreign rulers, the British Empire in India, often called **the Raj** (rahj).

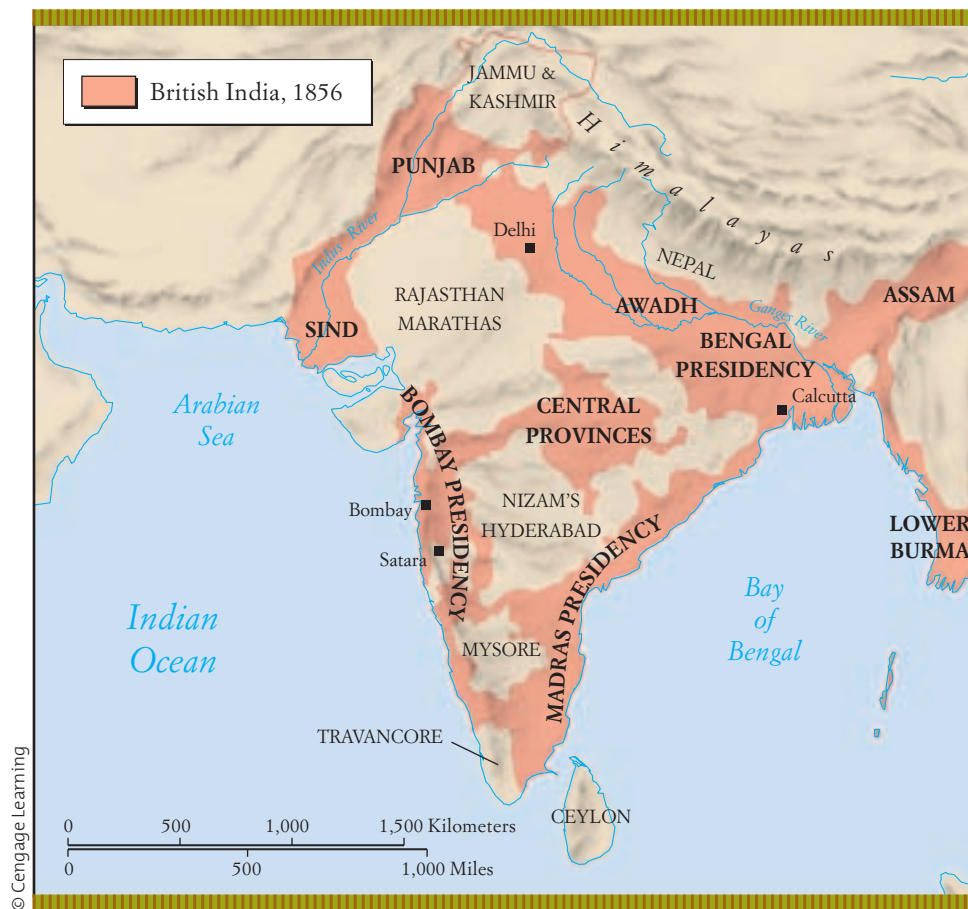
The Appearance of the Europeans

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in India, followed by the Dutch, English, and French. By the end of the 1600s, the Portuguese “factories” except for Goa had been absorbed first by the Dutch, then by the English. After some tentative skirmishing on the seas, the Mughals had settled into a mutually comfortable relationship with the British, centered on trade in goods in both directions, with luxury goods flowing to the West and firearms going in the opposite direction. The privately owned **British East India Company**, founded in 1603, was given monopolistic concessions to trade Indian goods—notably tea and cotton cloth—to the West and bring in a few European items in return.

For a long time, the arrangement worked out harmoniously. The Mughal shahs permitted the Company to trade through two factories at Bombay and Madras. A third, Fort William, was constructed in 1690 on the Hooghly River in Bengal (see Map 37.1), which eventually became the nucleus of the city of Calcutta. By the early eighteenth century, between fifteen and twenty-five merchant ships were making the long annual voyage between England

and India. India and the rest of Asia were by then becoming vital additions to the British Empire, because they supplied spices, silk, tea, and cotton goods to the growing list of high-value merchandise on which London and Bristol mercantile firms were enriching both themselves and Great Britain. At times, the East India Company made large profits. Ironically, however, major obstacles to its profitability were its own employees, who frequently traded on their own accounts at the Company’s expense.

A second dilemma was that, despite precautions taken to protect this valuable commerce, Company factories found the success of their business all too frequently to be at the mercy of local princes. The arrival of the French East Indies Company in the 1670s further complicated the Company’s predicament and provoked new strains on English–Mughal relations, as Paris was already in competition with London for a colonial empire (an issue that was fought over repeatedly in the Anglo-French wars of the 1700s, including the Seven Years’ War). Under the brilliant **Joseph François Dupleix** (doo-PLAYS), governor-general of French possessions in India (1742–1754), the French made an effort to enlist some of the Indian princes as partners in trade and to serve as native go-betweens to assist them in administering their territories. The British then responded similarly. Both the French East Indies and the British East India companies appointed local *rajahs* to serve



MAP 37.1 British Colonial Possessions in India, c. 1857



Thomas Gainsborough/Bridgeman

ROBERT CLIVE (1725–1774). Shown here in a general's uniform, c. 1764, Clive began his career as a clerk for the British East India Company but made his reputation as a soldier from his leadership at the Battles of Arcot and Plassey. Later, he served twice as the B.E.I.C. governor of Bengal.

as official “native rulers” through whom they connived to dominate key territories in India. For both sides, Bengal was one of the most crucial prizes to be had. Dupleix recruited Siraj ad-Dawla (sih-RAHJ ad-DOW-lah), the last *nawab* of Bengal, to despoil the B.E.I.C. of its possessions in Bengal. The deciding battle occurred on June 23, 1757, between the forces of Siraj and an army of 1,000 British soldiers and 2,000 **sepoys** (European-trained Indian troops) commanded by **Robert Clive**. Clive's victory at the **Battle of Plassey** marked a signal defeat of the French East Indies Company and secured British East India rule in Bengal.

Life Under Company Rule, 1757–1857

It was Robert Clive's exploits that made the B.E.I.C. the most powerful presence in India following Plassey and the ultimate defeat of the French at Pondicherry in 1761. The Treaty of Paris in 1763, which ended the Seven Years' War, surrendered control of much of India to Britain through the intermediation of the East India Company. Subsequently, Clive rose to the position of governor of

B.E.I.C. possessions in India. As governor, he established the basic framework for British rule in India for the next ninety-odd years. Above all, he wanted to avoid encumbering the Company with additional responsibilities, but also to retain the ultimate power in governing India. The policy he established was to make the Company the “protecting” power over India, but not the *titular* power. What resulted was indirect rule. He began by placing an ally, Mir Jafar, as the *nawab* of Bengal, under his “supervision.” In return, Mir Jafar gave Clive a gift of 240,000 pounds. Other princes followed this practice as more territories were added to the Company holdings in India.

It did not take very long before shareholders observed that many “*nabobs*” (Company employees) like Clive and others were returning to Britain from India as very wealthy individuals, while their own investments in the Company were failing to produce the expected dividends. By 1773, Parliament was unwilling to trust such an important asset as India entirely to private hands. They passed the Regulating Act, which divided political oversight between



© The Art Gallery Collection/Alamy

“GOING NATIVE.” A portrait of a European gentleman in Indian dress seated before an open window, smoking a hookah. B.E.I.C. employees spent years in India, where there were few European women as potential marriage partners. Many, it was said, “went native,” forming liaisons with Indian women and adopting Indian lifestyles. Lucknow Company School, early nineteenth century, from an album page.

London and the Company and curbed the autocratic style of governors like Clive and his successor, Warren Hastings.

In furtherance of these new concerns, Lord Cornwallis was put in charge of the Indian possessions in 1786. He began by firing all corrupt Company employees and proposed instead that the Company raise officials' salaries substantially to end the skimming of profits and to discourage the acceptance of "bribes" from "native rulers." English Common Law was introduced into Indian forms of land tenure. Most significantly, Cornwallis pronounced that Indian customs and religions were not to be interfered with and were to be respected; consequently, he continued the customary B.E.I.C. practice of discouraging Christian proselytizing.

Unfortunately, this policy of tolerance was not to last long. As Britain and other Western nations entered the Industrial Age, bourgeois attitudes towards other civilizations became ever more paternalistic, especially where darker-skinned peoples were concerned. The nineteenth century brought about the end of the slave trade, but it also was the century when the notion of Europe's "civilizing mission" flourished (see Chapter 36). This attitude seemed to receive support when Darwin realized that, in nature, only the "fittest" survive, an idea which some then applied to ethics and society as a whole (see Chapter 40). When applied to human beings, the result was a pseudo-scientific schematic in which some "races" were deemed superior to others. One especially tragic result of this way of thinking was the growing exploitation of "native" (i.e., inferior) peoples and a callousness towards their welfare. Under the British, the much-favored Hindu and Muslim elite (who were allies of the Company) fared well, but a policy of requiring peasant farmers to grow exportable crops, like tea and opium, enriched the Company but pauperized small farmers and caused occasional severe famines.



Sean Sexton Collection/CORBIS

FAMINE VICTIMS. Victims of the 1876 famine sit in Madras.

Another was a more aggressive policy of territorial acquisitions in India and neighboring regions. In the years after Plassey, the remaining petty states that remained outside Company rule were added to it one after another. After a series of wars, Burma was added to Britain's Indian empire (see below). However, the defeat of the French did not end challenges from other rivals. Often called **The Great Game**, in 1824, the company invaded Sind (the Indus region), seizing its ports to discourage Russian designs on southern Asia and its outlets to the western Indian Ocean. This was done because the B.E.I.C. had reasons to fear Russian designs on northwestern India, Afghanistan, and Persia. Further military adventures in Afghanistan proved to be much more difficult than Sind and the Punjab (in Northwest India) had proved to be. The first of the **Afghanistan Wars** came to a tragic end when an invading army was forced into a catastrophic retreat from Kabul in the winter of 1842. Out of an army of 17,000 Indian *sepoys* and British officers, only one soldier survived the extreme cold and continual guerilla attacks by Afghani tribesmen. Two further bids to seize Afghanistan also failed, although the harrowing results of the first war were not repeated. In each instance, the British underestimated their enemy.

A marked increase in the cultural insensitivity of the British occupiers of southern Asia began the generation after Cornwallis's, and it resulted in several mutinies, all of which were mercilessly repressed. Paradoxically, what became paternalism began with good intentions. By the early 1800s, the philosophy of *utilitarianism*, which taught that the greatest good is whatever is best for the greatest number of people, was in vogue among colonial and Company administrators. In this spirit, Governor-General George Barlow passed the Charter Act in 1813. Its purpose was to eliminate the rigid separation between Europeans and Indians, so in principle it eliminated discrimination against Indians in the Company service. Unfortunately, this principle was never followed in practice. Also, it eliminated the prohibitions against missionary activity. This form of "cultural imperialism" proved to be highly averse to Indian religious beliefs and practices, which most Europeans considered as "barbarous." In 1829, Governor-General William Bentinck passed the **Act of Abolition**, which eliminated *sati* and allowed Hindu widows to remarry. These measures rankled many Hindus—women included—despite their altruistic intent.

The Great Mutiny and After

While by no means universal, by the 1850s, resentment of the British expansion and their "civilizing mission" in southern Asia was widespread, particularly among Indian Muslims, high-caste Hindus, and the rank and file of the Indian army. Sepoys in one army unit had already mutinied (1824) when ordered to board ships to transport them to Burma. Mindful of Hindu restrictions against traveling by water, high-caste members had refused their officers' orders. Far worse was yet to come, despite the bloody riposte that followed this minor incident.

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY AND THE “BENGAL RENAISSANCE”

Ram Mohan Roy (1775–1833) was a prominent Hindu scholar and theologian, born to Bengal’s most powerful Brahman clan. However, the unorthodox Roy came to condemn Brahman excesses as well as Hindu polytheistic practices. He believed in the unity of God as revealed in the sacred texts not only of Hinduism, but those of Islam, Buddhism, and Christianity as well. From this philosophical premise, Roy became a pioneer in the region’s nineteenth-century reformist movement now known as the “Bengal Renaissance.”

The Bengal Renaissance began after the East India Company took over Bengal and established schools in Calcutta that provided young Bengalis with a European-style education. Gradually, the schools produced a new elite of Bengali men like Ram Mohan Roy, who interacted easily with members of the British ruling class in business, politics, and religion. Roy worked for the East India Company in his native region of Bengal, where he sometimes engaged British missionaries and scholars of Asian history and religions, called *Orientalists*. Roy and his reformist cohorts believed in cooperating with the governing regime, ostensibly to defend Hinduism and Indian rights on the Europeans’ own terms. Furthermore, the reformers aspired to modernize India by blending the best elements of Indian and British culture. Beginning with Roy’s movement and continuing into the twentieth century, Bengal’s theologians, scholars, scientists, orators, writers, and social reformers led intense debates about the relative merits

of Eastern and Western religious, political, and social systems.

For their part, Christian missionaries condemned Hindu beliefs and rites as idolatrous and evil. In order to maintain credibility in the religious debates, Roy and the Hindu reformers rejected some social practices that they also considered as irrational, including caste prejudices, the low status accorded women, and dietary restrictions. Ram Mohan Roy is best remembered for his campaigns against polygamy, child marriage, and *sati*. He also advocated property rights for women. Roy founded an early reform society that exerted a lasting influence on India’s intellectual revitalization during and after the British *Raj*. Members of Roy’s society established the first English-speaking school in Asia, Hindu College, in 1817. As a result, a growing class of English-educated leaders arose to continue the revitalization of India begun by Ram Mohan Roy’s pioneering generation, and many of its graduates became influential in the Indian nationalist movement.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Some historians liken the Bengali Renaissance of the nineteenth century to the Italian Renaissance of the sixteenth century. What similarities and differences do you see in the two movements? In what ways did Ram Mohan Roy contribute to the Bengali Renaissance?

The general cause of the **Great Indian Mutiny** of 1857 was years of pent-up rancor felt by native troops against the Raj, against Europeans and their families, and especially against their white officers. There seem to have been two immediate reasons for the revolt. In 1856, the East India Company forcibly annexed the province of Awadh and exiled its nawab to Calcutta. Out of the invading force, about 40,000 soldiers had been from the state and were deeply offended by these actions of the Company and its governor, James Dalhousie, giving them reasons to rebel. Further, by the 1850s, British officers spent less time with their soldiers than in the early years of the Raj and were tardy in their responses to rumors concerning their supplies. In 1857, the East India Company had just reequipped the sepoys with new Lee-Enfield rifles. The new weapons required the use of cartridges that had to be bitten before use. Many Indian soldiers believed that the cartridges were smeared with pork fat (forbidden to Muslims) or beef grease (taboo for Hindus). Other

rumors had it that pulverized animal bones and cows’ blood were mixed into their food, that the caste system was to be abolished, or that they were to be converted to Christianity.

The Great Mutiny began in Awadh when soldiers were humiliated on parade, stripped of their uniforms, and put in leg irons after they refused orders to use the new cartridges. Their comrades massacred their British officers, along with their wives and children, and then seized Delhi and restored the octogenarian Mughal emperor. The mutiny was confined to the Ganges River Valley, and more atrocities were committed. Nevertheless, most regions south of the Ganges Valley and the three main centers of Company authority—Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—remained unaffected. Moreover, most units of the Indian army remained loyal to the British. In the end, the Company put down the mutiny with great ferocity.

Realizing that Britons could not continue to rule India without the support of Indians, in 1858, the prime





BLOWING MUTINOUS SEPOYS FROM THE GUNS. “Blowing away” was a practice that had been used by the Mughals for rebellious soldiers. Despite this precedent, its use by British soldiers following the Great Mutiny made a mockery of the often-professed “white man’s burden.” From *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, published in 1858.

minister, Lord Palmerston, dissolved the British East India Company and substituted direct British government (frequently indicated by the term “Whitehall,” just as many denote the American presidency by “the Whitehouse”) over the Company’s Asian possessions. To prevent future mutinies, new, more careful methods of recruitment into the Indian army were put in place. Furthermore, forced Westernization was abandoned. As a last measure of asserting Whitehall’s supervision (that of the government in London), in 1876, Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli arranged to have Queen Victoria crowned as the Empress of India. This set a precedent that was followed by all British sovereigns until Indian independence in 1947 (see the Images of History box).

Had British rule in India been a failure? Many mistakes were made, as has been demonstrated. The cultural arrogance that characterized the Raj did not end when Whitehall usurped control over southern Asia, but persisted into the twentieth century. The attempts to substitute the British ways of life for Indian traditions, nevertheless, did produce some beneficial, long-term results. Some believed, for example, that the key to India’s future lay in producing a new elite who had been given a Western education and taught the English language. Schools were provided, beginning in 1816 in Calcutta, where young Brahmins received a “classical” education much like children were given in English private “colleges.” In time, those who matriculated into these colleges produced the so-called **Bengal Renaissance** (see the Society and Culture box). In 1885, they founded the **Indian National Congress**, which led to the Indian Independence Movement. The INC became the nation’s dominant political party after India achieved independence in 1947 (see Chapter 48).

SOUTHEAST ASIA

The territories in Southeast Asia that had succeeded in achieving political organization before the appearance of European traders and missionaries had little reason to take much notice of these visitors until a much later era. Contacts were limited to coastal towns and were mainly commercial. In the 1600s, the Dutch had driven the Portuguese entirely out of the islands’ spice trade, and they had established a loose partnership with the local Muslim sultans in Java and Sumatra to assure the continuance of that trade with Europe. After a brief contest with the Dutch, the British—in the form of the East India Company—had withdrawn from the Spice Islands to concentrate on Indian cotton goods. Only in the Spanish Philippines was a European presence pervasive and politically dominant over a sizable area.

Most of the insular Asians were by now converted to Islam, a process that began in the 1200s through contact with Arab and Indian Muslim traders. By the time the Portuguese arrived in 1511, Malacca had become a commercial crossroads of the Indian Ocean and East Asian networks, as well as the most important point of dissemination for Islam throughout the region. From Malacca, the Portuguese had extended their control over the Spice Islands. Except for on the island of Bali, the original syncretistic blend of Hindu with animist beliefs that had been India’s legacy had faded away. Only in the Philippines was there a Christian element.

If the islands were relatively untouched by the early European traders, the mainland populations were even less so. In the 1700s, the three states of Thailand, Burma, and Vietnam dominated the area. The first two were by then part of the *Hinayana* Buddhist world, while Vietnam (under Chinese influence) had remained with the *Mahayana* version of the faith. The once-potent Khmer state of Cambodia had been divided between the Thais and the Viets by stages during the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. As late as the end of the eighteenth century, nowhere was there a visible European influence, but this was to change radically in the next century.

In the early nineteenth century, a generation of European administrator-scholars entered colonial careers following the Napoleonic wars (see Chapter 31). These men were products of the Enlightenment and were often sincerely dedicated to humane treatment of their Southeast Asian charges while still being convinced adherents of Western cultural superiority. Foremost among them was **Sir Thomas Raffles**, the founder of Singapore and the first European to take serious interest in the history and archaeology of the precolonial societies. Although Raffles was entrusted with oversight of affairs for only a few brief years in Java, his reforming policies aimed at promoting peasant prosperity and local government autonomy persisted as a model, which was unfortunately not often followed in the century to come.

Indonesia was returned to Dutch rule in 1824 by a treaty that finally settled the ancient Anglo-Dutch rivalry. In the



SIR THOMAS RAFFLES (1781–1826).

century that followed, Dutch administrators gradually expanded their control, both political and economic, over the hundreds of inhabited islands that make up the “East Indies.” The bloody five-year Java War (1825–1830) was the decisive step, establishing Dutch sovereignty once and for all over this most important of the Indonesian lands. Other battles had to be fought in Sumatra and in the Celebes at the end of the nineteenth century. Only then was a true Dutch colony, rather than a trade partnership, created.

In the economic sphere, the Dutch directed a change from a limited spice-export trade with the homeland to an expansive commodity-oriented trade during the mid-nineteenth century. This change was accomplished via the so-called **culture system**, a refined form of peonage through which the peasants were obliged to deliver a major part of their crops to Dutch buyers at minimal prices. This system brought poverty to the Indonesians and great profits for the Dutch and Chinese middlemen, especially from the export of coffee, which replaced spices as the most important crop in the colony. The blatant abuses of the peasant laborers finally led to humanitarian reforms in the latter part of the century, but by this time, Java and Bali had been thrust into a cycle of declining availability of land and a rising population of rural tenants working absentee landlord estates. The resentments thus bred would inspire a tide of nationalist sentiment in the early twentieth century.



THE CASTLE OF BATAVIA, AS SEEN FROM KALI BESAR WEST, C.1656. Headquarters of Dutch East India Company.

In mainland Asia, the assertion of Western colonial power extended first to the Burmese kingdom. As the British East India Company gradually transformed from a private commercial venture into a colonial government in India, its agents came into conflict with the claims of the Burmese rulers to certain frontier districts. A brief war ensued, with the customary results in favor of the Europeans. The process was renewed twice more in the mid-nineteenth century, and the Burmese eventually submitted to imperial oversight as a province of British India.

The sultans of Malaya (in the lower reach of the long Malay Peninsula) followed a somewhat different route into the imperial camp. Here, the British at Singapore were joined by an influx of Chinese who quickly came to dominate the increasing trade going through the Straits of Malacca. By the 1870s (following the opening of the Suez Canal; see Chapter 35), this was the world’s busiest waterway. Steamships and sailing vessels of many nations carried trade between Asian countries and took part in the long-distance transport between Asia and Europe. The remarkable growth of world markets for tin and rubber, both of which were found in abundance in the Peninsula, also spurred alien business interests there. One after the other, the undeveloped sultanates were peaceably melded into the British “Straits Settlements,” with a large population of immigrant Chinese in the mines and plantations. By the opening of the twentieth century, this jerry-built aggregation had become the colony of Malaya.

Vietnam fell under French dominion in this same epoch, largely because of the imperial ambitions of a handful of French leaders, who felt that Paris was falling behind London in the race for colonial riches. A secondary reason was the determination of the Catholic leadership in France to use Vietnam as the portal for the conversion of China to the Roman faith. French missionaries had been engaged among the Viets since the seventeenth century and had made considerable progress by the early years of



MAP 37.2 East Asian Colonial Territories, 1840–1940

Shown here are the accessions of colonial domains by the West in East Asia during the nineteenth century. Only Thailand (Siam) escaped.

MAP QUESTIONS

Considering that China escaped formal colonization, what explains why Southeast Asia did not do so?

the nineteenth century. At that time, a successful contestant in the recurrent civil wars that marked Vietnamese history in the nineteenth century subjected them and their converts to an intense anti-Catholic campaign. This was the justification for French military intervention that began in the 1850s and continued at intervals until all of the Union of Indochina—the official name for the colony, which included the present-day states of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia—fell under Parisian oversight by the end of the century.

As in Malaya, economic development picked up rapidly after the coming of the Europeans. Capital and steam power

brought the great rice-growing area of the lower Mekong River valley into production for the first time, and Vietnam became the premier exporter of rice to world markets. Rubber plantations followed. Unfortunately, the rice fields and plantations were owned either by aliens or by a small clique of aristocrats who were friendly to the French. The economic lot of the Vietnamese villagers deteriorated as a result of the new developments. Just as in Dutch-ruled Indonesia, the visible and growing cleft between the mass of the inhabitants and the European/bourgeois governmental class inspired the rise of strong nationalism among some of the newly educated.

IMAGES OF HISTORY

CEREMONY FOR INDIAN ROYALTY

> THE LAST GREAT DURBAR IN JUNE 1911.

A *darbar* was a formal imperial assembly held to mark state occasions in India. When Queen Victoria was crowned (in Britain) as the Empress of India, all monarchs that followed her retained the title. However, neither she nor her son and successor, King Edward VII, ever visited India or received their crown (as monarch of India) while actually in India. However, upon Edward's death, King George V arranged to be crowned in India, for which the Great Durbar was called. All the princes of India were required to attend and to render their obeisance to the new emperor. In many respects, the Great Durbar of 1911 marked the apex of the Raj.

Parade of Indian nawabs pay tribute to the new "Emperor."



British officers of the Indian army stand at attention.

Reviewing stand on which King George V and Queen Mary sit.

Elephants trained for use in warfare were marks of authority among the Indian nawabs.

Among the Southeast Asian nations, only Thailand (then still known as Siam) escaped the colonial net and remained independent. How did this happen? It was partly a result of the 1893 agreement between the British in India and the French in Indochina that it would be convenient to maintain a buffer between their respective colonies, and that could only be Thailand. Thai independence was also partly the result of the remarkable vision and diplomatic skills of two nineteenth-century Thai kings: *Mongkut* (MUHNG-koot; ruling 1851–1868) and his son and successor, *Chulalongkorn* (CHOO-lah-LUHNG-korn; ruling 1868–1910). The two kings together brought their country into the modern age, introducing a wide variety of Western-style governmental and technical ideas into the still-traditional Thai culture. These reforms ranged from overhauls of the judicial system

to setting up a telegraph line, from abolition of the traditional prostration in the royal presence to the first printing press.

Although the premier foreign influence remained Britain, the Thai kings made it a point to invite advisers from many nations to assist them in their campaign of modernization. Not only were foreigners made to feel secure and well rewarded for their efforts, but the numerous members of the ruling clan were also encouraged to undergo Western education in several different countries before returning to take up their governmental duties. As a result of these policies of openness and technical progress, Thailand entered the twentieth century not only independent but also poised to meet Western cultural imperialism with an awakening sense of Thai national pride and a conviction of equality with the aliens.

SUMMARY

FOR INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a period of transition to colonial occupation or other new forms of Western imperial control. As in Africa, for most of this period, official European interest in Asia remained balanced between merely defending the commercial interests of their nationals and outright colonial occupation. For many years, official British and Dutch interests were buffered by the presence of the British East India Company (B.E.I.C.) in India and the Dutch East Indies Company in Indonesia. It was the British

company's involvement in the opium trade out of India that eventually entangled Britain in Asia—especially China.

Until 1757 and the victory at Plassey, the British East India Company restricted its trade to Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta but faced competition from the French and Dutch. Governors Clive and Hastings were relatively free-wheeling in their dealings with Indian princes, preferring to govern *through* them rather than *instead of* them. In those early decades of Company rule, officials maintained good relations with the Mughal princes and with

Hindus of the higher castes; consequently, many enriched themselves by skimming the trade of their employers and accepting gifts from the *nawabs* and *rajas* whom they supported. Most importantly, they maintained a policy of tolerance towards Asians' ancient beliefs and customs.

The Charter Act (1813) and the Act of Abolition (1829) changed the relationships between the British and their Indian subjects. Indians already had plenty of reason to resent British rule, but the cultural arrogance that came with these two regulations greatly worsened those resentments. Territorial acquisitions through conquest and the forceful removal of native rulers, "racial" segregation, missionary proselytizing, and the notion of England's "civilizing mission" to Asians culminated in the Great Indian Mutiny. Consequently, Queen Victoria (the British government) assumed direct rule over southern Asia in 1858 and dissolved the East India Company. More-tolerant policies were introduced, and Indians formed political associations like the Indian National Congress, which eventually began calling for the return of self-rule.

The Dutch company's loss of Java in 1798 encouraged French involvement in Southeast Asia. When the B.E.I.C. was dissolved in 1858, Britain became more directly involved. When this occurred, British actions, as well as those of the other European powers, were increasingly driven by the broader imperial concerns outlined in the

previous chapter: finding new markets for Europe's and colonial India's exports, strategic rivalry (the Straits of Malacca), nationalism, and the urge to export European civilization and Christianity (the "white man's burden").

After a series of colonial wars at the end of the century, France, Britain, and the Netherlands added almost all of Southeast Asia to their growing list of overseas possessions. The addition of Germany, the United States, Russia, and imperial Japan to the competition resulted in the seizure of Korea, the Philippine Islands, the islands of the western Pacific, and portions of China. Technically speaking, China did not become an out-and-out colony because it remained self-governing, but large parts of it were occupied.

In Southeast Asia, the colonial period commenced with Dutch and Spanish presence in the Indonesian and Philippine Islands, respectively. But as late as the end of the eighteenth century, the Western traders and missionaries had had relatively little impact on the mass of the native inhabitants of the islands and even less on the mainland.

This situation changed gradually but with increasing rapidity. The nineteenth century saw a transformation of the former subsistence economy of the peasantry and the introduction of direct European control of government both in the islands and on the mainland. By 1900, the entire region, except for Thailand, had become a European colony.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Act of Abolition (1829)
Afghanistan Wars

Battle of Plassey (1757)
Bengal Renaissance

British East India Company
Robert Clive
culture system
Joseph François Dupleix
The Great Game
Great Indian Mutiny

Indian National Congress
nawab
Sir Thomas Raffles
the Raj
Ram Mohun Roy
sepoys

For Further Reflection

1. Why do you suppose that the Mughals initially welcomed European trade? How did these interlopers and the welcome they received fit the pattern of India's long previous experience with outsiders (for example, the Mughals themselves)? In seizing Indian petty, post-Mughal states from their native *nawabs*, were the Europeans simply being opportunistic? Why might the Europeans (e.g., the French and English) have thought it inevitably necessary to dominate these states? Were they right to think this?
2. In what ways did the experience of the B.E.I.C. in India prove to be something of a laboratory that shaped British attitudes and methods for governing non-European subjects throughout their empire? Where else did they apply some of the methods they originated in India?
3. What might have motivated the French to engage in imperialist expansion in Southeast Asia?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- According to our text, much of the early profits of the British East India Company were
 - obtained as booty through conquest.
 - skimmed by Company employees.
 - taken by Company Directors.
 - divided among shareholders.
 - remitted to the Crown.
- "Going native" meant
 - joining the armies of Indian princes.
 - allying with Indian nawabs.
 - trading with Indian firms.
 - adopting Indian ways of life.
 - supporting Indian nawabs and rajas as rulers.
- A major misstep was taken in 1829 with the passing of the Act of Abilition, which abolished
 - sati.
 - the B.E.I.C.
 - all "native" rule.
 - missionary activity.
 - widow remarriage.
- Among Indians, who seem to have suffered the most from the years of the Raj?
 - the Mughal princes
 - the educated elite
 - small landowners and peasant farmers
 - merchants and shopkeepers
 - the Brahmins
- The term "civilizing mission" refers to which of the following?
 - The Indian elites' idea that British civilization was superior to their own.
 - Some Indians' idea that eventually a new civilization would develop from a mixture of British and Indian civilizations.
 - Europeans' idea that the Brahmins represented the best of Hindu civilization and that they should promote Brahmanism among Indians of all castes.
 - Europeans' idea that European civilization should replace the civilizations of Asia, Africa, and America.
 - Europeans' idea that they were bringing civilization to non-Europeans.
- The British government seized control over India in 1858 as a result of the
 - financial failure of the East India Company.
 - defeat of the French at Plassey.
 - Act of Abolition.
 - crowning of Queen Victoria as Empress of India.
 - Great Indian Mutiny.
- One positive result of the notion of Britain's "civilizing mission" in India was
 - most Indians' willingness to tolerate Christian missionary activities.
 - many Indians' acceptance of Christianity.
 - the education of the Brahmins in European and Christian beliefs.
 - the creation of a new educated Indian.
 - the creation of a new ruling class.
- Which of the following was true of the islands of Southeast Asia by the 1600s?
 - The Portuguese established control over its trade.
 - The Dutch established control over its trade.
 - Most of its trade was lost to China.
 - Most of its inhabitants had converted to Islam.
 - both b and d
- The "culture system" was introduced in
 - French Vietnam to ensure a supply of rice to the peasantry.
 - Dutch Indonesia to ensure export profits.
 - British Malaya to get the rubber plantations started.
 - the Spanish Philippines to support the Catholic Church clergy.
 - Japan to facilitate the opening of port cities to Western trade.
- Thailand's continuing independence is largely attributable to
 - the conflict between Vietnam and Burma.
 - the determination of the Thai people.
 - the protection afforded by the Manchu emperors in China.
 - the desire for a buffer between India and Indochina.
 - the desire of the Thai people to modernize their country.



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38

China in the Age of Imperialism

THE DECLINE OF THE QING DYNASTY

The Opium Wars
The Taiping Rebellion

FAILURE OF THE LATE QING DYNASTY RESTORATION

CHINESE DISINTEGRATION AFTER 1895

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHINESE NATIONALISM

Let us ask, where is your
conscience?

—Lin Zexu to Queen Victoria
concerning the opium trade

THE EXPLOSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF Western technology and military prowess in the nineteenth century had an impact on East Asia somewhat later than it did in western and central Asia (for comparisons, see Chapters 35 and 37). By the 1850s, China, Japan, and Southeast Asia had all felt the iron hand of the West in their commercial and political relations with the rest of the world.

How did these widely variant nations meet this unexpected challenge to their identities, generated by a Western culture to which none of them had previously paid much attention? As we saw in a previous chapter (Chapter 27), after centuries of resisting foreign influences, Japan quickly but selectively began adopting Western ways that ultimately transformed it into a modern power that could rival Europe (see Chapter 45). China, on the other hand, could hardly have chosen more different ways of dealing with the new situation. Nor could the outcomes have been more different. After a century of resistance to Westernizing ways and internal warfare, by the opening of the twentieth century, China was suffering a collapsing government that attempted to preside over a society torn by unbridgeable gaps. Yet a “**self-strengthening**” **movement** was taking hold in some quarters. Revolutionary changes lay just over China’s horizon, as we shall see in Chapter 45.

1840–1911	Decline of the Qing Dynasty in China
1839–1842	First Opium War
1851–1864	Taiping Rebellion
c. 1861–1894	Self-strengthening movement
1895	First Sino-Japanese War

THE DECLINE OF THE QING DYNASTY

The Qing Dynasty had originated outside China in Manchuria and had come to China as conquerors, ruling from 1644 onward. This last dynasty of imperial China was notably successful in its early generations (see Chapter 26), but by the mid-nineteenth century, it had weakened considerably. Problems such as overpopulation and famine developed in parts of China, while the almost-entirely agrarian and handicraft-based domestic economy stagnated. Declining control over trade by the government and trade disputes with Western powers deepened these crises.



THE SALE OF BRITISH GOODS IN GUANGZHOU (CANTON), 1858. British and French warships bombarded Guangzhou during the Second Opium War, forcing open the port to European trade.

British and Chinese weaponry and naval tactics. The outcome was that, in 1842, the Beijing government was forced to sign the first of the **unequal treaties** between a weakening China and the Western powers. China, in effect, lost control of some of its territory and its trade patterns to a foreign power. The treaties opened up the previously closed Chinese coastal towns to British consuls, merchants, and missionaries. (This was the beginning of the British colony of Hong Kong.) British residents were now to be subject to British law, not Chinese law. Although not

specifically mentioned in the treaty, the opium trade would continue.

The treaty with Britain was followed by others with France and, later, with the United States, Russia, and Germany. All of the treaties were similar. All were extorted from a Chinese government that was still attempting to deal with the West as its ancestors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had dealt with foreigners—as a superior dealing with inferiors. This was by now so far from reality that it became a bad joke among the Europeans. With the exception of some missionaries who were intent on bringing Christ to the Buddhist or Daoist masses, most Europeans in China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were there as imperialist fortune seekers. The Chinese resented these Westerners intensely, humiliated by their new inability to protect themselves from the “foreign devils.”

The Opium Wars

China's modern history begins with the **Opium Wars** (1839–1842). In the late eighteenth century, the British East India Company had developed a lucrative trade in Indian opium with south China. The drug had at long last given Westerners an exchange commodity for the teas, silks, and other luxury goods they imported from China, for which they had long been forced to pay with precious gold and silver. Previously little known in China, except for limited application as a medicine, millions of Chinese became addicts, and its illegal trade disrupted the empire's finances. The period from 1816 to 1830 saw a deepening of this predicament as Britain, driven by the ideology of free-market capitalism and her search for new markets, applied heavy pressure on the emperors to open their seaports to trade. For many years, the emperor had confined the opium dealers to Guangzhou (gwahng-choh; British Canton), but now British envoys insisted that other ports be opened to free passage, especially for the odious opium trade.

After some ineffective protests to the East India officials and the British government, in the 1830s, the emperor decided to take strong measures to prevent the drug's importation. He appointed an experienced official, Lin Zexu (lihn zeh-shoo), as his imperial commissioner for trade to deal with the problem. Lin implemented a policy that placed firm restrictions on imports and provided for the rehabilitation of addicts. His efforts to confiscate and destroy opium stores led to a naval war, which was predictably one-sided, given the huge differences between

The Taiping Rebellion

The region of China that perhaps suffered most from European interference was the south. There, by the 1840s, the lives of hundreds of thousands of the native Hakka (hahk-kah) people were disrupted by the corrosive effects of opium. From the severe social and economic tensions this produced, there arose a prophet-like figure to lead his people out of their misery. Hong Xiu-quan (hung shoh-chwen) began his career as a failed Confucian scholar who later was exposed to Christian missionary teachings. In a dream, he claimed to have been visited by God and

Jesus, who revealed that he was Jesus' younger brother sent to create a heavenly kingdom in China. Hong's anti-Confucian theology formed as his visions continued through the 1840s and 1850s, and the Taiping phase of the movement grew to include millions, many of who formed a radically egalitarian, socialist utopia in which property was shared and a stern code of sexual behavior was enforced. By the 1850s, they were ready to turn against the ruling dynasty.

Thus, the 1850s through the early 1870s were a period of severe unrest and rebellion as the **Taiping Rebellion** became more widespread and more disastrous. For more than twenty years, during which the Chinese suffered perhaps 20 million deaths, rebel generals led a motley band of poverty-stricken peasants and urban workers against the Qing emperors. The Taipings' success in the early years of the revolt brought them wide support from many educated Chinese, who were sickened by the government's inability to resist the foreigners. The upheaval was encouraged by several factors:

- ◆ Discontent with the corruption and incompetence of the government officials
- ◆ The rapidly worsening problems of overpopulation in much of south China
- ◆ The strong appeal of Hong's prophetic visions
- ◆ Hong's promise of a new millenarian order that would follow the overthrow of the Qing rulers and their Confucian elites
- ◆ The total ineffectiveness of the Qing armed forces

The Taipings extended control over most of southern and central China. From 1854 to 1864, they established the *Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace* and a counter-government, with their capital at Nanjing. Hong originally enjoyed sympathy from the West, in part because he seemed to want to imitate Western ways. Some thought he was the would-be founder of a Christian China. But the Taipings also opposed opium smoking and further giveaways of Chinese rights to foreigners. The Western powers thus opted to support the Qing, because they knew the government would give them little trouble in the future. At that point, the rebels began to quarrel among themselves; by 1864, they were breaking up. Also, while slow in its response, the Qing eventually defeated the Taipings. Hong was killed and tens of thousands of Taiping rebels were massacred in Nanjing. The defeat saved the ruling dynasty, but in the wake of the rebellion and the Opium War, Chinese leaders began to search for ways of reforming the state.

FAILURE OF THE LATE QING DYNASTY RESTORATION

The government was unexpectedly saved by a group of provincial officials and landlords. They organized regional armies to take the place of the failed central forces. Their effort is known as the "late Manzhou restoration" of the 1870s.

The new governors were reformers, and their policy of self-strengthening aimed at restoring vitality to the Court and giving China the means to hold its own against the foreign barbarians once more. In the 1870s and 1880s, the movement sought to modernize the Qing state and its army; a modern weapons industry appeared, which included new shipyards and arsenals. In the area of statesmanship, they created an agency for translating Western books. A new ministry was formed for handling the sensitive relations with the Western powers. They addressed the peasants' myriad problems by instituting land-reform measures and encouraging them to grow new crops with more nutritive value. Long-neglected public works programs, such as flood-control projects on the Yellow and Yangtze rivers, were taken in hand with good effect.

Despite these efforts, the foreign powers continued to treat China as an inferior state. Additional military embarrassments piled up. In 1884, the French defeated Chinese forces and established control over Vietnam. Worse, the Chinese were decisively defeated in the first Sino-Japanese war, which China fought with Japan in 1894–1895 over Korea. Japan later annexed Korea and thus announced that it was replacing China as the most powerful Asian nation (a shift that remained in effect until Japan's defeat in World War II).

CHINESE DISINTEGRATION AFTER 1895

The defeat in 1895 was an even ruder shock to the Chinese leaders than the string of humiliations by the Westerners had been. For many centuries, the mandarins had looked on Japan and the Japanese as pitiable imitators of infinitely superior China. Now, modern weapons and armies had been shown to be superior to refined culture and Confucian integrity, even in non-Western hands.

In the wake of the defeat, China again had to submit to a wave of foreign imperialist pressure. Russian, German, and British, as well as Japanese, trade extortions were forced on the Beijing officials, backed by governmental threats. Christian missionaries were granted unprecedented freedoms to attempt the conversion of the mostly unreceptive natives. Coastal enclaves became special spheres of interest for one power or another. The Chinese government conceded that its ancient tributary of Vietnam was now the property of the French colonialists. Control of Korea had been surrendered to Japan (over the heads of the Koreans). Manchuria was all but given to the Russians in the north.

In 1895, these embarrassments triggered protests and demands for political change. The response was yet another, more determined cycle of reforms. In what is called the *100 Days of Reform*, the emperor issued a series of edicts designed to streamline the government, permit greater public access to officials, and modernize the educational system with the inclusion of Western subjects in the curriculum.

This attempt to blend West and East had only partial success. Reactionary attitudes remained too strong

**MAP 38.1** The Partition of China

The European powers never succeeded in making China into a colony, but they partitioned large portions among themselves and Japan.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What reasons can you give that might explain why China escaped formal colonization by one or more powerful European states?



"JE SU, THE PIG, IS PUT TO DEATH." This Chinese print from the time of the Boxer Rebellion depicts rebels executing Christian ("Je Su") foreigners.

to be overcome among conservative Manzhou and scholar-officials. The **Empress Dowager Cixi** (1835–1908), who managed to hold on to power for almost fifty years (1861–1907), was not opposed to reform in principle, but she was also not in favor of it. The only thing that mattered to her was retaining her own position. An expert in political infighting, she was a kind of evil genius of China's government, pulling the strings for many years in the name of her son and her nephew, both powerless child-emperors. (For more about this wily ruler, see the Law and Government box on Empress Cixi.)

The **Boxer Rebellion** (1900) was an attempted answer to this wave of foreign exploitation. The Boxers were a fanatical quasi-religious society who believed that they had nothing to fear from bullets. Rebelling at first against Beijing, they changed their course when the sly old empress joined with them in starting a crusade to cleanse China of the foreign devils, but the Boxers had no effective leadership or weaponry. After a few months, an international military force shipped off to China from various European capitals crushed the rebellion and further humiliated the tottering dynasty by demanding cash indemnities. The failure of the Boxers convinced even the most conservative leaders that the old Confucian-based government

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

EMPRESS CIXI (1835–1908)

The last effective ruler of the empire of China, Empress Cixi was an extraordinary woman who defied every cliché about Asian women. Born in 1835 to a provincial gentry family, she was married to the weak Qing emperor Xian Feng as a child and bore him his only surviving child. When Xian died in 1861, Cixi took full advantage of her position to have her young son named emperor while she exercised ruling powers in his name. This period, which lasted for twelve years, was the first time Cixi ruled a nation that traditionally despised women who attempted a public role. Two other periods were to follow.

All accounts agree that the empress was a person of more-than-usual intelligence, but her real strength was her ability to anticipate what others wanted and make sure that they were dependent on her goodwill to get it. She was a master of everyday psychology. She supervised a court and a government that had become so filled with intrigue that every action—indeed, almost every word—could carry multiple meanings.

The Qing Dynasty had come to China as conquerors and insisted for a time on maintaining the signs that they, and not the “men of Han”—as the Chinese called themselves—were in charge. But since the Opium Wars (1840–1842), the central government was under severe attack and had shown little imagination in trying to meet the challenge. Foreigners ranging from Christian missionaries to soldiers of fortune had overrun the port cities, turning the Chinese into second-class citizens in their own country. Native rebels, above all the Taipings, had almost overturned Chinese imperial government in the 1860s and 1870s. Much of the blame in the officials’ eyes rested squarely on the woman at the head of the imperial court, but blaming her was one thing—removing her was another.

When her young son died in 1875, Cixi managed to have her infant nephew placed on the throne with herself as regent for the ensuing fifteen years. She outmaneuvered the boy’s father,

Prince Kung, and eliminated him from the court completely. Even after the nephew came of age and assumed power for himself,

most decisions remained in the hands of the empress. When he attempted to put through some badly needed governmental reforms, she removed him and reassumed power herself in 1898. It was she who manipulated the Boxers into becoming her tool for defying the foreign powers that were carving up China.

A determined and intelligent ruler such as Cixi might have been able to bring the tottering Qing Dynasty through its crisis if she had not been so intent on simply preserving her own position. To do so, she was not above arranging the murder of those who opposed her at court, offering massive bribes, or using government monies for her private ends. The most sensational case was her use of the navy budget to rebuild the Beijing Summer Palace. China’s most famous and awe-inspiring ship was actually a life-size replica made of white marble and resting permanently in a reflecting pool at the palace!

Although not opposed to all reform, Cixi resisted many measures that were needed to modernize the decrepit bureaucracy and military. She played one group of provincial lords against

another with great expertise, so that no single faction could challenge her directly. Even as an old woman of seventy-four, she was not ready to step aside and appointed a distant relative, the infant Pu Yi, as last emperor of China in 1908. A few weeks later, she was dead, and the empire itself was on its deathbed.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Do you think the traditional Chinese distaste for female rule accentuated or restrained Cixi’s ambitions? What, if any, restraints did the Chinese system offer to prevent a ruler such as Cixi from injuring the country?



EMPRESS CIXI. Dressed in formal court costume, the manipulative empress is shown at the height of her powers around the turn of the twentieth century.

Summer Palace, Beijing, China/The Bridgeman Art Library



could no longer be maintained. China had to change or disappear as a state, and a series of radical reform proposals now came forth from various quarters, the subject of which will be taken up in Chapter 45.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHINESE NATIONALISM

By the end of the nineteenth century, a small but growing handful of young Chinese had been given a Western-style education, generally through the influence of missionaries who had adopted them. The most important of these was the intellectual Kang Yu-wei (kahng yoo-way; 1858–1927), who argued against the common notion that Confucian philosophy represented an unchanging and unchangeable model of government and society. Kang taught that Confucius was a reformer and that reform was a basic ingredient of his philosophy. Kang believed that history was evolutionary, not static, and that history was moving forward in China—as in the rest of the world—toward democratic government.

Collectively, Kang's ideas were called the *New China Movement*, and they spread widely among educated people in the 1890s. By 1898, the stage was set for an attempt at revolution from above, similar to that carried out by Peter the Great in eighteenth-century Russia. But this attempt was not successful, and its supporters in Beijing were forced to flee for their lives. For a few more years, under the manipulations of the empress, the status quo prevailed. It was clear

that if China were to be changed, it would have to be done from below by the exasperated and desperate people.

An important step toward a new China was the abolition of the Confucian examinations for government office in 1905. This move opened the way for aspiring officials with modern ideas, many of whom had been educated in the West or in rapidly Westernizing Japan. The Western-educated liberal **Sun Yat-sen** (soon yaht-sehn; 1866–1925) was the intellectual leader of an antigovernment reform movement that quickly swept the whole country. Sun was trained as a medical doctor in Honolulu and Hong Kong, and on returning to his country, he gradually became convinced that a revolution from below was the only answer to China's many ills. He took up the cause of reform ("Three Principles") among the overtaxed and impoverished peasantry, believing that China could regain political harmony only after a measure of social justice had been established.

The long-awaited revolution against the feeble and incompetent government came in 1911. After Cixi's death three years earlier, the dynasty was so weak that few would defend it when it was challenged. Originally, Sun was called to head the new parliamentary government, but to avoid civil war, the head of the army, General Yuan Shikai (yoo-ahn shee-keye), soon replaced him. The Republic of China was formally declared in 1912. The last child-emperor was forced to abdicate and lived long enough to see the installation of Mao's communist government many years later.

For a few years, General Yuan was master of China and intended to become the next emperor, but his failure to stop the Japanese incursions on the coast during World

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

THE FATHER OF MODERN CHINA

Frequently called the "father of modern China," Sun Yat-sen was instrumental in the overthrow of the Qing monarchy in 1911. When the Republic of China was created in 1912, he was chosen as its first president, and later he helped found the Kuomintang (Nationalist) Party.

Sun Yat-sen was born in 1866 to a peasant family in a village near Macao. In his early years, he was given a traditional Chinese education, but at thirteen he went to live with an older brother in Honolulu, Hawaii. He enrolled in a Christian missionary school, where he was given a Western-style education, learning English among other things. Fearing that Sun would convert to Christianity, his brother sent him back home to China about four years later. But the years he had spent in Hawaii had changed Sun forever; under the influence of his American teachers in Honolulu, he had become disdainful of traditional Chinese religious belief. So, on returning

to China, he was disturbed by the relative backwardness of his countrymen. (In later years, Sun acknowledged that the words Abraham Lincoln spoke in his Gettysburg address, that government was "of the people, by the people, and for the people," helped to formulate his own thinking about the role of government, as described in his book, *Three Principles of the People*.)

Within a year, Sun returned to Hawaii to complete the education he had begun. (And he was, in fact, eventually baptized as a Christian.) After several more years of study in Hong Kong, he graduated in 1892 with a degree in medicine. Convinced that the conservative monarchy stood in the way of China's modernization, he soon felt moved to abandon his medical practice to devote himself full-time to the political transformation of his country. Because he had never

(continued)



received training in the classics of Confucian philosophy, however, it proved impossible for him to be accepted by the country's ideological elites. From that time on, he called for the complete abolition of the monarchy and the social and intellectual leadership that had supported it since the time of the Zhou Dynasty nearly 2,500 years before.

He returned to Hawaii for the second time in 1894 and set about organizing Chinese exiles like himself into a proto-nationalist political society called the Revive China Society, with the idea of replacing the monarchy with a government organized along the lines of a modern people's republic. Following a failed coup attempt in 1895, he spent the next sixteen years traveling through Europe, North America, and Japan organizing and raising money to support his cause, using Japan as his principal base. Eventually, he aroused concern in Japan because of the size of his following there, so the Japanese government had to deport him.

Nevertheless, his efforts were rewarded in 1911 when a spontaneous military uprising in China's south ended 3,500 years of imperial rule in his homeland. Although Sun seems to have played no direct part in the rebellion, upon returning home, a meeting of nationalist leaders in Nanjing voted him into office as president pro tem of the newly proclaimed Republic of China. However, China remained divided between the south, which supported the Republic, and the north, which still lay under the control of regional warlords such as the powerful Yuan Shikai. Sun tried unsuccessfully to lead a revolt to unseat Yuan, but once again was forced to flee to Japan, where he began the organization of the Kuomintang.



SUN YAT-SEN. Sun Yat-sen (seated), shown here with the young Chiang Kai-shek, was the founding figure of Chinese nationalism. He helped depose the last Qing emperor and establish the Chinese Republic in 1912.

Private Collection/Archives Charmet/The Bridgeman Art Library

In 1917, he returned home, seeking safety among his supporters in the south with the express purpose of doing what he could to unify China. At Guangzhou, he established a military academy to begin staffing and organizing an army for a north-

ern expedition to unseat Yuan and the other politicians and warlords who had kept the country divided. (Chiang Kai-shek was its commandant.) To strengthen his hand, he created a strategic alliance with Mao Zedong's Communist Party of China, the CPC-KMT United Front. After 1924, he and the KMT also received assistance from the United States and Japan that enabled them to conquer the north.

Unfortunately, Sun did not live to see the final consolidation of nationalist power in China. He died in 1925 at the relatively young age of fifty-eight, one year before the unification. Many have debated his actual contribution to the history of modern China. Whatever judgment one makes, certain facts speak for themselves: The life he led of continuous struggle, frequent exile, and courageous challenges to imperial authority and the northern warlords made him a key figure in the cause of Chinese modernization. His successes at funding the revolutions of his lifetime kept the

movement alive, and his ideological flexibility allowed him to forge large numbers of Chinese of various political stripes into a powerful and effective movement.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

How does Sun compare with other modernizers in world history? What similarities and differences do you see, for example, between his struggles and those of Muhammad Ali Pasha or Kemal Ataturk?

War I made him unpopular, and he died in disgrace in 1916. For the next decade, China was in anarchy, ruled by warlords (local strongmen, often ex-bandits) with private armies. More important was the fast growth of fanatical nationalism among the urban classes, particularly the educated youth. Sun was the theoretical leader of this

movement, but he was a poor organizer, and the national party he founded, the Kuomintang (kwoh-mihn-dong), split into many factions during the 1920s.

The whole nationalist-reformist phase of China's development in the early twentieth century is called the *May Fourth Movement* because of an incident in 1919

when thousands of Beijing students and youth protested the Versailles Treaty's gift of a part of China to Japan. The movement had no single leader, and its various subgroups went off in many directions. Eventually, the reform ideas it propagated would provide some of

the momentum for the communist takeover after World War II. Mao Zedong himself was one of the outraged students who swore that China would no longer be the pawn of foreigners and capitalists who exploited Chinese backwardness.

SUMMARY

WHAT EFFECTS DID THIS HAVE on Asians? The large number of converts to Christianity was the most significant cultural change. Reactions to this and the encroachment of foreigners in China produced a series of xenophobic popular uprisings whose failures only served to embolden the colonial powers further. Ultimately, this forced China and many parts of Southeast Asia to implement reforms on one hand, but also helped foster a potent nationalism on the other.

The twentieth century dawned for China much as the old century had ended, with further humiliations suffered at the hands of foreign occupiers, especially the Japanese.

The country remained grievously enfeebled by a monarchy that was able to do little to stop the breakup of the Chinese homeland among foreigners and domestic warlords. The Chinese people had responded to the growing crisis with a series of popular, though failed, proto-nationalist rebellions and would-be reformers of various stripes. Both nationalism and reform eventually came together in the formation of the Kuomintang (Nationalist) Party (KMT), led by Sun Yat-sen. In late 1911, Sun and his followers removed the last emperor and declared the founding of a republic in January 1912.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Boxer Rebellion
Empress Dowager Cixi
Opium Wars
self-strengthening
movement

Sun Yat-sen
Taiping Rebellion
Unequal treaties

For Further Reflection

1. The text describes the leader of the Taiping rebellion, Hong Xiu-quan, as having been "prophet-like." What is a prophet? How do you think the term might have been appropriate for Hong? Why do you suppose that this peasant uprising assumed these religious overtones?
2. What other rebellion against foreigners had religious overtones? Did it seem to have a positive agenda, or was it purely a negative expression of popular feelings about change?
3. What seem to be the differences between a reform movement and a revolution? Compare and contrast

the self-strengthening movement with the Taiping rebellion in terms of their leadership, social composition, ideology, and aims. Which of these might have been a revolution?

4. In your opinion, would it have been possible for Chinese nationalism to have emerged without the preceding reform and revolutionary movements? Were there nationalist overtones in some of the earlier failed campaigns?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- The principal source of China's opium was
 - Britain.
 - France.
 - India.
 - Turkey.
 - Persia.
- As a result of the Opium Wars, China's government was forced to accept the first of the so-called
 - reform treaties.
 - unequal treaties.
 - mercantile treaties.
 - opium treaties.
 - opium memoranda.
- China's defeats at the hands of Japan and the major European powers resulted in
 - concessions of port facilities along its rivers and coastlands.
 - the decline of Chinese innovation and productivity.
 - losses of territory.
 - both b and c.
 - both a and c.
- The Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace was established by
 - the emperor.
 - the reformer Lin Zexu.
 - peasant opium consumers.
 - Sun Yat-sen.
 - Taiping rebels.
- The self-strengthening movement for the most part was led by
 - Lin Zexu.
 - provincial governors and officials.
 - Confucian scholars.
 - Daoists.
 - members of the emperor's court.
- The years that saw the most rapid deterioration of Imperial authority in China were
 - during the Opium Wars.
 - during the Taiping wars.
 - the reform years.
 - after 1895.
 - during and after World War I.
- During the reforms (or "self-strengthening") years, the role played by the Empress Dowager was one of
 - a silent though enthusiastic supporter of needed changes.
 - total indifference.
 - a powerful ally of the reformers.
 - a conservative opponent of reform.
 - a conservative who advocated only limited reforms.
- Foreigners and Christian converts had most to fear for their safety from/during the
 - Opium Wars.
 - Taiping rebellion.
 - Boxer rebellion.
 - unequal treaties.
 - reforms.
- The principal reason(s) for Sun Yat-sen's success in leading the nationalist movement was
 - the lack of leadership from other quarters.
 - the valuable help he received from Chiang Kai-shek.
 - his ability to raise funds and to mediate between people adhering to different ideologies.
 - his strong training in ideology and ability to win people over to it.
 - his alliance with Mao Zedong.
- For what reason(s) was the Qing monarchy finally overthrown in 1911?
 - The Empress Cixi's obstinate refusal to accept reforms and to satisfy the needs of the common people
 - Its weakness and the death of Empress Cixi three years before
 - The military alliance of the local warlords
 - The alliance between the nationalists and the northern warlords
 - The last Emperor was a mere child



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Latin America from Independence to Dependent States



THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

THE AGE OF CHAOS AND CAUDILLOS

NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION UNDER OLIGARCHIES

SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS

LAND AND LABOR

LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN CULTURES

America is ungovernable. Those who served the revolution have been ploughing the sea.

—Simón Bolívar

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN Latin America is full of paradoxes and contradictions. The *criollos* of the late colonial period were eager to take power from the *peninsulars*, but their position of dominance over the lower classes depended on the legitimacy of the Crown's authority. In the Spanish colonies, the *criollos* were forced to declare independence in order to avoid liberal reforms from Madrid. The protracted wars of independence lasted from 1810 to 1825, but the following thirty years were anything but peaceful. With the monarchy gone (except in Brazil's independent monarchy), the center could not hold, and the *criollo* factions in most countries—lacking any political experience—could not unite to find a middle ground between the extremes of absolutism and republicanism. A new period of violence and civil wars, punctuated by despotic military regimes proclaiming themselves as saviors of society, lasted until the second half of the century, when the next generation of elites dressed their oligarchies (government by a few) in republican clothing. The booming **monoculture** economies (that is, economies reliant on just one or two crops) were based on exporting raw materials, which brought high prices due to growing demand in the industrialized world. As a result, the Latin American economies were dependent on foreign imports and investment, a type of economic colonialism that, in the following century, would lead to debilitating economic and political dependence on more-developed countries. Meanwhile, the masses benefited little from independence; the new elites, following the colonial tradition, ignored the needs of the poor on whose labor they depended. Century's end saw the creation of new, politically aware middle and working classes who would challenge the oligarchies in the twentieth century.

1810s–1820s	Wars of independence throughout Latin America
1822–1889	Brazil independent under a constitutional monarchy
1830s–1850s	Chaos, military coups, and caudillos
1850s–1900s	National consolidation under oligarchies
1898	Cuba and Puerto Rico break with Spain

THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

By 1800 in Spanish America, the peninsulars and criollos, although legally equal in status, had actually become two distinct castes with conflicting interests. The criollos had become dissatisfied with rule by Madrid and Lisbon for reasons both commercial and political. Criollo resentment of the Spanish colonial regime was high because, although the Bourbon free-trade reforms had made the colonies more prosperous, they were forced to pay higher taxes, and the Crown still treated the colonies merely as sources of wealth for Spain. To raise revenues, the Spanish king appropriated money from the colonial Catholic Church, which, in order to meet Spain's demands, had to reclaim all outstanding loans. This move upset both the ruined criollo entrepreneurs and the unpaid priests, who then turned against the mother country. Educated criollos who had been exposed to the Enlightenment ideals of individual liberty and equality and who had been inspired by the French and American revolutions, began to contemplate independence from Spain. Most of all, they aspired to a political revolution so that they might replace the peninsulars in the highest positions—something that had been denied them for centuries. The criollos were not interested in revolutionary social change or in improving the lot of the lower classes. In fact, in many areas, they were outnumbered by the Africans, Indians, and mixed-blood peoples, and felt threatened by them. The successful slave revolt in Haiti as well as rebellions by the subjugated groups in Mexico and Peru served as a warning to the criollos to avoid social reforms in order to protect their own interests.

In the decade between 1810 and 1822, one after another of the Iberian colonies in the Americas declared their independence and escaped from the grip of the mother countries. The revolts against Spain, Portugal, and France were not uprisings of the common people against their masters and landlords. On the contrary, with the single exception of the black slaves in French Haiti, the native-born whites who formed the elite class led all of the revolutions. After the persecution of rebels like the Venezuelan criollo Francisco de Miranda, who in 1806 led a handful of U.S. volunteers in an ill-fated attack against the viceroyalty of New Granada, most criollos limited themselves to discussing their ideas of liberation under cover of the scientific and economic clubs that had been fashionable under the Bourbon kings.

The Napoleonic invasion of Spain and Portugal in 1808 (see Chapter 31) set in motion independence movements throughout the colonies. The Spanish monarchs were taken to France, and Napoleon's brother occupied the throne of Spain. The criollos' first concern was that Napoleon's victory over the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies would result in some type of radical, anti-elite reforms

in the colonies. To prevent such reforms, various criollo groups in the Spanish colonies proclaimed that they were severing their colonial ties and taking over political leadership. They summoned the town councils, the one place where criollos had power, to determine their response to the sudden absence of the Spanish king. Would they transfer their obedience to the viceroys until the Spaniards defeated the French and the king was back on his throne? Or would they form their own local governments, to rule in the monarch's name, as occurred in Spain?

From Mexico to Argentina, the councils declared new governments and banished the viceroys on the authentic grounds that the colonies legally belonged to the Spanish crown, not to the Spanish nation. The new criollo governments would ostensibly be stewards of the American colonies until they could be returned to the king. It was not long before the king's representatives, the viceroys, were driven out and independence was declared. After a long struggle, the peninsulars followed the viceroys into exile. Altogether, the wars of independence of the Spanish colonies lasted more than fifteen years, from 1810 to 1825, when the last Spanish soldiers left Peru.

Three of the Latin American warriors for independence were particularly important:

1. *Miguel Hidalgo*, the Mexican priest who started the revolt against Spain in 1810;
2. *José de San Martín*, who liberated Argentina and Chile with his volunteer army; and
3. *Simón Bolívar*, who liberated northern South America and is the best known and most revered of the three. Bolívar, a farsighted and tragic hero, ultimately failed at his self-appointed task of uniting the various regions under a U.S.-style federal constitution. At the end of his life, after seeing one constructive plan after another fail due to apathy and greed, a depressed Bolívar declared, "America is ungovernable . . . elections are battles, freedom anarchy, and life a torment."

In each colony, other men also contributed to the success of the rebellions: Agustín Morelos in Mexico, Bernardo O'Higgins in Chile and Peru, and Portuguese prince Pedro in Brazil, among many more. But it should be repeated that, outside of Haiti, the revolts were led and carried out by conservative or wealthy men who had no interest at all in social reforms or political equality.

After Napoleon's eventual defeat, the restored monarchs of Spain and Portugal were far too weak and too preoccupied to interfere with the internal affairs of their colonies. The faint hope of the Madrid government that it could find European support for an overseas expedition to "restore order" was put to rest in 1823 when U.S. president James Monroe issued the **Monroe Doctrine**, aimed at protecting Latin America from European interference. Within a few years, no less than nine sovereign states had appeared from the wreckage of the former

Spanish dominions, and a generation later, this number had reached eighteen. All hope of a large, integrated entity reaching from Texas to Cape Horn soon had to be abandoned, as regional and personal quarrels came to the fore.

The great question in the early years of the revolutions in Latin America was whether the new governments should be monarchies or republics. The example of the newly independent United States was well known in Latin America, and many criollos thought that a republic was the only form of government suitable for the new nations (see Map 39.1). But many were fearful of the power of the mob, and especially of the *mestizos* and blacks. They rejected the sharp break with tradition that a republican form of government necessarily represented; instead, they wanted a monarchy. The struggle between the two schools of thought went on throughout the revolutionary decades of the 1810s and 1820s. Except in Brazil, the battle was eventually won by the republicans, who protected the rights of property and the existing social structure by placing supreme powers in a legislature elected through a narrowly drawn franchise. The efforts of some to introduce democratic forms were generally resisted until the twentieth century.

The Portuguese colony of Brazil took a more peaceful route to independence. When Napoleon's army reached

Portugal, the royal family sought refuge in Brazil, ruling what remained of their empire from their court in Rio de Janeiro. Eventually, when the king and queen returned to Portugal, the Brazilian elites, preferring a monarchy, pressured Prince Dom Pedro to remain in Brazil. After he submitted to their entreaties, Pedro declared independence and led a constitutional monarchy, which ensured the unity of the new nation. By then too weak to do otherwise, the once-great imperial power, Portugal, chose not to make any effort to retain her colony. Thus, the transition to independence was far smoother for Brazil than it was for Spanish Latin America.

Although Brazil faced the same obstacles of regional separatism, conflicts between conservatives and liberals, and questions about the role of the Church, Brazil's constitutional monarch worked with the various factions to resolve the problems of the newborn nation. In 1889, after progressive King Dom Pedro II supported the emancipation of the African slaves, the same elites who had supported him turned against him because their wealth depended on slave labor. Dom Pedro was ousted by an unlikely coalition of these disgruntled elites and liberal factions that for decades had pushed for a democratic republic and the end of the monarchy.

The main outlines of nineteenth-century politics were delineated by the struggle between liberals and conservatives. On the liberal side were those inspired by the French Revolution's original goals: the liberty and fraternity of humankind and the abolition of artificial class distinctions. Mostly from the embryonic middle stratum of society, they regarded Bolívar as their leader and thought the proper form of political organization was a federation, exemplified by the United States. Most of the liberals came from a commercial or professional background and were strong promoters of economic development.

The conservatives were generally either landed gentry or had connections with the powerful Catholic clergy. Like all conservatives, they primarily emphasized stability and protection of property rights. They looked on the Indians and mestizos as wards who could be trained only gradually toward full citizenship but who in the meantime had to be excluded from political and social rights. The conservatives would support a republic only if their traditional preferences were guaranteed; if not, they could be counted on to finance and direct the next "revolution."

THE AGE OF CHAOS AND CAUDILLOS

Bolívar once said, prophetically, "I fear peace more than war." The thirty years of instability and violence that followed the wars of independence proved that his fears were well founded. Latin America lacked three elements present in the newly independent United States: a middle class



GENERAL SIMÓN BOLÍVAR, INDEPENDENCE HERO. Images and statues of the revered "Liberator" are seen all over South America.

**MAP 39.1 Latin America in the Early Nineteenth Century**

This map shows the changes in status after 1804, when Haiti was effectively made independent by a slave rebellion.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What future U.S. states were part of the newly independent Republic of Mexico?

with a strong work ethic, experience in self-government, and a fairly homogeneous population. Economic instability also undermined the new regimes. In the 1820s, the new (secular) Mexican and Argentine governments ruined their international credit standing by defaulting on debts to British lenders. Everywhere in Latin America, the civil government operated in the shadow of the military, and the frequent dictators almost always came from the army ranks. A small group of wealthy individuals who were closely linked with the military officer corps tightly controlled government policy. The prestige of the military man was an unfortunate consequence of the battles for independence—unfortunate, that is, for constitutional process and the rule of law.

Few of the Spanish American nations escaped the anarchy and chaos of the 1820s to the 1850s that gave rise to the military strongmen. The frequent “revolutions” and “manifestos” were shadow plays, disguising the raw greed that impelled almost all of the actors. The vacuum of authority, left by the deposed monarchy and a weakened Church, resulted in the reassertion of regionalism and the power of the local political bosses, which the colonial regime had just barely been able to contain.

The **caudillo** [cow-DEE-yo], the epitome of the military strongman, would rise and assert populist dictatorial rule for a time. He maneuvered for supreme power, using a combination of personal charisma, force of arms, political skills, and patronage. The caudillos who achieved national prominence were the only leaders who had proven capable of quelling the endemic squabbling among the numerous petty regional chieftains. Almost always, these individuals soon made peace with the large landlords and other criollos who had traditionally governed. Social reforms were forgotten for another generation, while the caudillo became corrupt and wealthy. When internal affairs seemed to become too dangerous for their continued survival, many caudillos would find one excuse or another to divert attention by starting a war with their neighbors. For this reason, much of Latin America was at war over pointless territorial disputes throughout most of the nineteenth century.

One of the most infamous examples of such a caudillo is Juan Manuel Rosas, who ruled Buenos Aires, then

all of Argentina, from 1828 to 1852. Born a criollo, as a young man, he rejected all things Spanish, acquired a large ranch, and created a successful beef-salting business. He trained himself to be expert at the skills of the gauchos, gaining the respect of his gaucho ranch hands and eventually subduing the gaucho chieftains who were ravaging Argentina with their warfare. As governor of the province of Buenos Aires, Rosas aspired to the presidency; however, he did not stage a national coup. Instead, he astutely waited until the civil wars had become so destructive of social order that the Buenos Aires elites begged him to seize control as president with unlimited powers.

Rosas adopted the federalist label while governing as an authoritarian centralist. He called himself “Restorer of the Law,” but his opponents called him “Tyrant of the Argentine.” His crimes against the people far outweighed the economic improvements he managed to achieve. Rosas’s personal police force mercilessly persecuted anyone who opposed him, from peasants to intellectuals. Meanwhile, the elites, who were anxious for peace at any price, looked the other way when the heads of innocent victims appeared on pikes in Buenos Aires. Rosas was finally deposed by a coalition of the gauchos who realized that they had been duped and exiled intellectuals whose writings turned international opinion against the tyrant. Rosas’s most constructive legacy was that the movement to oust him unified Argentinians of all factions against his despotism.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, liberal leaders such as Domingo F. Sarmiento (sahr-MYEN-toh) in Argentina and Benito Juárez (WAH-rehz) in Mexico—who established the foundations of oligarchic civil republics—replaced the military caudillos. Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and

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BRAZILIANS CHEER THEIR NEW KING. Dom Pedro I liberated Brazil; he and his son, Dom Pedro II, were benign constitutional monarchs.

Costa Rica also achieved constitutional stability based on civil governments. Unfortunately, the lower classes in these republics were excluded once again; in fact, they were considered an obstacle to progress. What is more, in most Hispano-American countries, the authoritarian tradition of the strongman leader predominated during the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century.

NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION UNDER OLIGARCHIES

During the second half of the century, a new generation of elites in Argentina, Mexico, Chile, and a few other countries recognized the need for reconstruction after decades of civil war. The political and economic reorganization of the new states took place according to the principles of liberalism: secular government, the protection of individual property rights, free trade, and modernization following European models. The liberal reforms were initially more successful in Argentina than in Mexico.

After the fall of Rosas, Argentina's civil governments took crucial steps toward modernization and political organization under a new constitution. The southern Indian territories of Patagonia were conquered, and hostile Indians were either subdued or exterminated. After decades of disputes between Buenos Aires and the hinterland, Buenos Aires became a federal district and capital of the country. The infrastructure was developed with the help of the British: Roads and railroads were built, barbed wire sectioned off the Pampas into ranches, and a large-scale livestock industry was developed. Under Sarmiento, the "Schoolmaster President," public schools were created, and primary education was declared free and obligatory. Henceforth, Argentina would have one of the highest literacy rates in the Western Hemisphere. Immigration was encouraged to help populate the empty territories and to "improve" the racial mix. The liberal leaders denigrated Hispanic traditions and the *mestizo* culture of the *gauchos* and emulated what they saw as the superior civilizations of the United States and Britain.

Mexico during the second half of the century, after the overthrow of its most notorious caudillo, Santa Anna, faced more obstacles to national organization than did Argentina. The Catholic Church and its conservative supporters were more entrenched, and the *mestizos* and Indians more numerous. Benito Juárez, a full-blooded Zapotec Indian who, like his contemporary, Abraham Lincoln, rose from humble origins to become president, is revered as the spirit and soul of his country and protector of its independence.

Juárez was a liberal reformer who also planted the seeds for a whole series of changes in the national consciousness of his country toward the relative importance of *criollo* and *mestizo* values. In a society long known for its aristocratic views, he awakened Mexican nationalism and steered his people on the lengthy and rocky path toward



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BENITO JUÁREZ, FATHER OF MODERN MEXICO. President Juárez is depicted here as a visionary, with the Constitution of 1857 and the Reform legislation that he championed. (His gold funeral mask lies in the foreground.)

political democracy. As minister of justice in the new government that succeeded Santa Anna, Juárez was primarily responsible for the creation of the strongly liberal and reformist Constitution of 1857. All of these activities brought him the solid opposition of the conservative elements, notably the entrenched landowners and the higher churchmen. This opposition led to the War of Reform (1858–1861), in which the liberals were able to beat back the challenge of the reactionary groups and preserve the constitution under Juárez's leadership as acting president.

After the War of the French Intervention (1862–1867)—when Napoleon III tried in vain to make Mexico a French colony—and a final failed attempt by the Mexican conservatives to install a monarchy, Juárez was reelected president. However, the struggle between liberals and conservatives was as fierce as ever and showed no signs of abating after the victory over the French. Like other Latin American reformers, Juárez ended his life painfully aware of the difficulties of getting his fellow Mexicans to agree on even the most basic elements of political and social progress. Mexico was not yet ready for the ideals put forth in the Constitution of 1857. The reaction to the Reform came in the forty-year dictatorship under the caudillo Porfirio Díaz. The vision of Juárez and the liberal reformers would be realized only after the Revolution of 1910–1920, when the Constitution of 1917 reintroduced the principles first put forth in 1857, such as secular education and separation of church from state.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, members of the once-idle criollo elite class in Argentina, Mexico, and elsewhere had become entrepreneurs in their booming export-based economies. Their prosperity was linked with the Gilded Age in Europe and the United States; in fact, because the Spanish American countries exported raw materials and imported the products they did not yet produce, their wealth came from a kind of economic colonialism. The criollos were interested in pursuing political power in order to protect their agriculture, livestock, and mining interests. Accordingly, they imposed political control either indirectly through mestizo dictators (like Díaz in Mexico and his peers in Venezuela), or directly through nominally republican oligarchies where elections were fraudulent (in Chile and Peru). The railroads built to carry products to the ports were also used to transport federal troops to quell local uprisings. By ensuring stability, the elites were able to attract foreign investment and, in turn, promote growth of the import-export economy. By the early twentieth century, Latin America had developed some textile and food-processing factories, and the service industries were robust (transportation, government bureaucracy, and commerce, among others). Two results of the growing native enterprises were to have repercussions far into the following century. First, there was the creation of an urban, educated middle sector (professionals, merchants, and small businessmen) that would demand to be included in the power structure. Second, the streams of immigrants who were invited to join working classes (except in Mexico and Cuba, which had large indigenous or African workforces) organized into mutual societies and eventually labor unions, creating demands for better pay and working conditions.

SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS

In the constitutions that were worked out after independence, all legal distinctions among the citizens of the new states were declared void. Slavery was abolished in most of them, but social class distinctions persisted. The Latin society of the colonial period had already evolved a clear scale of prestige: The “pure-blooded” criollos were at the top, various levels of Europeanized mestizos were in the middle, and the Indians, the non-European African-Indian peoples, and black ex-slaves were at the bottom. This order was reinforced by the prevailing nineteenth-century “scientific” theory that the white masters were inherently superior to their workers of color.

States with numerous pure-blooded Indians (most of South and Central America) refused to allow this group to participate as equals in either political or cultural life and made no effort to introduce them into national public affairs for several generations. These restrictions were not necessarily a bad thing: Most of the Indians had neither experience nor interest in government beyond the village levels. Because people were born into their places on the

scale, Latin American society is frequently called a “classist society.” Status was largely visible at a glance, because skin color was an important factor in determining who was who.

Although Latin American society had a distinct social gradient by complexion that was (and is) taken for granted, the system was relatively free of the legal and political prejudice against the dark-skinned population that the people of the United States only partly overcame in the Civil War. Furthermore, blacks and Indians had more opportunity for mobility in Latin America than in North America. Latin American society was willing to consider light-skinned mulattos and mestizos as equivalent to Europeans rather than holding that miscegenation (mixed blood) was an insuperable obstacle to social status. Relative wealth, skills, and education counted for more than blood alone. For example, if an Indian left his village and traditional lifestyle and became Hispanized, in terms of lifestyle and social status, he was no longer considered an Indian. Mexican president Benito Juárez (see previous discussion), who was Indian by birth but criollo by lifestyle, epitomized the social mobility of the fortunate gifted individual of humble origins.

In free Latin America, as under Spain, the towns were the center of everything that was important: politics, administration, cultural events, commerce, and industry. The criollos were disproportionately prominent in the towns. The countryside was inhabited by the bulk of the population: mestizo or Indian small farmers, farm and pastoral laborers, and many hundreds of thousands of people who had no visible means of support. The absentee landlords lived in town, looked toward Europe, and left daily control of the rural plantations to agents and managers.

For the mestizo and Indian masses, life was a losing struggle against poverty; the people lacked good land in rural areas and industrial jobs in the cities. The ruling group lacked the enterprising spirit that would be needed to induce change for the better. Although slavery was forbidden, **peonage** became commonplace on the haciendas. Peonage was a form of coerced labor that served to repay real or alleged debt owed to the employer; it was not much different from slavery for the victim and perhaps even more lucrative for the master.

The universal backwardness of the rural majority was a chief reason for the stagnation of national politics throughout most of the nineteenth century. Illiteracy and desperate poverty were normal; the hierarchy of social classes from colonial days did not change. The Indians, blacks, and their mixed-blood offspring remained mostly outside public life, although they technically became free and equal citizens when slavery was abolished. (Brazil did not abolish slavery until 1888, when it became the last of the Western Hemisphere countries to do so.)

Prosperity and modernization under the oligarchs brought new opportunities for young women, particularly in the cities. Influenced by feminists in Britain and the United States, progressive women questioned the “science” that deemed them intellectually inferior to men. Previously

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

WOMEN'S VOICES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY LATIN AMERICA

Equal education was the watchword for nineteenth-century Latin American women activists. Only some privileged women from progressive families received advanced educations (with private tutors). Many of these fortunate women became educators and self-taught journalists, tirelessly advocating education as an indispensable first step toward women's emancipation. Because they invaded traditionally male domains, these women were ridiculed and marginalized. The pioneers discussed here, having been recovered from oblivion by twentieth-century feminist scholars, serve as reminders of the many forgotten women leaders.

The Mexican schoolteacher, writer, and activist, Dolores Jiménez y Muro (hee-MEN-ehz ee MOO-roh; 1848–1925), devoted her life to the liberal republican ideals that she learned in her parents' home during the Juárez presidency. After her parents died, Jiménez learned self-reliance by managing the family estate. She chose to remain single rather than abandon her work as teacher and activist. Jiménez published widely, in prose and poetry, but most of her works appeared under pseudonyms and are difficult to identify. She was one of the first Mexican women political journalists, serving as mentor to women writers half her age. Dolores Jiménez y Muro worked and wrote on behalf of exploited women and children factory workers. During the Díaz dictatorship (1876–1910) and the ensuing Mexican Revolution (1910–1920), Jiménez y Muro was an opposition journalist also known for her contributions to composing important rebel documents. Mexicans now revere her as a teacher, revolutionary, and feminist.

Peruvian novelist, journalist, and teacher, Clorinda Matto de Turner (1852–1909), came from a prosperous landowning family. She completed her education at a convent school, married an English businessman, and was widowed before she was thirty years old. Matto de Turner published pseudonymous poems and essays in various journals. She subsequently founded and edited journals in Peru, became well known in intellectual circles, and published controversial novels of

social protest that were sympathetic to the exploited Quechua Indians. Clorinda Matto fled to Argentina in 1895 after losing her house and printing business in a government coup. Once in Buenos Aires, she contributed to numerous publications and founded a magazine that advocated women's emancipation. Clorinda Matto de Turner was one of the first Latin American women to develop an international readership.

Narcisa Amália de Campos (1852–1924) was a poet (like her father) and a teacher (like her mother) and became Brazil's first professional woman journalist. While still a teenager, she left her husband—scandalous behavior for a woman of the times. During her twenties, she published her poems to great acclaim and was a famous poet by age thirty. (Romantic or patriotic poetry was the only acceptable genre for women writers.) Narcisa de Campos was a passionate progressive, republican, and abolitionist. She held renowned literary salons during her short-lived second marriage. De Campos escaped from her jealous husband, relocating to Rio de Janeiro. There, she took up teaching and founded a bimonthly journal for women; in this and numerous other publications, she advocated the abolition of slavery and defended the rights of women. Critics excoriated her for authoring “unfeminine” political articles, such as her “Emancipation of Women.” Narcisa de Campos responded, “some gentlemen of the press . . . worry that their wives might heed my call and abandon their stewpots to march for women's liberation.” She was already suffering the health problems that made her give up journalism. De Campos was blind and paralyzed when she died at age seventy-two.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What similarities do you see among these women's lives? Why do you think women writers published anonymously or pseudonymously? Comment on the other causes, besides education, that these writers championed.

limited to domestic or religious endeavors, unattached women began entering traditionally male fields of endeavor. To meet labor demands, new vocational schools produced the first women secretaries, typesetters, and bookbinders. Women of means and dedication could now become teachers, doctors, lawyers, and journalists. These pioneering professional women led the earliest movements to improve the lives of women and children (see the Society and Economy box). The legal and social restrictions on married women continued into the twentieth century.

LAND AND LABOR

A few families, who often claimed descent from the conquistadores, held land (the source of livelihood for most people) in huge blocks. Sometimes they had land grants from the king to prove it; more often, their ancestors had simply taken over vast tracts from the helpless Indians. Because land was useless without labor, first the Indians and then (in Brazil and the Caribbean) imported blacks were forced to work it as slaves.



Slave agriculture is normally profitable only where monoculture plantations can produce for a large market. For this reason, Latin American agriculture came to be based on one or two export crops in each region—an economically precarious system. Originally, the cash crops were sugar and rice destined for the European or North American markets. Later, bananas, coffee, and citrus in the more tropical lands and cattle and wheat in the more temperate climates became the main exports. Almost all the labor of clearing land, raising and harvesting the crop, and transporting it to market was done by hand. Machinery was practically nonexistent well into the twentieth century, because with labor so cheap, the landholders had no need for machines.

The size of the *latifundios* (lah-tih-FOON-dyos), or huge rural plantations, actually grew after independence. Their owners were practically little kings within the republics. Although these great landowners did not carry formal titles of nobility after independence, they might as well have done so, because they comprised an aristocracy in the truest sense. Mostly of European blood, they intermarried with one another exclusively; their sons went into high government office or the army officers' cadres by right of birth. In the nineteenth century, this aristocracy lived very well, in both the material and the intellectual senses, but they inherited the lack of social responsibility that also marked their ancestors. They either could not see or would not recognize that the miserable conditions of the majority of their fellow citizens eventually posed a danger to themselves.

LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN CULTURES

The prevalent culture of Latin America owes as much to the European background of its original colonists as does the culture of North America. The two differ, of course. The ideas and values introduced into Latin America were predominantly Spanish or Portuguese, Roman Catholic, and patriarchal rather than British, Protestant, and (relatively) genderless as in the United States and Canada.

Whereas Iberian culture is supreme on the mainland, the Caribbean islands reflect the African origins of their black populations. The native Amerindian populations of the islands were exterminated or fled early and have been entirely supplanted by African ex-slaves and mulattos. Thus, the Caribbean culture is very different from the Iberian and is not properly considered a part of Latin America.

From these different roots have developed very different societies. As an example, until recently, public life in Latin countries was as much dominated by males as were ancient Greece and the Islamic civilizations. The adoption of the Napoleonic codes of law in these countries contributed to the persistence of the idea that the male is legally and socially responsible for the female. On the contrary, the black ex-slave societies of the Caribbean islands followed the African example of giving females a quasi-equal position in private and—to some degree—public affairs.



CONSTRUCTION IN LIMA, PERU. In many places in Latin America, people, not machines, do the heavy labor.

The Catholic Church in Latin America was guaranteed a supervisory role in most aspects of public life and private morals. It was from the start and remained an official church, supported by donations and taxes. It had little competition. Catholicism was the religion of the vast majority of the general population and of the entire ruling group. (As in the European homelands, Latin America has simultaneously had a strong tradition of anticlericalism.) The high clergy were automatically men of influence and did not hesitate to intervene in political affairs when they sensed that the Church or their own family interests were threatened.

In the nineteenth century, the Church was responsible for most educational institutions and practically all social welfare organs. At times, in some places, the Church made a sincere effort at lifting the Amerindians and poor mestizos toward justice and dignity, even when doing so meant breaking with the ruling group from which much of the higher clergy came, but these episodes were the exception. Class ties generally seemed stronger than a sense of obligation to the common people, and the clergy were content to conform to the current ideas of their lay peers.

Cultural stratification is particularly strong in Latin America and has long been an obstacle to national unity. Until the early twentieth century, the landowner—official group who controlled public life regarded themselves as Europeans residing in another continent, rather than as Latin Americans—much as the British colonists regarded

ARTS AND CULTURE

MULTICULTURAL MUSIC: ARGENTINA'S TANGO AND BRAZIL'S SAMBA

After independence, the upper classes tended to emulate European culture, as they had during the colonial period. In contrast, the lower classes (including masses of immigrants) were creatively weaving the indigenous, African, and Spanish cultural traditions into new hybrid forms (especially along the Atlantic coast). Innovative music and dances, such as the tango in Argentina and the samba in Brazil, exemplify the richness of ethnic diversity in Latin America. The Argentine tango emerged in the 1870s in the immigrant areas of Buenos Aires, where rootless people of diverse ethnicities gathered to console themselves with plaintive musical strains drawn from several cultural traditions. The tango blends elements of the African-based candombe (see picture) and the habanera

(hah-bahn-AIR-uh) from Cuba. Another strand of tango traces to the gaucho singers of oral traditions and to the indigenous elements of rural folk dances. The last instrument added to the tango ensemble was the small German squeeze-box accordion, first brought to Buenos Aires by an Italian immigrant. The tango, with its sensual movements and obscene lyrics, was first rejected as sinful by “decent” society. Over time, a more refined form of the tango has become a symbol of Argentine nationality.

Brazil's samba music and dance also had humble origins and were originally reviled by the upper classes. Afro-Brazilians in the northeastern Bahia region held religious ceremonies where spiritualist priestesses called “aunts” invoked the gods through song and dance accompanied by drums and other percussion instruments. With the abolition of slavery in 1889, there was mass migration to the shantytowns on the hills around Rio de Janeiro. Here, the portly aunts in ample white costumes continued their backyard spiritualist ceremonies. Meanwhile, the samba felt the influence of the city's popular music, including the imported polka and habanera. Neighborhood samba societies formed as a creative outlet for the poor, and these societies (called “schools”) would entertain other shantytown neighborhoods during Carnival (the week before Lent). Rio's famous Carnival celebration began in the 1890s and soon incorporated competitive performances by the samba societies. The competitive aspect of samba traces directly to the traditional dance contests that are still held in Africa.

Musée D'Orsay, Paris, France/Lauros/Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library



DANCING TO CANDOMBE DRUMS. The Afro-Uruguayan candombe [kahn-DOME-bay] street dance dates from the early 1800s, but its roots are in African ceremonial processions recreated by slaves on the South American coast.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Compare and contrast the origins and development of the tango, the samba, and what you know about U.S. jazz.

themselves as Britons living in Australia or the French settlers regarded themselves as French living in Africa. The elite read European literature, taught their children European languages in European-directed schools, and dressed in current European fashions. When they grew tired of their surroundings, they often spent a year or two in a European capital. Many sent their older children to European schools and universities as a matter of course. When asked about family origins, young men and women would say that they came from some Spanish town, which their ancestors had

left (often as poverty-stricken emigrants) 300 years earlier! They did not recognize a Latin American culture that was separate and distinct from Iberia. They spent much of their lives attempting to keep up with contemporary European culture and trying to replicate it in their alien environment.

A powerful reason for the great difference between Latin and North American social habits and history in this regard was that the whites in Central and South America perceived Amerindian culture as a much greater threat than did the European settlers of North America. The

Amerindians of Latin America were far more numerous than their North American cousins. The Spanish and Portuguese conquerors wanted to maintain a sharp distinction between themselves and the natives. This distinction gradually gave way, as a result of the large number of ordinary people who intermarried with the Indians and

created the mestizo culture that predominates in many present-day Latin countries. But the ruling class rigorously maintained the distinction, remaining at heart Europeans who lived in Peru, Brazil, or Colombia—not Peruvians, Brazilians, or Colombians. For them, intermarriage was unthinkable.

SUMMARY

WE HAVE SEEN HOW DIFFICULT it was for Latin America to make relatively rapid transitions from colonial states to independent statehood. One should remember this period in the history of the Latin American nations not only for the violence, turmoil, and imperfect results, but also for the extraordinary feat of accomplishing in less than a century a process that took three or four hundred years in other parts of the world.

Criollo resentment against continued foreign rule increased under the late colonial reforms. Armed rebellion against Spain followed on the North American and French models, and by 1825, the colonials had established independent republics that Spain and Portugal could not recapture. Independence proved easier to establish than governing the new nations, however. Military men and local caudillos became the ultimate arbiters of politics, despite grand-sounding manifestos and constitutions. An urban elite of absentee landlords maintained power despite numerous “revolutions.”

The agrarian economy became dependent on the exports to western European and North American states. The rural majority lived in agrarian villages or on haciendas in conditions that differed little from serfdom. Little manufacturing could develop because of both the widespread poverty of the internal market and the openness of that market to imports from abroad. By the end of the nineteenth century, Latin America was tied perhaps more closely to foreign economic interests than it had ever been in the colonial era. The newly formed nations could not become truly politically independent because their economic dependence on countries such as the United States and Britain led to interference in their internal political affairs.

The disparities between the governing criollo cliques and the mestizo, black, and Amerindian masses were underlined by cultural orientations. The members of the upper class considered themselves Iberians and Europeans displaced in a Latin American atmosphere.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com

caudillo
monoculture

Monroe Doctrine
peonage

For Further Reflection

1. Identify the various socioeconomic classes in Latin American society in the nineteenth century. What effects did independence from Spain have on each class?
2. Spain’s first New World colonies, the Caribbean islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico, were the last areas to be lost by Spain (in 1898). What historical factors might explain this seventy-year delay relative to the rest of the Spanish American colonies, which were independent by 1825?
3. A century ago, Argentina and the United States, both rich in natural and human resources, appeared equally capable of becoming strong, stable nations. Compare and contrast the economic development of the two countries from 1850 to 1900.
4. Popular Latin American music, dance, and literature emerged from among the people. Describe the blending of cultures (African, Amerindian, and European) in these forms of artistic expression.

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- The only successful rebellion by slaves in the Western Hemisphere occurred in
 - Haiti.
 - Cuba.
 - Colombia.
 - Brazil.
 - Ecuador.
- Which of the following does not describe the conditions under which the Latin Americans gained independence?
 - In the wake of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain
 - As a result of the Spanish king's intolerable tyranny
 - As a counter to a feared movement toward radical democracy
 - Inspired by the successful North American and French revolutions
 - The criollos' resentment of being subordinate to the peninsulars
- Brazil avoided a violent transition from colony to nation because
 - the plantation slaves, although numerous, were prevented from fighting.
 - the colonial Brazilians had plenty of experience with self-governance.
 - Brazil, by choice, operated as a constitutional monarchy for much of the nineteenth century.
 - the Brazilian criollos were more interested in fiestas than in politics.
 - the British intervened and stopped the budding revolution.
- Caudillo* is the Latin American term for
 - a retired general who has been honored in civil life.
 - an appointed governor of a province.
 - a usurping strongman.
 - a priest who has entered politics.
 - a person of mixed blood who rises to prominence.
- The tyrant Juan Manuel de Rosas was not
 - criollo by birth.
 - raised as a gaucho.
 - merciless with his opponents.
 - defeated partly by the writings of his opponents.
 - president of Argentina.
- Which of the following does not describe Benito Juárez?
 - A pure-blooded Indian
 - A committed defender of Mexican nationalism
 - A devout ally of the Catholic clergy
 - The father of Mexico's constitution
 - The leader of the Reform movement
- The Latin criollos of the independence movement were interested mainly in
 - obtaining more land for themselves.
 - keeping U.S. influences out of their homelands.
 - achieving the installation of popular democratic government.
 - ousting Europeans from their countries.
 - maintaining political control against the Indian or mestizo masses to protect their livelihoods.
- Which of the following is most correct? Racism in the Latin countries has traditionally been
 - wholly contingent on the economic position of the affected person.
 - expressed as prejudice but not persecution against the dark skinned.
 - less overt but more harmful overall to good relations than in North America.
 - divorced from skin color but reflective of religious prejudices.
 - harshly practiced and based completely on a person's color.
- Which was the last country in the Americas to outlaw slavery?
 - Honduras.
 - Brazil.
 - United States.
 - Mexico.
 - Argentina.
- Monoculture* and *latifundio* are terms usually associated with
 - pastoral societies.
 - self-sufficient farmers.
 - the growing of garden produce for local consumption.
 - large-scale forced-labor production for export.
 - nomadic gauchos.



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Modern Science and its Implications

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Biology
Physics
Astronomy

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Psychology
Anthropology and Sociology

THE MALAISE IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY SOCIETY

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

Churches Under Attack
The Christian Revival

Discovery consists of seeing what everyone has seen and thinking what no one has thought.

—Albert Szent-Gyorgi

IN THE WEST, THE eighty years between 1860 and 1940 proved to be one of the most dazzling periods of innovation and change in intellectual history. In the last years of the nineteenth century, it was still possible for sophisticated persons to hold to a Newtonian view of the universe: The physical world or cosmos was a composition of law-abiding matter, finite in its dimensions and predictable in its actions. Fifty years later, most of the “hard” or natural sciences and especially physics, biology, and astronomy had been radically changed by some new factual data and many new interpretations of old data. The social or “soft” sciences such as psychology, sociology, and economics had undergone a somewhat lesser transformation, although here the novel ideas encountered more resistance because they could not easily be demonstrated as factually correct.

Religion, too, experienced striking changes. Long in retreat before an aggressive secularism, some Western Christians had come to believe that their religion was evolving like other human thought and that the Bible was properly subject to interpretations that would differ sharply in various ages and circumstances. But some fundamentalist denominations moved instead toward an uncompromising insistence on literal interpretation of the Bible as the sole source of God’s unchanging truth.

1859	Charles Darwin, <i>The Origin of Species</i>
1871	<i>The Descent of Man</i>
1880s–1920	Curie, Planck, Einstein, Freud, Jung, Pavlov
1891	<i>Rerum novarum</i>
1895–1920	Durkheim and Weber
1920s–1930s	Christian revival

THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the mental frame of reference implied or dictated by rationalism and science became much more commonplace than ever before. By century’s end, educated individuals throughout most

of the Western world accepted the proposition that empirical science was the main source of accurate and valuable information. Religious revelation, authority, and/or tradition were not seen as legitimate rivals.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the preponderance of science over competing worldviews became stronger still. Theology and philosophy, which previously had some persuasive claim to presenting a comprehensive explanation of the processes and purpose of human life, became the narrowly defined and exotic preserves of a handful of clerics and academics. In the universities of the West, which became for the first time the recognized intellectual centers of the world, the physical sciences became increasingly specialized while attracting more students. Meanwhile, armies of scientific researchers garnered the lion's share of academic budgets and prestige. Although ever-fewer people were able to understand the intricacies of the new research, the educated public still maintained its belief in the method of science and its handmaiden technology as the most efficacious way of solving human problems. This viewpoint was weakened but survived even the cataclysms of the two world wars.

Biology

The shift from theology to science and hence from spiritual to material causation had begun with the Scientific Revolution of earlier days (see Chapter 29), but certain nineteenth-century ideas hastened its pace greatly. Darwinian biology was perhaps the most important.

In 1859, Englishman **Charles Darwin** published *The Origin of Species*, a book that did for biology what Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* had done for economics. The controversy the book set off roiled European and American society for more than a generation and generated acrid public and private debate. In the end, the Darwinian view generally won out over its detractors.

What did Darwin say? Basically, he argued that through a process of **natural selection**, the individual species of plants and animals (inferentially including humans) evolved slowly from unknown ancestors. The organisms that possessed some marginal advantage in the constant struggle for survival would live long enough to create descendants that also bore those assets in their genes. For example, a flower seed with sufficient “feathers” to float a long distance through the air would more likely find suitable ground to germinate than those with few or none.

Slowly over time, that seed type would come to replace others in a given area and survive where others died off.

This is a mechanical explanation of nature's variety and of the evolution of species. It is similar to stating that an automobile moves along a highway because its wheels are propelled by a drive shaft and axles, which are themselves driven by a motor. That is all true, of course, but it leaves out any mention of a person sitting in the driver's seat and turning the ignition key. Darwin carried Newton's mechanistic explanation of the cosmos into the domain of living things. In so doing, he eliminated the role of an intelligent Creator, or God, who had ordered nature toward a definite purpose and goal: glorifying himself and instructing humans. God was superfluous in Darwinian science and, being superfluous, should be ignored.

Darwin carried this theme forward with his 1871 *The Descent of Man*, which specifically included humans in the evolutionary process. It treated the morals and ethics they developed as the product of mechanical, naturalistic processes, not of an all-knowing and directing God. If the ability of our thumbs to close upon our fingers chiefly distinguishes humans from apes, as some biologists believe,

then what some call the human conscience may also be just a product of evolutionary experience, aimed at physical survival rather than justice and obedience to the will of a Creator-Judge.

Contrary to general impressions, Darwin did not explain why natural selection occurs or the factors that cause some variance from the norm (a mutation) that results in the survival of one species and the expiration of others. That task was left to an Austrian monk named Gregor Mendel, who worked out the principles of modern genetics in many years of unrecognized labor with the common pea in his monastery garden. And it should be added that Darwin's work was matched, simultaneously, by the independent research of Alfred Russell Wallace, another English amateur, who never sought or received public notice until after Darwin's work had taken over the stage.

Physics

In physics, the path breakers were Ernst Mach (1838–1916), Wilhelm Roentgen (REHNT-gehn; 1845–1923), Max Planck (plahnk; 1858–1947), and Albert Einstein (1879–1955). The fact that all four were educated in German universities is an indication of the emphasis on scientific research in the German educational system (see Chapter 33). This model was gradually extended throughout the Western world.



CARTOON OF DARWIN WITH AN APE. Taken from an 1874 edition of *The London Sketch Book*, this caricature mocks Darwin's theory of evolution in subtle fashion.

The Print Collector/Alamy

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY



JOSEPH LISTER, FOUNDER OF MODERN SURGICAL TECHNIQUES

Sir Joseph Lister (1827–1912) was a pioneer in applying laboratory science to the practice of medicine. He was the first to successfully apply the germ theory to surgery, opening a new chapter in medical history. When Lister began his surgical career in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1853, most physicians simply ignored recent scientific discoveries as irrelevant to their day-to-day practices. Joseph Lister alone had a background in biology, chemistry, and microscopy, as well as in medicine. Lister, born near London to a prosperous Quaker family, attended Quaker schools, which were unusual in their emphasis on science and the scientific languages (French and German). Lister's father, an oculist, invented an improved microscope and taught his son to be an expert microscopist. While a medical resident in London, Joseph Lister studied biology, physiology, and chemistry with the foremost scientists of the day. He then went to Glasgow, Scotland, to work with James Syme, the renowned British surgeon.

The young Dr. Joseph Lister refused to accept the appallingly high mortality rates in hospital surgeries (really amputation wards). Glasgow was an industrial city, and the hospitals received many injured workers. The main treatment for flesh wounds of the limbs was amputation to prevent the spread of infection. Lister decided to fight the “hospital gangrene” that was killing over half the amputees. Hospitals were dirty, airless places that reeked of rotting flesh. By 1864, Lister was aware of carbolic acid's use in deodorizing village sewage before it was spread on pastures as fertilizer. Furthermore, the sanitization process eliminated a digestive disorder that had plagued the grazing cattle. In 1865, Lister saved a boy's leg from amputation by mending his compound fracture using a weak carbolic acid solution as an antiseptic. Later, inspired by Louis Pasteur's discovery of microbes that cause spoilage in wine, Lister examined some pus from an infected wound under the microscope and saw the same bacilli that Pasteur had described. Lister concluded that bacteria also caused infection in wounds, and he accepted Pasteur's

still-controversial germ theory. Lister continued to refine his antiseptic surgery methods, and mortality rates in his wards dropped sharply.

Lister devised a regime for surgery that is still followed today: hand washing by surgeons with antiseptic solution, clean masks and gloves, sterilization of surgical instruments, sutures that were sterile and absorbable, antiseptic dressings, and drainage tubes for abscesses. Because Lister's procedures have become the norm, it is hard to imagine that, when Lister introduced them, they met with fervent and prolonged opposition. Surgeons prized speed of operation above all and saw Lister's regime as a waste of time. Skeptics of the germ theory criticized the lack of proof linking specific bacteria to specific diseases. Lister avoided the public debates about the validity of the germ theory. He doggedly continued to lecture twice a week on his antiseptic surgical procedures and published his results in the new scientific journals. His ideas were eventually accepted (and improved upon) in France and Germany. By 1900, his procedures had been widely adopted in Britain and the United States.

Even those who opposed his innovative methods respected Lister's irreproachable personal and professional integrity. Lister had a distinguished career as chair of clinical surgery at the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, as well as at King's College, London. He had served as a surgeon to Queen Victoria; she knighted him in 1883. Lister is memorialized through

the Joseph Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine in London, and the bacterial genus *Listeria* is named after him. Lister's eightieth birthday was celebrated worldwide in 1907. However, by 1927, a mere twenty years after his death, Lister's importance had been mostly forgotten.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Describe some ways in which Lister applied scientific laboratory discoveries to improved patient care.



PORTRAIT OF JOSEPH LISTER, 1827–1912.

Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

Mach's several publications in the 1880s and 1890s contributed importantly to the underlying concept of all twentieth-century physics: the impossibility of applying philosophical logic to physical matter. Mach believed that scientists could only determine what their intellect and equipment told them about matter, not what matter actually was or did. What a later German physicist would call the "Uncertainty Principle" had replaced the Newtonian world machine and substituted mere probability for law.

Roentgen discovered X-rays, by which solid objects could be penetrated by a form of energy that made their interiors visible. His work, published at the end of the nineteenth century, immediately gave rise to experimentation with subatomic particles, especially in the laboratory of Englishmen J. J. Thompson and Ernest Rutherford (1871–1937). Rutherford, who was a pioneer in the discovery of radioactivity and splitting the atom, is one of the great names of modern science. His work, in turn, was materially helped by the simultaneous research conducted by French radiologist Marie Curie (1867–1934), whose laboratory work with radium proved that mass and energy were not separate but could be converted into one another under certain conditions.

Planck headed a major research lab for many years and revolutionized the study of energy with his *quantum theory*, in which energy is discharged in a not-fully-predictable series of emissions from its sources, rather than as a smooth and uniform stream. Quantum theory explained otherwise-contradictory data about the motion of objects and subatomic matter such as electrons and protons.

Then, in 1905, the young Swiss-German, Einstein, published the most famous paper on physics since Newton—the first of his theories on relativity. Einstein insisted that space and time formed a continuous whole and that measurement of both space and time depended as much on the observer as on the subjects of the measurement themselves. He saw time as a "fourth dimension" of space rather than an independent concept. Eleven years later, Einstein published his *General Theory of Relativity*, which announced the birth of twentieth-century physics (and the death of the Newtonian model).

How does twentieth-century physics differ from the Newtonian conception? Several fundamental ideas are prominent:

- ◆ *Uncertainty.* In dealing with some forms of energy and with subatomic particles, modern science does not assume that cause-and-effect relations are reliable. Strong probability replaces certainty as the best obtainable result. Newtonian laws apply only on levels above that of the atom.
- ◆ *Relativity.* The motion and position of the observer affect the object observed, so that no neutral observation is possible.
- ◆ *Interchangeability of matter and energy.* Under specified conditions, the Newtonian distinction between matter and energy falls away and one becomes the other.

These mind-bending novelties have been recognized and acted on only by a small handful of specialists—mainly in the universities. They have removed modern physics from the comprehension of most ordinary people, even well educated ones. The assumption—so common in the nineteenth century—that physical science would be the key to a fully comprehensible universe in which matter and energy would be the reliable servants of intellect, was dashed by

the physical scientists themselves. Their ever-more-exotic research and its unsettling results widened the previously narrow gap between professional scientists and educated laypeople.

This intellectual divorce between the mass of people and the holders of specialized scientific knowledge has become a subject of concern that continues to the present day. The nonspecialists in positions of responsibility are often placed in an intolerable situation when dealing with economic policy, for example. Statesmen and politicians rarely comprehend the scientific background of the internal development policies they are implementing or their possible dangers. For another example, the naïveté of the early proponents of nuclear power plants, who had no understanding of the menace posed by a nuclear meltdown, became a major embarrassment, or worse. The lawmaking and political authorities were forced to rely on scientific advisers



THE YOUNG EINSTEIN. This photo was taken about 1902, when Einstein was twenty-three and yet an unknown dabbler in theoretical physics.

Private Collection/Archives Charmel/The Bridgman Art Library

who had every professional interest in seeing the plants built. This dilemma of contemporary government is not going to be easily solved.

Astronomy

In astronomy, the major changes in the scientific paradigm are more recent. The last fifty years have seen fantastic advances and an ongoing debate. The advances have been mainly technological: huge new telescopes and radio devices, space vehicles that venture far into the cosmos to report on distant planets, and spectroscopes that analyze light emitted eons ago from the stars. As a result of this new technology, we know much more about the nature of the universe than before. Space probes have revealed that planets such as Mars and Saturn are physically quite different than previously thought, whereas the moon has become almost familiar territory. The universe is now thought to be much larger than once believed—perhaps infinite—and to contain millions or billions of stars.

Strictly speaking, the debate is not astronomical in character but rather metaphysical (“beyond physics”). It revolves around how the universe was created and how it will develop. The widely supported **Big Bang theory** holds that the universe originated several billion years ago with a cosmic explosion, creating in an instant not just matter and energy, but time, space, dimension, and the very laws by which the universe is regulated. Astrophysicists know that the universe is still expanding, but into what it is expanding isn’t clear. Some think that the expansion will end with a general cooling and dying off of all life-supporting planets. Others believe that gravity will gradually slow the expansion and bring all of the scattered fragments together again, only to have another big bang and repeat the process.

A third group—creationists—rejects all scientific explanations and holds to the Christian tradition that an Intelligent Being created the cosmos and all within it in accord with a preconceived plan. In the same way, some respected scientists accept the overwhelming evidence for the slow physical evolution of humans but insist that the separate, instantaneous creation of an immortal soul within *Homo sapiens* by a God is a perfectly possible hypothesis.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The social sciences have human beings, collectively or individually, as their subject matter. They include psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, and political science. These disciplines were strongly affected by the waves of new ideas and data produced by the physical sciences in the later nineteenth century. Just as the sciences of the seventeenth-century innovators slowly percolated into the consciousness of historians and political philosophers to produce the Enlightenment, so did the innovations and technological breakthroughs of the nineteenth-century

physicists and biologists affect the worldviews of the sociologists and psychologists who followed. The effect was probably most spectacular and controversial in psychology.

Psychology

Psychology has been radically altered by the widely held modern conviction that its major purpose should be to heal sick minds, rather than to merely understand how the mind works. In the twentieth century, psychiatry—the healing process—has come to be an important branch of medicine. No one individual has been more crucial to this transformation than Sigmund Freud (SIG-mund froid; 1856–1939), a doctor from Vienna, Austria, who developed a theory of psychiatric treatment called psychoanalysis.

Freud believed that not the conscious but the unconscious mind is the controlling factor of the deepest mental life. In effect, he was rejecting the principle of rationality—that is, that men and women are capable and desirous of reasoned acts—on which all previous psychological theory had been built. Psychoanalysis attempts to help the patient first recognize, and then do something about, the distorted impressions of reality that produce social or individual disabilities. Based on Freud’s convictions, the sexual drive is the chief motor of the unconscious, childhood events are almost always the source of mental and emotional problems in adult life, and the eternal struggle between the libido (or pleasure principle) and the superego (which



Freud Museum, London, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library

THE CONSULTATION ROOM IN FREUD’S APARTMENT. This is the famous couch on which Freud’s patients reclined while the psychiatrist listened to their “free associations” and took notes.

might be translated as conscience) will never entirely be resolved within the human mind.

Freud has had several major competitors in explaining the mind's workings and how the sick might be cured. The Swiss Carl Jung (yuhng; 1875–1961) was one of Freud's early collaborators, but he broke with the master (as did many others) and founded his own psychological school that emphasized religious symbolism and archetypal ideas shared by all humans in their unconscious as the bedrock of mental activity.

Ivan Pavlov (ih-VAHN PAV-lof; 1849–1936) is considered the founder of behaviorism, a widely supported theory that insists that the rewards and punishments given to various types of behavior are the controlling factors of individual psychology. Pavlov's work with dogs in his native Russia before World War I made him famous. His work was importantly expanded and supplemented by Americans William James (1842–1910) and B. F. Skinner (1904–1990) in the early and middle decades of the past century.

In recent years, the former sharp division of psychologists into pro- and anti-Freud camps has softened. Although much of Freud's theoretical work is now rejected or discredited from universal application, a good deal more has been accepted as conventional wisdom. When we use terms such as *inferiority complex*, *Freudian slip*, and *Oedipus complex* in everyday speech, we are paying verbal tribute to the Austrian explorer of the mystery of inner space. (For more about Freud, see the Arts and Culture box.)

Anthropology and Sociology

Both anthropology and sociology treat humans as a species rather than as individuals. These two new sciences flourished greatly in the twentieth century. Anthropology as a scientific discipline is an indirect product of Darwinian biology, although some work was done earlier. It is divided into two basic varieties: (1) physical, dealing with humans as an animal species, and (2) cultural, dealing with humans as the constructors of systems of values. Especially since World War II, great advances have been achieved in extending our knowledge of the human species far back into prehistoric time. Combining archaeology with the new subsistence of sociobiology, these paleoanthropologists have learned much about the physical and cultural aspects of earlier human life. They have posited several theories and ideas about the nature of humans that sharply contradict the previous traditional concepts and have strongly influenced current anthropological research.

Sociology also came of age in the late nineteenth century. Unlike most fields of science that are the product of many disparate contributors, sociology can trace its basic theory to a small handful of brilliant individuals. First was Auguste Comte (kohmt; 1798–1857), a Frenchman whose philosophical treatise, *The Positive Philosophy*, insisted that laws of social behavior existed and were just as readily knowable as the laws of physical behavior. In this view,

humans advance through three stages of ability to perceive knowledge, culminating in the scientific stage just now being entered. Truth could and must be obtained by the application of positivism, by which Comte meant that only empirical, measurable data were reliable and that a philosophy that attempts to identify spiritual, nonmaterialistic forces or values was falsely conceived and impossible.

Comte's view of sociology as the culmination of all the sciences inspired many imitators. In the last years of the nineteenth century, French sociologist Emile Durkheim (DERK-haym; 1858–1917) and German Max Weber (VAY-ber; 1864–1920) were equally important as formative influences. In his special way, Karl Marx was perhaps the greatest of the nineteenth-century figures who studied the "science of society."

Several Americans were also at the forefront of sociology's development, especially in the early twentieth century when American universities took up the discipline with enthusiasm. The underlying premise of sociology seemed to be particularly appealing to the American mind-set: If one knew enough of the laws of social behavior, then one could alter that behavior in positive and planned ways. This mode of thought fit well with the preeminently American view of society as an instrument that might be tuned by conscious human interventions. But in many minds, this optimism was eventually countered by profound misgivings about the course of human society.

One offshoot of the Darwinian discoveries in biology was a reexamination of human ethics. More specifically, could a code of ethics originate through a particular set of environmental influences? If so, could one type of behavior be promoted over another in some rational manner? Do ethics themselves evolve or does a Superior Being, as fundamentalist Christians believe, permanently instill them?

Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) was the most noted of the upholders of social Darwinism, a philosophy that held that ethics are evolutionary in nature and that free competition is the main engine of social progress. As among the plants and animals, the fittest will survive, as a ruthless nature demands. Although Spencer did not intend such a result, his philosophy of unbridled social competition made it all too easy for the powerful to justify their own positions as the proper, even the inevitable, reward for their superiority. As for the poor or the unfortunate, their misery was the equally inevitable result of their natural inferiority. Social Darwinism was a temporarily fashionable pseudo-philosophy at the end of the nineteenth century, and its adherents by no means entirely disappeared in the twentieth.

THE MALAISE IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY SOCIETY

With all of the triumphs scored in understanding the physical universe and the growing acceptance of science as the most certain path to useful knowledge, many people

ARTS AND CULTURE

SIGMUND FREUD (1856–1939)

The founder of modern psychotherapy, Sigmund Freud is one of the three Germans of Jewish descent who radically changed the physical and social sciences of the Western world in a relatively brief epoch. (The others were Albert Einstein and Karl Marx.) In some ways, Freud's contribution was perhaps even more penetrating than those of the others, because the popularized versions of his theories have long since become part of the everyday mental equipment of even minimally educated people. His innovative work has proved extraordinarily controversial, even more than a century later.

Freud was born in Bohemia (now the Czech Republic), a province of the Habsburg Empire. He entered medical studies at the University of Vienna in 1885 and lived in that city for almost his entire life. He became increasingly interested in the interlinking of the mind and the body, especially as this was evidenced by hysteria, or the breakdown of certain bodily functions under extreme stress. His attempt to show that the underlying cause of hysteria (almost always found in females) was some type of sexual fear or trauma offended the prevalent ethical sensitivities and made him persona non grata among his medical cohorts. A few years later, his insistence on the sexuality of small children as well as the sexual meanings of dreams cemented this rejection by the Viennese public.

But Freud was not put off by the disdain of his colleagues. Between 1900 and 1910, he published several major studies in psychology and psychotherapeutic practice that won him international recognition. In this period, he developed his ideas on the possibility of reaching and healing unconscious sources of mental anguish by means of free association: encouraging the patient to “talk out” the mental link between outwardly unrelated topics or feelings. This approach came to be called *psychoanalysis*. The doctor's role was to listen encouragingly rather than to intervene actively. In essence, the patient would in time come to recognize the source of his or her ills and heal him or herself.



SIGMUND FREUD. The Austrian psychiatrist in his middle years.

By the mid-1920s, most of the original work in Freud's psychotherapeutic theories had been completed. He remained at the head of the International Psychoanalytical Association and continued his private practice in Vienna, where he had married and raised a family. Most of his later writings are concerned with cultural topics rather than medical ones, including his influential books *Civilization and Its Discontents* and *Moses and Monotheism*.

The antagonism Freud aroused through his insistence on the sexual nature of much of human activity was only increased by his equal insistence on the primacy of the unconscious in directing human action. Freud's assertions that humans are only sporadically rational and intermittently aware of why they think or do certain things fell at the time on stony ground, particularly in his native country. Many thought it no great loss when the “degenerate Jewish manipulator” Freud had to leave Vienna for London in the wake of the Nazi takeover in 1938. Already suffering from a painful cancer of the jaw, he died shortly after arriving there.

Sigmund Freud was a pioneer of the huge dark spaces of the human psyche. Much of what he insisted on has now been revised or even rejected by the majority of psychiatrists, but it is perhaps

no exaggeration to give him the title “Columbus of the Soul.”

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

How much of Freud's insistence on sexuality as the prime motivator of unconscious activity do you agree with? What other motivators strike you as important inputs into the unconscious?



You can read excerpts from *The Interpretation of Dreams* online.



Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria/Archives Charmet/The Bridgeman Art Library

at the nineteenth century's end still felt uneasy about the road ahead. This malaise (apprehensive feeling) became much more tangible and widespread after World War I. What had happened? In unintended ways, psychology has contributed as much to the insecurity and uncertainty that cloud modern lives in the West as the revolution in physics has. Both sciences often leave the observer with the feeling that things are not as they outwardly seem. In psychology, the Freudians insist that the brute instinct is as important as the reason. In physics, matter can suddenly turn into its opposite, non-matter, and the course and nature of such transformations cannot be predicted accurately nor fully understood. Traditional knowledge is no longer applicable or sufficient, and traditional authority has shown itself incompetent to give clear answers to new questions. Freud himself claimed, with a note of ambivalent pride, that his work had finished the destruction of the medieval view of humans begun by the cosmology of Copernicus and continued by the biology of Darwin. While Copernicus had reduced humankind to residents of a minor planet in a cosmos of many similar planets, Darwin had torn down the precious wall distinguishing beasts and man. Now Freud had shown that these human beings did not and could not fully control their own acts or perceptions.

These new perceptions had widespread consequences. One of the prominent features of the social sciences in the twentieth century was the spread of **cultural relativism**. The nineteenth century's assurance that whatever was the standard in Europe should become the standard of the world's behavior was largely demolished. Recent generations raised in Western culture are much less convinced that there is but one proper way to raise small children, inculcate respect for the aged, assign suitable gender roles, and so forth than was the case a century ago. An appreciation of the variety of ways to solve a generic task—such as instructing the young in what they will need to prosper—has become more common among Western people. It is interesting that this is happening at exactly the time when the rest of the world is voluntarily imitating the West in many respects. This cultural relativism is another face of the general abandonment of traditional ethnocentrism that is an earmark of late twentieth-century thought—in the West especially, but also throughout “the global village” the world has become.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

During the nineteenth century, the Christian Church came under siege throughout Europe. Both Catholic and Protestant believers found themselves portrayed by numerous opponents as inappropriate, even hateful relics from a forgotten medieval age who were against progress, rationalism, and anything modern.

Churches Under Attack

Attacks came from several quarters. Intellectuals, in particular, rejected the traditional arguments of religion and the clergy's claim to represent a higher order of authority than mere human beings. Liberals rejected the stubborn conservatism of the clergy and the peasants who were the church's most faithful followers. Marxists laughed at the gullibility of the pious believer (“pie in the sky when you die”) while agitating against the churches, which they regarded as slavish tools of the bourgeois class, like other institutions of the modern state.

These varied attacks had substantial effect. By the 1890s, much of the middle classes refused to tithe and had little respect for the parish curate, while the European working class had almost entirely ceased to attend church. In France, only a minority of the Catholic peasantry went to hear the priest on occasions other than their wedding days. Like the English and the Germans, the French urban workers were practically strangers to organized religion. In Italy and Spain, where the papal religion was still an established church, anticlericalism was common in all classes, even though most peasants still supported the church as an essential part of their lives.

Positivist science was a strong weapon in the attackers' arsenal. The Darwinians won the intellectual battle over Darwin's biology by century's end, although the topic was still acrimoniously debated in some sectors. The long struggle over lay versus religious control of public education was settled everywhere in the West by the coming of state-supported and state-directed schools in which the religious denominations were excluded or restricted. Religious belief was removed from the qualifications of officeholders, civil servants, and voters. By the 1870s, everywhere but Russia, Jews and atheists were made fully equal with Christians in law if not always in practice. Among the larger part of the educated and influential classes, secularism was taken for granted as the wave of the future in European (and American) civic culture.

The Christian Revival

Meanwhile, the churches everywhere were struggling to renew themselves and regain at least some of the lost ground. In parts of the United States, the fundamentalist Protestant creeds became strong rivals of the Lutherans, Anglicans, and other, less aggressively evangelical churches. The somewhat-similar British Nonconformists (those Protestants who did not “conform” to the Anglican credo—Methodists, Presbyterians, Quakers, and Unitarians) showed formidable tenacity in their missionary work and in their foundation of hundreds of schools.

In Germany, Chancellor Bismarck made a major error in attempting to consolidate support for his government by attacking the Catholic Church. This “Kulturkampf” ended in the 1880s with a rout of the Bismarck forces. The

Church emerged stronger than ever and founded a political party, which was the second largest in the German parliament by 1910. The necessity of meeting the Darwinian challenge and the positivist critics of the Bible made it obligatory for both Catholics and Protestants to reexamine their basis of literal belief. Soon, a school of Christian Bible exegesis on scientific foundations contributed to a revival of intellectually credible research.

In 1891, Leo XIII's major encyclical (papal letter) *Rerum novarum* ("about new things") broke the papal tradition of rejecting all that was new. Leo strongly supported the ideals of social justice for the working classes and the poor, while continuing to denounce atheistic socialism. For the next fifty years, *Rerum novarum* provided a guideline for loyal Catholics who wished to create a more liberal, less exploitative economic order. They frequently found themselves opposed by the clergy and their coreligionists in positions of power throughout the Western world.

World War I dealt a heavy blow to all organized religions. Many members of the clergy in all denominations were caught up in the patriotic hysteria of the early weeks of the war and outdid themselves in blessing the troops and the battleships, declaring, "Gott mit uns!" (God's on our

side). The ghastly reality of the trenches quickly put an end to such claims. Radical discontent at the endless bloodletting sharpened the critiques. The clergy were denounced as willing pawns of the various governments that controlled their incomes and status. After the 1917 Russian Revolution, Marxist propaganda skillfully intensified these negative feelings both inside and outside of Russia.

A small minority reacted differently. They saw the war and the following period of upheaval as the inevitable results of a godless, mechanistic progressivism that had little of value to offer humans' spiritual nature. In the 1920s and 1930s, both Protestant and Catholic communities in the Western world experienced a perceptible, though limited, revival of Christian belief.

A few intellectuals, too, were ready to risk the contempt of their fellows by taking an overtly religious point of view in the interwar era. Among them were Paul Claudel and Etienne Gilson in France, Karl Jaspers and Reinhold Niebuhr (NEE-buhr) in Germany, T. S. Eliot in Britain, and Dorothy Day in the United States. They were a tiny minority, but that did not deter them from hoping and working for a Christian renaissance out of the blood and terror of the war.

SUMMARY

ADVANCES IN THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES multiplied and fed off one another in the second half of the nineteenth century, leading to an explosive ferment in the opening half of the twentieth. Darwinian biology led the parade of theory and data that together profoundly altered the existing concepts of the physical universe and its creatures, including human beings. A new physics pioneered by German researchers overthrew the Newtonian cosmology. Somewhat later, also entering a revolutionary era was theoretical astronomy, which had its own impact on age-old habits of belief.

In the social sciences, the disputed revelations of Freud were equally disturbing to traditionalists. For those who followed the master, irrational forces beyond any awareness overshadowed human consciousness, and the soul

was reduced to a biochemical entity—if it existed at all. What was left of traditional morality was ascribed to a psyche entangled in its own irrational fears and follies. Less controversially, sociology and anthropology emerged as accepted academic disciplines and provided new ways of contemplating humans as a community.

Throughout the nineteenth century, self-doubt and persuasive scientific adversaries had assaulted the Christian religion. Much of the population no longer attended or honored the traditional ceremonies. Tardily, both Protestant and Catholic organs took up the challenge. Reaction against positivist science and liberal changes in official church attitudes had assisted a slight recovery by the turn of the century. This limited revival was strengthened in the 1920s and 1930s by the revulsion against World War I.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Big Bang theory
cultural relativism
Charles Darwin
The Descent of Man
General Theory of Relativity

natural selection
The Origin of Species
Rerum novarum

For Further Reflection

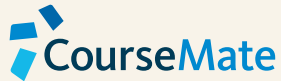
1. Many scholars refer to the breakthroughs of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the Second Scientific Revolution. In what ways did the Second Scientific Revolution build on the discoveries of the First Scientific Revolution?
2. What explanations can you give for the remarkably rapid and broad advances that occurred in the sciences in such a short span of time?
3. In what ways did discoveries in one field help induce and reinforce changes in others during the Second Scientific Revolution?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. Darwinian biology was ultimately based on
 - a. Christian theology.
 - b. a mechanical view of the cosmos.
 - c. a belief in random change in species.
 - d. a belief in a kind of deism much like Newton's.
 - e. observation of people.
2. The Uncertainty Principle refers to modern
 - a. psychology.
 - b. physics.
 - c. history.
 - d. economics.
 - e. sociology.
3. The most clear-cut similarity among later nineteenth-century physicists is their
 - a. belief in Christianity.
 - b. involvement in an antiwar movement.
 - c. reliance on individual research.
 - d. unhappy domestic lives.
 - e. training in German methodology.
4. Which of the following was not embraced by Freudian psychology?
 - a. The superego is engaged in a struggle against the libido.
 - b. The sex drive lies at the bottom of much unconscious activity.
 - c. Humans are basically seeking rational answers to their difficulties.
 - d. Conscious actions are often reflections of unconscious motives.
 - e. Unconscious sources of mental anguish could be healed.
5. Freud's theories of psychology
 - a. encouraged the belief in rational planning as an answer to misery.
 - b. were supported most ardently in his home city of Vienna.
 - c. were thought to be insulting by many of his colleagues.
 - d. were based on the study of the behavior of animals.
 - e. built on Darwin's theories of evolution.
6. Which of the following pairs is least logically paired?
 - a. Mach and Einstein
 - b. Freud and Jung
 - c. Marie Curie and Ernest Rutherford
 - d. Auguste Comte and Wilhelm Roentgen
 - e. Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace
7. Which pair fits most logically together in terms of their interests?
 - a. Durkheim and Weber
 - b. Niebuhr and Mach
 - c. Jung and Einstein
 - d. Darwin and Rutherford
 - e. Curie and Spencer
8. As a general rule, twentieth-century Christian belief in the Western world
 - a. became nearly extinct after World War II.
 - b. developed an entirely new view of Christ.
 - c. became much stronger as a result of World War I.
 - d. recovered some support among intellectuals.
 - e. has never recovered from the loss of prestige it suffered because of World War I.

9. Auguste Comte believed that
 - a. sociology was less important than psychology.
 - b. sociology was the social science that would bring the greatest concrete changes to society.
 - c. Karl Marx was the greatest nineteenth-century figure.
 - d. truth could not be obtained without using the senses.
 - e. sociology was the culmination of all the sciences.
10. In the *Rerum novarum*, Catholics found papal support for being
 - a. more liberal.
 - b. more conservative.
 - c. more militant.
 - d. stronger proselytizers.
 - e. more socialistic.



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PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

1. What is a revolution? How does it differ from ordinary change? We have applied the term revolution to several types of sweeping change that have occurred throughout history. Make a list of the types of revolution that took place during the era covered in Part Five.
2. Besides those that occurred in Europe, what revolutions took place in the American hemisphere? What spurred those revolutions?
3. How and in what ways were the revolutions of this era linked to developments that had taken place prior to 1600?
4. How are the changes and revolutions that transpired between 1600 and 1914 still affecting life in the modern world? Where are these revolutionary changes occurring today?
5. Imperialism was another hallmark of this period. How and in what ways was European imperialism linked to its revolutions? How did the imperialism of this era differ from that of the previous era, 1400–1600?
6. To what extent were the civilizations of the Americas, Africa, and Asia successful in managing the impact of Europeans on them? In what ways did they do this?

CROSS-CULTURAL CONNECTIONS

Trade and Exchange Networks

Global networks established with faster and more reliable methods of transport. Asia forced open to Western trade by Western powers despite resistance. Western slave trade replaced by trade in raw materials for manufactured goods. European industrialization damages or destroys economies of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans as local manufacturing and crafts production lost to cheaper imported goods. Third-world regions forced into international capitalist system. Europeans create monoeconomies in many regions they control.

Migrations

Europe—Europeans continue migrations to Western Hemisphere. Zionist movement encourages Jews to return to Palestine.

Asia—Larger numbers of Africans imported as slaves in Persian Gulf and western India. Indians and Lebanese immigrate to Africa, Chinese to Southeast Asia.

Africa—Slave trade peaks in nineteenth century. Asians settle along east coast, then begin settling West Africa. Europeans settle South Africa, Algeria, and Central Africa.

America—Native American population continues decline. Overall population grows dramatically through immigration.

Spread of Ideas and Technologies

Europe—Scientific and Industrial Revolutions spread throughout Europe. New wave of evangelical Christianity directed at new Industrial proletariat. Mission societies evangelize among non-Christians of the Third World.

Asia—Christian missions become active in parts of Asia affected by European colonialism. In response, Islamic reformers advocate stricter adherence to Sharia or selective adoption of aspects of modernity.

Africa—Greater numbers and varieties of Christian missions active, making converts and providing Western-style education for Africans. Jihads in Sahara and the Sudan enforce stricter conformity to Sharia.

America—Scientific and Industrial Revolutions spread from Europe. United States begins industrialization. Christian missions active and win converts among Native Americans.

WORLDVIEW FIVE



LAW AND GOVERNMENT



SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

EUROPEANS

- > After French Revolution, civil law based on secular viewpoint rather than religious authority.
- > Government steadily more sophisticated; bureaucracy universal in advanced societies.
- > Imperialism revives in mid-century.

- > Industrialization with deep regional variations.
- > By 1920, northern and western Europe far more industrial than eastern and southern.
- > Mechanized, factory-based modes of production replace handwork after Second Industrial Revolution in later nineteenth century.

WEST ASIANS

- > Muslim regions subordinated to Western imperialism.
- > Middle East Islamic states reduced to satellites or taken over by Europeans.
- > Ottomans helpless to defend interests, empire crumbles.
- > Sultans implement Tanzimat Reforms; Muhammad Ali introduces reforms in Egypt.

- > Economy of West Asia damaged by rise of Atlantic trade and decline of Muslim empires.
- > Industry still unknown at end of period, and technological gap opened between West and Muslim worlds.

AFRICANS

- > African interior penetrated after 1840 by Western missions and individuals; "scramble" for Africa completed by 1890s.

- > Slaving disrupts trade in west, making some coastal states more powerful and undermining others.
- > Agriculture aided by introduction of new crops from Americas and South Asia.
- > Bantu-speaking areas in east and south expand trade with Arab and Portuguese coastal towns.

SOUTH AND EAST ASIANS

- > Japan and China encounter Western aggression after 1840.
- > Meiji Restoration in Japan successful, but China's Self-strengthening movement fails.
- > In 1911, last emperor replaced by republic. Mughals in India eliminated.
- > Southeastern Asia and Pacific islands appropriated by British and French.

- > China faces overpopulation early in period. Japan prospers and urbanizes.
- > Urban population and merchants gain prestige, peasantry sinks into further poverty. After 1867, Japan industrializes.
- > China attempts reforms, but progress cannot overcome traditionalism.
- > India begins industrial development as British colony.

AMERICANS

- > North Americans continue heritage of representative government.
- > South Americans unable to translate republicanism into effective democracy; criollos rule over mestizo majority.

- > North America's industrial economy explodes after the Civil War.
- > By 1920, United States is world's most potent industrial nation.
- > Latin America receives little immigration and capital investment; industry minimal, and agrarian society still dependent on monoculture exports.

Revolutions and the Age of Empire, 1600–1914



PATTERNS OF BELIEF

- > Enlightenment and revolutions attack religion and links between state and church.
- > After Darwin, traditional Christianity is seen as antiscientific.
- > Philosophy of progress based on advance of science is popular.

- > Nadir of Muslim religious and cultural vitality reached.
- > Secularism rejected by traditionalists.

- > African indigenous religions unchanged, but Muslims make progress in sub-Saharan areas.

- > Muslims and Hindus contest for allegiance of northern Indians under Mughal rule.
- > In China and Japan, Buddhism blends with Confucianism, Daoism, and Shintoism.
- > Neo-Confucian philosophy influences Japanese.
- > Christian missionary efforts bring minor returns.

- > Secularism triumphs in both Americas, although Catholicism remains state religion in Latin America.
- > In United States, separation of church and state generally accepted.
- > United States and Canada debate over place of religion and science.
- > In Latin America, most intellectuals carry anticlericalism to extreme.



ARTS AND CULTURE

- > Major achievements attained in plastic and pictorial arts.
- > Neoclassicism followed by Romanticism and Realism.
- > Late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries significant for beginnings of mass culture.

- > Some fine artisanry produced in Persia, Ottoman Empire, and parts of Africa where Western influences not yet felt.

- > Despite reduced wealth and sense of impotence, new creative forms accommodate change.

- > In China and Japan, later eighteenth century is high point in pictorial and literary arts.
- > Mughal arts reach high degree of excellence.

- > Signs of rebellion against traditional conformism multiply at end of nineteenth century, and early twentieth century sees change toward cultural autonomy.



SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

- > Spectacular advances in sciences and social sciences.
- > Technological breakthroughs multiply, utilizing new energy sources.
- > Positivism challenged at end of nineteenth century by discrediting of Newtonian physics and antirationalist trends.

- > Nadir of Asian science and technology as compared with the West.
- > Modern education blocked by religious fundamentalism and anti-Western feelings.

- > Africans as yet lack basis of modern scientific thought.

- > Japan behind the West but closes gap in science and technology.
- > China resists Western ways and does not develop scientific outlook.
- > Traditional views hinder India's progress, although upper-caste individuals move toward modern Western viewpoint.

- > In North America in later part of period, physical sciences and technology advance.
- > By 1920, gaps closed in most fields relative to Europe.
- > In Latin America, gaps widen except among tiny minority of educated.

Part VI



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TOWARDS A GLOBALIZED WORLD, 1914–PRESENT

PART SIX EXAMINES THE continued rapid changes in Western civilization and the past nine decades of the accelerating pace of change in the world. These years have seen the unilateral military and political authority of the West modified and weakened throughout the non-Western world, while Western cultural forms have expanded into heretofore-untouched regions. New constellations of power, both

military and economic, have arisen, sometimes to fall again, as in the case of communist Russia. East Asia has become a major nexus of development, and South and Southeast Asia have emerged from the shadow of colonial status with vigor and confidence. For Africa and Latin America, the story has not been so positive; for many years, both remained on the periphery of power and in an essentially dependent relationship with the West. However, with the rapid development of a global economy in recent years, both have assumed growing importance. With this has come a greater independence in world affairs and demands to play a bigger role in world bodies.

In the wake of the disastrous World War I, the central and eastern European nations generally gravitated into various forms of authoritarian government and bade sour farewell to the classical liberal ideals and presumptions about human nature. Fascism in superficially varied forms won popular support and governmental power in several countries.

Britain, France, Scandinavia, and the United States resisted this trend during the interwar period, but after 1930, it was not the liberal democracies—which seemed helpless and exhausted—that seized the imagination and captured the sympathies of many of the world's less fortunate peoples. They turned instead to the novel socioeconomic experiment mounted by the Bolsheviks after seizing power in a war-prostrate Russia. Under Josef Stalin's brutal aegis, the Five-Year Plans and the Stalinist aberration of Marxism transformed traditional Russia.

Catalyzed by the lust for revenge and the expansionary dreams of Adolf Hitler and his fellow Nazi visionaries, World War II broke out in 1939. The unnatural anti-Nazi partnership of Britain, the United States, and Stalinist

Russia fell apart, however, immediately after the common enemy was overwhelmed. The Cold War began and lasted for a long and often-terrifying generation of crises. For a time, the world seemed on the verge of becoming divided into the permanent fiefs of the two atomic superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union. But Western Europe, which had seemed finished in the ruins of 1945, got back on its economic feet with American aid and by the mid-1950s was showing an astonishing vitality.

In Eastern Europe, the allegedly revolutionary message of communism was revealed to be no more than the ideologically enlarged shadow thrown by a crude Great Power, rather than a new dispensation for humankind. This impression was then demonstrated by the abject collapse of the spiritually bankrupt communist regimes at the beginning of the 1990s.

In those parts of the world that had experienced all the harm and indignities of Western colonialism, the reestablishment of national autonomy went through several stages. In the interwar era, the formation of a critically important local intelligentsia was completed. The two world wars revealed the weaknesses of Western governments and generated much support for national self-determination throughout the world. Either by armed force or by moral suasion, the once-subject colonies became newly sovereign nations and took their place proudly in a United Nations organization that had originally been planned as a club dominated by the Great Powers, namely the USA, the Soviet Union, and Western Europe. Despite that, a kind of cultural and political equilibrium among the members of an increasingly polycentric world was in the process of being painfully and tentatively reasserted. Using the intellectual and moral

resources opened to them by Western ideas and ideals, the other three-quarters of humanity were determined to make themselves heard and listened to as the twenty-first century began.

Chapter 41 opens this part by reviewing the attempt to make World War I comprehensible to its survivors. Chapter 42 provides an overview of the post-war decade that saw many changes and presaged the crises of the 1930s. Chapter 43 is the story of the first generation of Soviet Russian government, from Lenin's *coup* to the enthronement of Stalin. Chapter 44 puts the totalitarian idea—and particularly the Nazi dictatorship—under the spotlight. Chapter 45 examines the momentous events that occurred in East Asia during the half century between 1900 and 1949.

World War II is the subject of Chapter 46, which also looks at the strains that quickly broke down the victorious alliance against the Axis. The Cold War between

the United States and the Soviet Union is the focus of Chapter 47. This is followed in Chapter 48 by an examination of the decolonizing phenomenon after the war and the staggering problems of the developing countries since the 1950s.

Chapter 49 reviews the history of the countries on the Pacific's western shores and of South Asia since the end of World War II. Africa is the subject of Chapter 50, which looks at the immense difficulties confronting the sub-Saharan states as they crossed the bridge of independence. In Chapter 51, the same problem-oriented survey is made, this time of the Latin American countries throughout the twentieth century. In Chapter 52, the focal point is the Islamic community, particularly the Middle East. The collapse of the Marxist regimes in Europe is analyzed in Chapter 53. Our final chapter, 54, looks at some aspects of contemporary society, both East and West, and summarizes the immediate challenges of the new millennium.

41

World War I and Its Disputed Settlement

PREWAR DIPLOMACY

The Triple Alliance
The Anglo-French Entente and the Anglo-Russian Agreement

CAUSES OF THE WAR

MILITARY ACTION, 1914–1918

The Bloody Stalemate
U.S. Entry and Russian Exit
Collapse of the Central Powers

THE HOME FRONT DURING THE WAR

Social Behavior
Psychic Consequences

THE PEACE TREATIES, 1919–1920

Conflicting Principles and Their Compromise

EVALUATION OF THE TREATIES

IN SEVERAL SENSES, THE nineteenth century and its convictions of inevitable, benevolent progress lasted until 1914, when “the lights went out all over Europe,” as one British statesman put it. The twentieth century thus began not in 1900 but in 1918, when by far the bloodiest and most bitter war fought until then finally ended.

World War I was a savage European fratricide and the deathblow to the belief that progress and prosperity were almost automatic. By war’s end, much of the youth and the political ideals of the Western world lay in ruins on the battlefields and at home. Disillusionment was rampant, and the stage was set for revolution in several countries. From a war that had no true victors in Europe, the United States and Japan emerged as major powers, while the Western imperial image suffered damage in Asia and Africa that never has been repaired.

PREWAR DIPLOMACY

After defeating France in the short Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, German chancellor Bismarck knew that the French would be yearning for revenge. Weakening France to the maximum accordingly made good strategic sense. Thus, Germany seized the two border provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, a move that deprived an industrializing France of its main sources of iron and coal.

The lights are going out all over Europe. We shall not see them lit again in our lifetime.

—Lord Grey, British Foreign Minister

1882	Triple Alliance: Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy
1894	Franco-Russian Treaty
1904	Anglo-French Entente
1907	Anglo-Russian Agreement
1914–1918	World War I
1917	United States enters war; Russia withdraws
1919–1920	Paris peace treaties

The Triple Alliance

To maintain the security of the new Germany, Bismarck also wished to keep France diplomatically isolated, knowing that France alone could not hope to defeat the newly united and powerful Germany. Towards that end, he fanned the flames of international tensions between France and Britain by exacerbating their rivalries in Africa and Asia (Chapter 36) while he also pursued alliances with Austria-Hungary and Russia. These states were engaged in their own strong rivalry over the fate of the weakened Ottoman Empire, and Bismarck intended to bind them together with Germany as the “swing” partner so that neither would join France.

For more than twenty years, Bismarck’s system worked well. A “satiated” Germany had what it wanted, and peace was preserved because France was indeed too weak to move alone and, partly due to her imperialist rivalries, could not find allies. When newly unified Italy began to want to play a role in international affairs, Bismarck was able to persuade the Italians that their desires for colonial expansion would have a better hearing in Berlin than in Paris. Italy eventually joined Germany and Austria in the **Triple Alliance** of 1882, which said, in essence, that if any one of the three were attacked, the other two would hasten to its aid.

In 1890, however, the linchpin of the system was removed when the young kaiser, William II (ruling 1888–1918), dismissed Bismarck, the old master statesman. William was not a man to remain willingly in the shadow of another. He was determined to conduct his own foreign policy, and he did so immediately by going out of his way to alienate Russia, allowing a previous treaty of friendship to lapse. As a result, the Russians suddenly showed some interest in negotiating with the French, who had been patiently waiting for just such an opportunity. In 1893–1894, France and Russia signed a defensive military alliance. The pact did not mention a specific antagonist, but it was clearly aimed at Germany.

The Anglo-French Entente and the Anglo-Russian Agreement

The cordial relations between Britain and Prussia-Germany that had prevailed throughout the nineteenth century gave way to unprecedented hostility in the early 1900s for several reasons:

- ◆ The damage caused by the calculated role Bismarck assumed in the Scramble for Africa
- ◆ The Boer War in South Africa (1899–1902) aroused considerable anti-British feeling among the Germans. The British public quickly reciprocated these sentiments, fed by the sensationalist penny press in London.
- ◆ Germany’s announcement in 1907 that it intended to build a world-class navy was taken as a deliberate provocation that must be answered by British countermeasures.
- ◆ The belligerent “sword rattling” in which the impetuous and insecure Kaiser William II indulged during the decade before 1914 contributed significantly to

the developing tensions. Under William II, the German government often gave the impression that it was more interested in throwing its considerable weight about than in solving diplomatic crises peaceably.

By 1904, the British had decided that post-Bismarck Germany was a greater menace to their interests than France, the traditional Continental enemy. In that year, Britain and France signed the **Anglo-French Entente** (understanding). Without being explicit, it was understood that Britain would come to the aid of France in a defensive war. Again, no other power was named in the pact, but its meaning was quite clear.

The final step in the division of Europe into conflicting blocs was the creation of a link between Britain and Russia, which had been on opposite sides of everything since the Napoleonic wars had ended. Here, the French served as middlemen, replicating the earlier German role between Russia and Austria-Hungary. In 1907, Britain and Russia signed the **Anglo-Russian Agreement**, which was much like the Anglo-French Entente. Now Germany, Austria, and Italy on the one side faced Britain, France, and Russia on the other. The stage had been set. The action was sure to follow.

CAUSES OF THE WAR

What caused World War I? This question has occupied three generations of historians. Like most wars, World War I had two types of causes: (1) the proximate cause, or the event that actually triggered hostilities, and (2) the more decisive remote causes, or the trail of gunpowder that led to the explosion.

The proximate cause was the **assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand**, the heir to the Austrian throne, on June 28, 1914, in the town of Sarajevo in Bosnia, which was at that time an Austrian possession. Bosnia had been transferred from Turkish to Austrian rule by international agreement in 1878, following one of several uprisings. The transfer from one alien overlord to another had not placated the Bosnian Serbs, who wished to join with the independent Serbian kingdom adjoining Bosnia (see Map 41.1). The archduke was murdered by a conspiracy of Serbian nationalist youths who were convinced that the assassination would somehow induce Austria to abandon its Serb-populated possessions. They, of course, were wrong.

The war also had several remote causes:

- ◆ **Nationalism.** Extreme nationalist sentiment had been rising steadily, particularly in France, Germany, and among the various small peoples who inhabited the areas of southeastern Europe that had been held for centuries by the Turks. Some of these peoples were the clients of the Austrians, some were the clients of the Russians, and some had no patron. All were determined to seize as much territory as possible for their own nations when the capsizing Ottoman Empire finally sank.

**MAP 41.1** The Balkan States, 1914

The intermixing of several ethnic and religious groups in southeastern Europe is a result of many centuries of immigration, conquest, and foreign overlordship. On the eve of World War I, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece were maneuvering for national advantage in the event that the long-awaited collapse of the Ottoman Empire occurred.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Considering its neighbors, what dangers did the region present for continued peace in 1914?



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

- ◆ *International imperialism.* Austria, Russia, Britain, France, Germany, and Italy all shared in the frenzy of the new imperialism of the late nineteenth century, as we discussed in Chapters 36, 37, and 38.
- ◆ *Weariness of peace.* A long generation of peace (1871–1914) had allowed Europeans to forget how quickly war can fan the embers of discontent into revolution and anarchy. In addition, some influential persons in public life were convinced that war ennobled the human spirit and that Europe had “suffered” through too many years of peace since 1815. They actually longed for the challenges of war as the ultimate test that would separate the wheat from the chaff among the nations.

After a month’s ominous silence, the Austrian government presented the government of independent Serbia (from which the assassins had obtained their weapons and possibly their inspiration) with a forty-eight-hour ultimatum. Acceptance of the conditions would mean, in effect,

the surrender of Serbian independence, while refusal meant war. The Serbs chose war.

MILITARY ACTION, 1914–1918

Within a week in early August, all but one of the members of the two blocs formed over the past two decades were also at war. The exception was Italy, which bargained with both sides for the next several months. Austria-Hungary was joined at once by Germany, Turkey, and Bulgaria (in 1915). Joining Serbia were Russia, France, Britain, Italy (in 1915), and Romania (in 1916). The United States and Greece entered the fray in 1917 on the Entente side, or Allied, as it was generally called.

In its military aspect, World War I was almost entirely a European phenomenon, although contingents forcefully recruited from the Allies’ colonial possessions came from all continents by the time it was over. The main



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THE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND. This event triggered World War I. The assassin, Gavrilo Princip, was later apprehended.

battlefronts were: (1) the *Western front* in France and Belgium, which was the decisive one (see Map 41.2); (2) the *Eastern or Russian front*, which reached from the Baltic Sea to the Aegean but was always secondary (see Map 41.3); and (3) the *Alpine front*, which involved only Italy and Austria-Hungary and had no major influence on the course of the conflict. In addition, significant fighting took place between the colonial possessions of the respective European powers in Africa. The British joined forces with Arabs who were fighting for their independence from Ottoman rule, and by the end of the war, the Turks had lost all of their Near Eastern provinces to Britain and France (see Chapter 52).

The course of the war was unforeseen. As so often occurs, the military experts were mistaken and the generals were unprepared. This was particularly true on the Western front. The experts had thought that, thanks to railroads, motor vehicles, telephones, and radio communications, as well as the use of much heavier cannons and much larger



MAP 41.2 The Western Front in World War I

Neither the Germans nor the Allies were able to move more than a few miles forward after the initial German attack was contained in the fall of 1914. Artillery, minefields, and machine guns stopped any assault on the opposing trenches with massive losses.

MAP QUESTIONS

Why was it that most of the fighting took place in that part of Western Europe shown on the map?



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.



MAP 41.3 The Eastern Front in World War I

The war in Russia was much more fluid than in the West, but until the collapse of the tsarist government in 1917, neither side could deal a fatal blow. The German High Command accepted a withdrawal to the Brest-Litovsk treaty line in 1918 only because it fully expected to create a satellite state of Ukraine as its eastern outpost.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Considering how far into Russia the German-Austrian forces had succeeded in driving, what reasons can you think of that might explain why they would have agreed to a final boundary so far to the west of their lines?

armies than had been seen before, whichever side got the upper hand in the early days would have a decisive advantage. The offense would also have a big advantage over the defense, thought the experts. The war would be won within a few weeks by the superior attacker, just as in a chess game between experts, in which one player gains the advantage in the opening moves.

Just the opposite happened: The defense proved superior to the offense. Instead of large numbers of motorized troops scoring breakthroughs against the enemy, the war turned out to be endless slogging through muddy trenches and hopeless, cruelly wasteful infantry attacks against machine guns while artillery knocked every living thing to perdition for miles around. Rather than lasting a few weeks, the war lasted four and a quarter ghastly years, with a loss of life far in excess of any other conflict ever yet experienced.

The Bloody Stalemate

Originally, the **Central Powers** (as the German-Austrian allies were called) planned to hold off the Russians with minimal forces while rapidly smashing through neutral Belgium into France and forcing it to surrender. The plan nearly worked. Along the Eastern front, Russian forces at first were successful in driving back big German and Austrian offenses. After enormous artillery barrages and fighting along battle lines that stretched for hundreds of miles, Russian armies soon ran into supply problems. The Germans defeated them in battles at Tanenberg and the Maurian Lakes, driving deeply into Russia before the war bogged down into a bloody stalemate. On the Western front, in late August 1914, the Germans got to within a few miles of Paris, only to be permanently stalled along the river Marne by heroic French resistance. Aided now by



Archives Larousse, Paris, France/Graudon/The Bridgeman Art Library

VERDUN TRENCHES. The first battles of World War I consisted of old-style infantry and cavalry charges out in the open. However, the massive slaughter that ensued soon forced troops on both sides to seek the relative safety of life below ground. Trenches, like these at Verdun, protected lives from bullets and bombs, but more war deaths came from exposure to diseases suffered in the trenches than from battle wounds.

a British army that grew rapidly, the French were able to contain one tremendous German attack after another for four years. From the English Channel to Switzerland, the battle lines did not move more than a few miles, as millions of men on both sides met their death.

U.S. Entry and Russian Exit

The entry of the United States into the war in April 1917 was vitally important to the Allies. The American decision was triggered by the resumption of unrestricted submarine war by the German High Command. Strong protests after U.S. ships and American lives had been lost to torpedoes had brought a lull in attacks for almost two years, during which time the United States maintained its formal neutral stance. In fact, President Woodrow Wilson and most of his advisers had been sympathetic to the Allied cause from the beginning, yet the public's opinion was sharply divided.

Many Americans were recent immigrants from the lands of the Central Powers and had emotional ties to

them. Wilson found it politically inadvisable to intervene in the war until after winning the 1916 presidential election, although some persuasive reason could be found for doing so. In early 1917, several Allied ships carrying American passengers were sunk, giving the pro-Allied party in Washington a dramatic and plausible excuse for intervention.

The American entry into the conflict counterbalanced the collapse of the Russian war effort following the revolutions of 1917 (see Chapter 43) and the terrible losses suffered by the Allies in the Somme River offensive in the summer of 1916. The American war industry and military met the demands placed on them by the exhausted British and French surprisingly rapidly. Men and war supplies sent from U.S. ports during the winter and spring of 1918 allowed the desperate French to hold on against the final German offensive.

Collapse of the Central Powers

In the fall of 1918, the Central Powers suddenly collapsed. The Austrians asked for peace without conditions in mid-October, by which time the Bulgarians and the Turks had already withdrawn. The High Command now advised the kaiser to accept the armistice conditions that President Wilson had presented some weeks earlier, which had been based on the **Fourteen Points** he had enunciated in a speech in January 1918. In summary, the Fourteen Points looked for a “peace without victors,” self-determination for the repressed nationalities, disarmament, freedom of the seas for all, and an international body to keep the peace permanently.

On November 9, 1918, the kaiser handed power to a just-created provisional government. Mainly members of the Social Democratic Party, this government immediately asked for an end to hostilities. On November 11, the long bloodbath came to an end. Everywhere, German troops were still standing on foreign soil, and Germany itself had experienced none of the destruction wrought by war on Allied lands. Those facts were to be very important in the future days. They contributed to the impression that Germany had been defeated not by foreign troops or war exhaustion but by the betrayal of some scheming politicians.

THE HOME FRONT DURING THE WAR

After the outburst of manic enthusiasm that overtook all of the belligerent populations in the first weeks of war (and the total failure of the Marxist socialists' hopes for an international general strike), both governments and people came to realize that a long, hard struggle lay ahead. Several steps had to be taken if the demands of this first **total war** were to be met. By 1916, all combatants had acted to ensure that civilians would fully support the battlefronts.

FIGHTING AT THE SOMME. This painting depicts the unprecedented savagery of the fighting in World War I. Machine guns, repeater guns, exploding artillery, landmines, hand grenades, and aerial bombardment were all new weapons that raised the casualty levels several degrees higher than had been seen in previous wars.

Among the most important measures they took were the following:

- ◆ *Full mobilization of the civilian population for total war.* Unlike all previous wars, World War I did not allow the unarmed masses to remain neutral. Led by Germany but soon imitated by France and the others, the authorities insisted that everyone had a role to play in attaining victory. The governments made wholesale use of every type of propaganda available: print media, exhibitions, parades, veterans' speaking tours, and so on. Starting in 1915, they indulged in hate propaganda. Much of it consisted of deliberate lies. All of it was meant to transform the civil population into a productive machine to fight the enemy. (See the Society and Economy box and the Images of the Past page.)

Food was rationed, and so were fuel and clothing.

- ◆ All active males aged seventeen to sixty were considered "soldiers in the war for production" and could be ordered about almost like the troops in battle. Even women were pressed into various kinds of unprecedented service, as described below.
- ◆ *Government control of the economy.* Much more than in any previous war, the governments took command of the entire production system. Labor was allocated by bureaucratic command, and so were raw materials, currency, and imports of all types. New taxes were levied to prevent any excess profit from war contracts. Wage rates, rents, and consumer prices were also controlled by government order. All or almost all of these measures were novelties being tried for the first time.
- ◆ *Female labor.* Because millions of men were no longer available to the civil economy after 1914, women were induced to fill their places by various means, including high pay, patriotic appeals, and even coercion. Dozens of occupations that were previously off-limits to women were now opened to them, including jobs involving heavy physical labor or considerable authority. Women worked as police officers, tram drivers, truck drivers, bank tellers, carters, and munitions factory laborers and held a host of civil service jobs that had previously been reserved for men.



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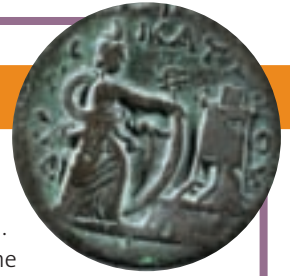
In this way, a new world of work opportunity opened for women. After some initial resistance by the labor unions, women were generally accepted as replacements for men and given more-or-less equal pay. In particular, their ability to do repetitive industrial jobs exceeded male expectations and earned them new respect as productive employees. In every belligerent country, women made up at least 30 percent of the total civilian labor force by war's end—a far higher percentage than in peacetime.

Social Behavior

As in most wars, the insecurity of life and the desire to accommodate the young men going off to fight resulted in a slackening of traditional standards for both sexes, but especially for women. Public demonstrations of affection between the sexes became acceptable even among the respectable classes. Women insisted on access to some form of mechanical birth control as extramarital and premarital sex became more common. Standards of conduct and dress for girls and women became more relaxed. Factory work inspired shorter and less voluminous dresses—it was even possible to show a bit of leg without automatically being considered "fast" by one's peers. Alcohol consumption by both sexes rose sharply despite attempts to discourage it by all governments (which were concerned about worker absenteeism in the war plants).

Unlike previous wars, so many men were involved and the casualty rates suffered by most belligerents were so high that the slackening of moral restraint during the war had a profound and permanent effect on postwar society. Marriageable men were in short supply for years afterward, and the imbalance between men and women aged twenty to thirty-five influenced what was considered acceptable sexual conduct. After the war, it proved impossible to put

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY



HOME-FRONT COOKERY

World War I was history's first "total war," inasmuch as entire nations, including noncombatants, had to be mobilized, willingly or unwillingly, for but one goal: winning the war with as little cost in blood and treasure as possible. Naturally, this required some privations for the home folks. One area so affected was the kinds of goods available to consumers. Many of these were needed at the front, so people either had to make do without them entirely or find substitutes. These recipes were taken from a wartime cookbook. (Note the author's use of humorous sayings to go with each recipe.)

"Everything has an end except a sausage, which has two."—Danish proverb

MOCK SAUSAGES

1 pint pecan meats	1 cup cooked farina or cream of wheat
1 egg	a dash of pepper
½ teaspoonful salt	1 tablespoonful sage

Put the pecans through the meat chopper, add the farina, all the seasonings, and at last the egg beaten. Make into round cakes, place these on paper at the bottom of a baking dish. Bake twenty minutes in a quick oven. Serve on a hot plate with either white or tomato sauce.

"Sma'fish are better than nae fish."—Proverb

MOCK FISH

1 pint cooked hominy grits	1 teaspoonful grated onion
½ pint mixed nuts	½ teaspoonful chopped
1 tablespoonful butter	parsley
2 hardboiled eggs	1 teaspoonful salt substitute
1 raw egg	1 teaspoonful pepper

Put the nuts through the meat grinder and add to the grits. Add the seasoning and the hardboiled egg yolks chopped. Oil a piece of paper the shape of a fish. Form the "fish" on it; brush

it with the beaten yoke of the raw egg. Dust it with a little celery salt. Take the whites of two hard-boiled eggs, and form the gills and the mouth. Use two good-sized filberts for eyes. If you are without filberts, use peanuts. Cut blanched almonds into quarters lengthwise and arrange them on the back in the imitation of fins. Bake in a moderate oven for twenty minutes.

"Feed sparingly and defy the physician"—Proverb

MOCK TENDERLOIN STEAK

1 quart nut meats (English walnuts, peanuts, pinenuts almonds in equal measure)	1 quart bread crumbs 1 pint of water 1 tablespoonful salt 2 saltspoonfuls pepper
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Put the nuts through the meat chopper, mix with crumbs, add the seasoning and the water, pack into tin cans, and steam or boil three hours. Stand in a cold place with the lids off until perfectly cold, then cover and keep them in a refrigerator. When ready for use, turn them out, cut in slices, and heat in the oven or broil quickly. Serve plain or with tomato sauce.

The better way to do [sic] is to make a quantity of this, put into cans and cook it then cut it off and broil or heat it when needed. The above ingredients will be sufficient for several meals.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What wartime conditions would seem to have been the causes for this kind of cooking? What explains the frequent use of nuts and eggs? For what were they substitutes? What was used for flavoring?

University of Wisconsin Digital Collections. Recipe for Victory: Food and Cooking in Wartime. <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HumanEcol.WWIHomeCook>

Helen W. Moore, *Camouflage cookery; a book of mock dishes*, written and compiled by Helen Watkeys Moore. New York, New York: Duffield & Company, 1918.

young men and women back into the tight customary constraints of prewar society.

In addition, the many millions of conscripts in the armies had been torn out of their accustomed and expected slots in life. For better or worse, many—especially rural youth—never returned to their prewar lifestyles. "How're you gonna keep them down on the farm after they've seen Páree [Paris]?" went a popular song in the United States. That was a relevant question, and not just for Americans.

Psychic Consequences

Perhaps the most significant of all the consequences of World War I was its effect on the collective European psyche. Three effects in particular stand out in retrospect:

1. *Political disillusionment.* Even while the war was being fought, many were disillusioned of its purpose, its justification, and the prospects for meaningful victory, and their mood spread despite



FEMALE WORKERS, WORLD WAR I. The draining off of males to battlefields after 1914 opened the way for millions of women to enter jobs that were previously unknown to them. In this 1917 war poster, the role of women munitions workers is shown.

Private Collection/Archives Clément/The Bridgeman Art Library

intensive propaganda campaigns by all the warring nations. After 1916, the war became one of brutal attrition. Basically, both sides were trying to hold on until the other gave up. As the casualty lists lengthened without any decisive victories for either side, the survivors in the trenches and their loved ones back home came to doubt as never before the wisdom of their political and military leaders. Men were dying by the millions, but what was being fought for remained unclear. When the war ended, disillusionment with the peace was widespread even among the victorious Allies. Some thought it too mild, and others too harsh. Despite Wilson's promises, the losers universally regarded the peace as one of vengeance.

2. *Skepticism toward authority.* The feelings of betrayal and disappointment were especially common among the veterans who came back from the battlefields. They regarded most military and political leaders as heartless blunderers who had no concern for ordinary people. All authority figures were now suspect: the clergy who had blessed each side's cannons, the diplomats who had not been able to prevent the war, and the teachers and professors who had led the foolish cheering at its outbreak. None of the old guides for right and wrong could be trusted; all of them had acted out of ignorance, cowardice, or self-interest.
3. *An end to the religion of science and progress.* Before 1914, most educated Europeans assumed that the next generation would be able to solve most of the problems that still haunted their own. They believed that material and spiritual progress were inevitable. The war ended that naïve optimism for soldiers and civilians alike. They had seen the mutual slaughter end with no clear achievement for the victors and with chaos for the losers. As the spiritual and economic costs to all sides became apparent, many people began to doubt whether there had even been any victors. The faith of the European bourgeoisie in liberalism, parliamentary government, and the triumph of science looked absurd in 1919, as the smoke of battle cleared and the cemeteries filled. Not progress, but revolution and a kind of vicious nihilism (belief in nothing) were on the day's menu.

The dismay was not universal, however. For some, a triumphant new day had dawned after the carnage. In the fine arts, a whole series of new ideas, new perspectives, and challenging new theories emerged during or soon after the war. On the political side, many eastern and central European nationalists were initially gratified at the outcome of the war, because the peace negotiations fulfilled many of their dreams of regional dominance and sovereignty. The feminists were pleased because women gained the vote in almost every country, largely as a result of the promises made by desperate politicians during the war emergency. And the Marxist socialists and communists were filled with surging hopes of a Europe-wide proletarian revolution, brought on by the sufferings of the common people during the conflict and the general rejection of the prewar political order. These hopes were ignited by the success of the revolution in November 1917 and the installation of a Marxist socialist regime in Moscow (see Chapter 43).

THE PEACE TREATIES, 1919–1920

The German surrender was based on acceptance of an armistice offered by the Allies in November 1918. A permanent peace arrangement was worked out in Paris during the first months of 1919. The last of five separate treaties

IMAGES OF HISTORY

WARTIME PROPOGANDA

Twentieth-century warfare gave rise to manipulation of the media by the governments of warring states to foment public support for the war effort. In both World Wars, some of the most commonly used media were posters and postcards, as these examples illustrate.

> “**WORLD WAR I RECRUITING POSTER.**” Portrait of Field Marshall Earl Kitchener. General Kitchener was a military hero for Britons ever since his defeat of the Sudanese Mahdists at the Battle of Omdurman in 1898.



© Imperial War Museum, UK/Bridgeman Art Library

< “**EAT MORE CORN, OATS AND RYE.**” Compare this with the Society and Economy box.



© David Pollack/K. J. Historical/Corbis

> “**THE GIRL ON THE LAND SERVES THE NATION’S NEED.**” World War I YWCA poster. Penfield, Edward (1866–1925).



Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

with the losing nations (Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, as well as Germany) was signed in August 1920.

The popular leader of the victorious Allies was clearly American president Woodrow Wilson. Much of the European public saw him as a knight in shining armor because of his earlier proclamation of “a peace without victors” and his support of “open diplomacy.” But Wilson’s popularity did not carry into the closed-door negotiations in Paris. The other Allied leaders, convinced that the president’s slogans and plans were naïve, soon blocked him. Georges Clemenceau, the French premier, and Vittorio Orlando, the Italian premier, were opposed to a peace without victors, which to them meant political suicide or worse. David Lloyd George, the British prime minister, was originally a bit more sympathetic, but he too turned against Wilson when the president attempted to make his Fourteen Points the basis of the peace. Each of the European leaders had good reasons for rejecting one or more of the Points as being inapplicable or foolish, and they united against the American on their mutual behalf. The Points, supposedly the basis of the peace, were eventually selectively applied or ignored altogether.

The negotiations were conducted in secret (despite Wilson’s earlier promises) and involved only the victors. Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey were each given a piece of paper to sign without further parleys. They were told that if they did not, the war would be resumed. Unwillingly, each signed during 1919–1920. Especially for the Germans, this peace was a bitter pill that would not be forgotten.

Conflicting Principles and Their Compromise

What came out of the Paris negotiations?

Territorially. Germany lost 10 percent of its land and its population to the new states of Poland and Czechoslovakia. Alsace-Lorraine, the “Lost Provinces” of 1870, went back to France (see Map 41.4).

Austria’s empire was completely dismantled, a process that had become inevitable during the closing days of the war when each of the major components had declared its independence from Vienna and the last Habsburg ruler had abdicated. The new **Successor states**, as they were called, were Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia. In addition, Romania was greatly enlarged. Bulgaria lost some land to Romania, Yugoslavia, and Greece.

Turkey’s empire was also completely dissolved, and its Middle Eastern lands were partitioned among the Allies: Jordan, Palestine, Iraq, Syria, Arabia, and Lebanon became French or British protectorates. The Turkish core area of Anatolia came under a military dictatorship led by ex-officer Mustafa Kemal (later called Atatürk: see Chapter 52).

Ethnically. Some of Wilson’s plans for self-determination became a reality, but others were ignored. The old multinational empires had collapsed and were replaced by states in which one ethnic group had at least a majority. But each of the Eastern European Successor states included a large number of minority groups; some represented as much as 30 percent of the total population. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were the most vulnerable in this respect. The Germans living within Czechoslovakia made up close to one-third of the population, and the Magyars, Germans, Albanians, and others in Yugoslavia were a strong counterweight to the dominant Slavs.

Everywhere, the attempts of the peacemakers to draw up ethnically correct borders were frustrated by strategic, economic, geographic, or political considerations. The resulting ethnic map between Germany and the new Soviet Russia and between the Baltic and the Aegean seas looked like a crazy quilt. Protections were formally extended to the minorities by the special treaties that all Successor states were required to sign upon entry into the **League of Nations**, a new international organization established to maintain peace and promote amity among nations (discussed later in this chapter). Chauvinist governments were soon ignoring these protections almost without reprimand, because there was no mechanism to enforce them. National and religious minorities were often made the objects of systematic prejudice throughout the interwar era.

Politically. Germany was tagged with full responsibility for starting the war (*Paragraph 231 of the Versailles Treaty*), which no German could accept as true. This allowed the European Allies (Wilson would not) to claim reparations for wartime damages from the losers. The amount of damages was to be calculated (solely by the victors) at some future date. It eventually was announced as \$33 billion (perhaps eight times that in year 2010 values). The **reparations question** was to be one of the chief bones of contention in international affairs for the next fifteen years. (See Law and Government box for excerpts from the Versailles Treaty.)

The defeated states and some of the Successors became republics, having lost their various royal/imperial rulers during the final days of the conflict. The last Habsburg emperor, Charles I, lived out his days in exile. The Hohenzollern kaiser was gone from Berlin (he died in Dutch exile), and the last Romanov tsar died as a hostage of the Bolsheviks in 1918. The Turkish sultan was also gone, deposed by the new, Westernizing government that Mustafa Kemal had installed in place of the moribund Ottoman state.

The new states of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the three Baltic states were parliamentary republics. Constitutional monarchies (Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania) were continued in the Balkans. In all of these entities, democracy was given lip service and little more.



MAP 41.4 Europe After World War I

The war and the peace treaties carved seven entirely new states out of Russia and the Austro-Hungarian empire: Finland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Austria and Hungary were separated, and Romania, Italy, and Greece were enlarged.

MAP QUESTIONS

Why do you think the Soviet Union (Russia) would have agreed to the creation of the so-called Successor states between it and Germany?



View an interactive version of this or a related map online.

Diplomatically. The Paris treaties created an organ that was new in world history: a League of Nations with universal membership that was to act as a permanent board of mediation when international conflicts arose. The League was Wilson's brainchild, and to obtain it, he had been willing to accept all of the injuries that

had been inflicted on his other ideas by the European statesmen.

As it happened, despite his best efforts, Wilson was not able to sell his fellow Americans on the idea of the League. Partly because of concern about involving the United States indefinitely in Europe's tangled affairs and partly

because of Wilson's intractability, the U.S. Senate rejected the Paris treaties in 1919. The United States eventually made separate treaties with each of the defeated states, duplicating the Paris treaties with the exception of the League of Nations paragraph.

EVALUATION OF THE TREATIES

Criticism of the peace signed in Paris began as soon as the ink dried, and it came not only from the losing nations but from a good portion of the victors as well. Some of

the victors' complaints came from fear that the losers had been left too well-off. Many people in France feared that Germany could and would rise once more despite its partial dismemberment and the extraordinary costs of reparations. But some of these concerns arose from the conviction that the peace had been guided by vengeance and that all of the high-flown principles of the Allied governments had been ignored in the dealings in Paris. After all, the peace negotiated in Paris was not a peace without victors, nor did it guarantee self-determination, nor did it end imperialism or carry through many of the other ideals that the wartime Allies had proclaimed.

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

THE VERSAILLES TREATY, 1919

The Versailles Treaty has been argued over since it was signed, portrayed by supporters as a strict but just limitation on the powers of an aggressive Germany to make war and by its critics as a vindictive act of revenge. Beyond clipping off 10 percent of German prewar territory and population, the treaty's numerous articles went into great detail on topics as widely separate as German citizens' rights in the former African colonies and the supplying of the Allied forces of occupation that were to be stationed temporarily in western Germany.

Some of the articles most pertinent to the status of post-war Germany are cited here:

Article 119. Germany renounces in favor of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions. [These possessions were mainly in Africa, on the China coast, and in the southern Pacific islands.]

Article 160. By a date which must not be later than March 31, 1920 the German Army must not comprise more than seven divisions of infantry and three divisions of cavalry.

After that date, the total number of effectives . . . must not exceed one hundred thousand men. . . *

The Army shall be devoted exclusively to the maintenance of order within the territory and to the control of the frontiers.

The total effective strength of officers, including staffs, must not exceed four thousand. . .

The German General Staff and all similar organizations shall be dissolved and shall not be reconstituted in any form. . .

Article 180. All fortified works, fortresses and field works situated in German territory to the west of a line drawn fifty miles to the east of the Rhine shall be disarmed and disassembled. . .

Article 198. The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces. . .

Article 231. The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

Article 233. The amount of the above damage for which compensation is to be made by Germany shall be determined by an Inter-Allied Commission, to be called the Reparation Commission.[†]

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Do you think these peace conditions were reasonable? What were the provisions of the Treaty to enforce them?

* The 100,000-man limit was quickly gotten around, as part of the more-or-less open defiance of the Versailles armed-force restrictions that took place after 1921 (see Chapter 42).

† The total reparations figure due from Germany was \$33 billion in gold, as represented by the Commission in 1921. Of this, about one-third was eventually paid, mainly in goods (see Chapter 45).

Source: Treaty of Peace with Germany.



You can read the entire Treaty of Versailles online.



The most scathing Allied critique came from young British economist John Maynard Keynes, who believed that the Allies had attempted to impose a “Carthaginian peace” (total destruction) on Germany that could not succeed. Keynes had enormous contempt for Wilson, and his opinions soon became fashionable among influential people in both Britain and the United States. Both groups regarded the French and the Italians as greedy and stupid in their shortsighted fixation on temporary advantage.

The failure of the Versailles Treaty in the U.S. Senate was a major turning point in postwar diplomacy. With no commitment to the League of Nations, America could and did turn its attention to Europe only when and how it chose for twenty years. And without the assurance of U.S. support through the League, France was left to face a resurgent Germany by itself in the early postwar era. As a result, the French position became more hard-line than ever and drove France and Britain farther apart at a time when close coordination was most necessary.

Perhaps the worst aspect of the peace was that it tried to ignore certain political realities. Russia, now under Bolshevik rule, was not even invited to send a representative to Paris. Confirmed as a pariah nation, it was allowed no access to negotiations that would surely affect its status

and future in world affairs. The losing nations, above all Germany, were presented with a *fait accompli* that was intensely disagreeable to them and that they believed was totally unjust. Neither Germany nor Russia, two of the strongest states in the world, was allowed to join the League of Nations for several years. Germany was commanded to disarm almost entirely, yet no machinery was in place to enforce that unrealistic demand, and none was ever created.

The League was supposed to be not only the enforcer of the Paris treaties but also the keeper of the peace for the indefinite future. Yet the weak Secretariat had no armed force at its disposal, and the League members never had any intention of creating one. The League’s effectiveness was going to depend on the goodwill of the member governments, and some of those governments were filled with anything but goodwill toward their neighbors.

The 1919 treaties were not as harsh as they have sometimes been painted, but they were a long way from the hopes of the Wilsonians and much of the world’s population, who were trying to recover from the “war to end wars.” As it turned out, the treaties lasted less than twenty years. What Europe found in 1919 was not peace, but a short armistice between two terribly destructive wars.

SUMMARY

THE SYSTEM ERECTED BY BISMARCK to keep France isolated and helpless broke down after the impetuous William II took over the direction of foreign policy in Berlin. Within a decade, the blocs that would contest World War I had been formed. When a Serbian nationalist youth assassinated the heir to the Austrian throne in 1914, a general war broke out that, contrary to expectations, lasted for more than four years.

The battlefields where huge slaughters took place were matched in importance by the home fronts, where governments intervened in unprecedented ways to spur the civilian war effort. Women in particular were affected, as the desperate need for labor impelled politicians in all countries to forget prewar restrictions on female activity.

The war aims of all the combatants were poorly understood and never honestly expressed. As the casualty list

soared, a sense of disillusionment and anger toward established authority spread. Even the so-called victors experienced feelings of revulsion at the disparity between the huge sacrifices demanded and the minimal results gained. This disgust was strengthened as it became apparent that the “peace without victors” was not to be. The social and psychic consequences of the war were enormous and permanent.

The Paris treaties were despised by the losers and satisfied few of the victors with their compromises between the optimistic visions of President Wilson and the hard realities of international and national politics. The former empires of Eastern Europe were dismantled and a group of Successor states established in accord with political and strategic advantage rather than ethnic justice.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Anglo-French Entente
Anglo-Russian Agreement
assassination of Archduke
Franz Ferdinand
Central Powers
Fourteen Points

League of Nations
reparations question
Successor states
total war
Triple Alliance

For Further Reflection

1. For what reason(s) did statesmen create the pre-war alliances? What purposes did they serve: aggressive, defensive, or peaceful? How successful were they? Did they contribute to or help prevent war?
2. Why were the Balkans a danger to peace? Could war have been avoided? What would have to have been done differently? What similar conditions exist in this region today? Are they still a danger to world peace?
3. What conditions in the present-day Near East were results of the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I?
4. How did the outcome of World War I and the Versailles Treaty presage World War II?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The Bismarckian system of alliances for Germany was meant to
 - a. restrain Russia and Austria and to isolate France.
 - b. allow Austria to expand to the south and east.
 - c. encourage peace with France indefinitely.
 - d. force Russia to submit to German eastern expansion.
 - e. keep Russia from intervening if Germany invaded Belgium.
2. The Triple Alliance of 1882, which was renewed through 1914, was composed of
 - a. Italy, France, and Britain.
 - b. Austria, Russia, and Germany.
 - c. Germany, Austria, and Italy.
 - d. France, Britain, and Russia.
 - e. Germany, Britain, and Italy.
3. Which of the following was not a remote cause of World War I?
 - a. Aggressive imperialism practiced by several nations
 - b. An inclination toward the "supreme test" of war among some leaders
 - c. The belligerent nationalism of the Balkan states
 - d. Racial antipathies between colonies and their home countries
 - e. The belief among many nations that a war was inevitable
4. Which of the following was true of World War I?
 - a. Participants were shocked at the speed with which the Germans seized territory.
 - b. Most soldiers spent most of their time waiting to be called to the front.
 - c. Infantry attacks were surprisingly successful, given the strength of enemy fortifications.
 - d. Machine guns were not as useful as had been hoped, because few recruits received adequate training in their use.
 - e. Contrary to what most people had expected, defensive positions were more effective than were offensive maneuvers.
5. In the spring of 1917, two unrelated events changed the course of the war; they were
 - a. the failure of the submarine campaign and the entry of Italy into the war.
 - b. the success of the socialist revolution in Russia and the first use of conscripts by France.
 - c. the toppling of the tsarist government in Russia and the entry of the United States into the war.
 - d. the collapse of the French government and the entry of Britain into the war.
 - e. the use of submarine warfare and the entry of France into the war.
6. Which of the following did not accompany the war-time use of females in the economy?
 - a. A widening of the gap between the wages paid to males and females for their labor
 - b. A demonstration of the women's ability to do many physical tasks
 - c. Less male restrictiveness toward female public activities
 - d. Less distinction between traditionally male and female jobs
 - e. A desire among many women to retain their war-time jobs after the war ended
7. A chief novelty brought by World War I was
 - a. the use of naval blockades.
 - b. the desire of the belligerents to gain postwar economic advantages.
 - c. the use of conscripts rather than all-volunteer armies.
 - d. the massive intervention of government into the war economy in all nations.
 - e. the use of the machine gun.
8. Together, the U.S. entries and the Russian exit from the war
 - a. offset each other in their effects.
 - b. inevitably led to American intervention in Russia.
 - c. predisposed Russians to adopt communism.

- d. had few effects.
 - e. might have sped up the end of the war.
9. In the aftermath of the Versailles Treaty, which of these countries functioned as parliamentary republics?
- a. Yugoslavia and Romania
 - b. Albania and Czechoslovakia
 - c. Austria and Bulgaria
 - d. Bulgaria and Albania
 - e. Czechoslovakia and Poland
10. The most serious complaint against the Paris treaties was that they
- a. failed to punish the losers severely enough to keep them down.
 - b. failed to recognize basic international political realities.
 - c. did not give enough national self-determination.
 - d. ignored ethnic boundaries entirely when redrawing the map.
 - e. allowed France to punish Germany too severely.



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A Fragile Balance: Europe in the Twenties



POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKDROP

Political Diversity
Keynesian Economics
Marxist Successes and the Soviet Chimera

TOTALITARIAN GOVERNMENT

Five Characteristics
Antirationalism

ITALIAN FASCISM

Fascist Economic and Social Policies

GERMANY IN THE POSTWAR ERA

Reparations
Inflation and Middle-Class Ruin

EASTERN EUROPE

THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

Britain
France
The United States

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ON THE EVE OF THE DEPRESSION

WORLD WAR I HAD profound and disturbing effects in every corner of Europe. The 1919 peace treaties were intensely resented by the losers and did not satisfy the winners. Most of the eastern half of the continent was in continuous upheaval for several years. Russia had given birth to the world's first socialist society in 1917 and then attempted to export its Bolshevik revolution by legal and illegal channels.

In the immediate postwar era, defeated Germany underwent the world's worst devaluation of money, ruining millions. In supposedly victorious Italy, a brutal new totalitarian style of governing called **fascism** had its violent birth. It was soon after emulated and refined in the irrational philosophy of the German Nazis. For several years, international resentments and rivalries, aggressive Bolshevism, and rampant nationalism made another conflict appear inevitable, but by the late 1920s, Europe seemed more stable and the threat of renewed war

I do not worship the masses,
that new divinity created by
democracy and socialism. . .
History proves that it is always
minorities . . . that produce
profound changes in human
society.

—Benito Mussolini

1919	Weimar Republic established in Germany
1922	Mussolini in power in Italy
1923	France occupies Ruhr; inflation in Germany
1925	Locarno Pact; fascist dictatorship begins in Italy
1926	General strike in Britain
1927–1930	Economic and political stability

was more distant. For a few years after that, it seemed that European society might weather the crisis that 1914 had set off.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKDROP

Political Diversity

The United States, and to a lesser degree Europe, saw the rapid democratization of politics, in part because of the extension of the franchise to women and the poorer classes. Political parties had ceased to be defined strictly by class. Some parties began broadening sufficiently to include workers *and* members of the middle class, aristocrats *and* intellectuals. Property alone no longer dictated political affiliation, as it often had in the past. The nineteenth-century division into liberal and conservative made less and less sense as cultural experience, secularization, social philosophy, and other intangibles helped shape the political inclinations of a given individual. The only important exceptions were the Marxists, who claimed a proprietary interest in both progress and the proletariat, and a few ethnic parties in the Successor states of Eastern Europe.

Keynesian Economics

In national economics, the two major innovations of the first half of the twentieth century were (1) the recognition that governments could and probably should intervene to smooth out the roller coaster of the traditional business cycle and (2) the spread and Russianization of Marxist communism.

John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946), the British economist whom we encountered in connection with his harsh critique of the Treaty of Versailles (see Chapter 41), proved to be the most influential economic theorist of the century. He insisted that government had the power and the duty to lessen the violent ups and downs of the business cycle by pumping new money into the credit system in hard times (such as the 1930s). By doing so, the millions of private investors, business owners, and speculators whose collective decisions determined the course of the economy would get the credit they needed to engage in new enterprise. Eventually, the increased tax revenues generated by this stimulus would repay the government for its expenditures and enable it to prevent inflation from accelerating too rapidly. A growth economy with some inflation was both attainable and more desirable than the nineteenth-century “boom-and-bust” cycles that had caused much misery.

Keynes’s ideas did not find many adherents among government leaders before World War II. President Franklin D. Roosevelt instituted some measures along Keynesian lines during the **Great Depression of the 1930s**, but they

had relatively little effect. Only after 1945 were Keynes’s ideas tried in earnest. Since that time, it has become standard procedure for Western governments to counter the economic cycle by “pump priming” in times of unemployment and stagnation. Essentially, this means pouring new government expenditures into the economy at a time when the government’s income (taxes) is declining. Because increasing taxes during a recession is politically difficult, a government that follows Keynes’s ideas must either borrow from its own citizens (by issuing bonds or Treasury notes) or use its powers to inflate by running the money printing presses a bit faster.

The debate as to whether Keynes’s ideas actually work continues. Certainly, it has contributed to long-term inflation, which hits the lower classes hardest. Since the 1970s, free-market theory and practice have experienced a significant revival—not the untrammelled market that the nineteenth-century liberals expounded, but rather a kind of partnership of business and government in the global markets that technology has opened. Examples include the economic policies of President Ronald Reagan in the United States and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Britain. Most recently, several Southeast Asian nations and the postcommunist governments of Eastern Europe have embraced this modified free-market idea. Such theory rejects the Keynesian view in part and accepts the inevitability of some ups and downs in the national economy.

Marxist Successes and the Soviet Chimera

The other major phenomenon of international economics after World War I was the flourishing of a Leninist version of the Marxist gospel among both workers and intellectuals in much of the world. That the inexperienced and supposedly incompetent “Reds” of revolutionary Russia (see Chapter 43) could turn the new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) into an industrial great power by the 1930s seemed to demonstrate the correctness of Karl Marx’s analysis of the world’s ailments. What had been done in backward, isolated Russia, many reasoned, must and would be done in the rest of the world.

In the early 1920s, new communist parties, inspired and guided by the Russian pioneers, sprang up in every industrial country and many colonies. From the sitting rooms where intellectuals worried that they might be left behind “on the ash heap of history” to the docks and mines where painfully idealistic communist workers labored, various forms of Marxist-Leninist belief spread into all social groups and classes. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, Marxism made substantial progress among not only the miserable unemployed but also the many intellectuals and artists who concluded that capitalism had definitively failed, that its day was done, and that the page had to be turned. Marxists delighted in contrasting the millions

of out-of-work, embittered men and women in the Western democracies with the picture (often entirely false) painted by Soviet propaganda of happy workers going off to their tasks of “building socialism in one country” (the Soviet Union) with confidence and dignity.

TOTALITARIAN GOVERNMENT

In Eastern Europe outside the Soviet Union, totalitarian forces were at work. The word *totalitarian* means an attempt—more or less successful—to impose *total* control over the public life and serious intervention into the private lives of a society, and by so doing to create a state in which loyalty to the leader or his political party is the supreme virtue and all dissent is treason. **Totalitarianism** is a twentieth-century phenomenon that originated in the World War I concept of “total war.” The wartime governments had taken full control of the economy, instituting rationing, allocations of labor and materials to industry, wage ceilings, and price controls. Citizens were expected to sacrifice their accustomed personal freedoms for victory. Those who refused were vulnerable to both legal and social retributions. Before then, such an attempt had not been made, in part because it was not technically possible, but largely because religious institutions and the universities strongly resisted the idea.

Five Characteristics

What would a totalitarian state and society mean in practice?

1. The traditional boundaries between the public and private affairs of citizens would be redefined or obliterated. Much that had been considered private would now be declared public and thus a matter for governmental concern and control. Even family relationships and aesthetic values would fall into this category.
2. The state would become an extension of the Leader’s and his party’s will. Government policy would be the implementation of what “the people” truly wanted, as interpreted by the Leader.
3. The bond between people and Leader would be made concrete and visible by the single allowed party, a mass organization created to form a link between the two. In the cases of fascism and Nazism, the “people” would be understood to include only those belonging to the majority ethnic group (Italians, Germans, or whoever). The others, “aliens,” would to one degree or another be considered intruders and have no inherent rights at all.
4. Because the Leader and the people would be joined by a mystic bond allowing the Leader to be the sole authentic interpreter of the collective will, there would be no need for political competition

or discussion. Parliaments and the courts would be subordinated to the Leader and his ruling party. Opposing political parties could all be eliminated. They were merely selfish interests seeking to confuse the people and negate their true welfare, which lay in the Leader’s hands.

5. The collective would be all; the individual, nothing. Individual conscience, affections, and interests would be rigorously subordinated to the needs and demands of the people and the Leader, as expressed at various levels through the party.

Antirationalism

Totalitarian governments often deliberately turned away from reason and cultivated a kind of *antirationalism* as a philosophy. Instincts were raised above logic—“thinking with the blood,” as the Nazis would put it. Such anti-rationalism was an outgrowth of the late nineteenth century, when a cult of violence appeared among some intellectual fringe groups in Europe. World War I then showed how far civilized humans could descend toward their animal origins. Instead of being revolted by the futile bloodletting of the war, totalitarian theorists often seized on the experiences in the trenches as representing authentic human nature: violent, instinctual, collective.

Struggle was the key concept for totalitarian states. The struggle of the people and their Leader was never completed. Victory was always conditional and partial, because another enemy was always lurking somewhere. The enemies were both domestic and foreign (“international Bolshevism,” “Jewish conspiracies,” “encircling capitalists”), and it was necessary to be constantly on guard against their tricks and destructive ploys.

Action was also essential, although it often lacked any clear goal. As Benito Mussolini once said, “Act forcefully . . . the reason for doing so will appear.” In other words, don’t worry about why something is done; the act of doing it will produce its own rationale in time. Inevitably, this approach often led to contradictory and illogical policies, but reasonable action was not high on the list of totalitarian priorities.

ITALIAN FASCISM

The first example of an attempt at totalitarian government was fascism (FASH-ism) in Italy. **Benito Mussolini** (beh-NEE-toh moo-soh-LEE-nee) was the first political figure to see what might be accomplished by blending the techniques of wartime government with an appeal to national sentiment and the resentments of the masses. In his *fascisti*, he brought together traditional underdogs of society and gave them a chance to feel like top dogs. The fascists claimed to be the vanguard of an epoch of national glory, made possible by a radical change in the very nature of

social organization and led by a man of destiny—*Il Duce* (il DOO-chay; “the Leader”).

After the war ended, Italian workers and peasants became extremely discontented with their liberal parliamentary government. At the Paris peace talks, Italy gained much less than it had hoped for and been promised by France and Britain. The economy was in critical condition because of the sudden end to wartime industrial contracts and the failure to plan for peace. Emigration to the United States, the traditional haven for unemployed Italians, ended when the United States enacted restrictive laws in the early 1920s. The Bolshevik success in Russia was well publicized by the socialists, who soon split into moderates and communists (as did every other European socialist party).

An ex-socialist named Benito Mussolini now came forward as a mercenary strikebreaker and bullyboy in the employ of frightened industrialists and landowners. His party took its name from the ancient Roman symbol of law and order, the *fascis* (a bundle of rods with an ax in the center) carried by the bodyguard of the consul. At first very small, the Fascist Party grew by leaps and bounds in 1921–1922. Fear of communism, a frustrated nationalism, and the accumulated resentments of the lower classes made a potent combination, and Mussolini harnessed and rode that combination into power.

In October 1922, Mussolini pulled off a bloodless coup by inducing the weak King Victor Emmanuel III to appoint him as premier. This was grandiosely termed Mussolini’s *March on Rome*. For two years, he ruled by more or less legal and constitutional methods. Then, in 1924, Mussolini rigged elections that returned fascists to a large majority of parliamentary seats. He proceeded to form a one-party state; by the end of 1926, he had forced the other parties to “voluntarily” disband or had driven them underground. Those who protested or attempted resistance were harassed and imprisoned by a brutal secret police. (See the Law and Government box for more on Mussolini.)

Fascist Economic and Social Policies

Fascist economics was a mixture of socialism-without-Marx and *laissez-faire*. Fascist party councils operated at all levels to enforce the government’s wishes and distribute government contracts. Organized labor was pressed into becoming an arm of the government. For a few years, this system worked reasonably well and avoided or dampened the class struggles in Italy that were plaguing much of democratically governed Europe during the 1920s and 1930s.

Until the mid-1930s, Mussolini was genuinely popular. Despite his comic-opera strutting and bombast, so long as he did not involve Italy in war, most Italians were fascinated by his undeniable charisma. They believed in his efforts to make Italy a major power for the first time. Drawing freely

on his original socialism, he promised action on behalf of the common people, and to some extent he delivered—highways, pregnancy leaves, vacation pay, agricultural credit for the peasants, and the like—but his price was always total control of the nation’s politics, enforced by his Black Shirt thugs.

GERMANY IN THE POSTWAR ERA

The new republican government in Berlin came under fire from its first day. It was mainly supported by the Social Democratic Party, which was prepared to accept a parliamentary role. It had the thankless task of attempting to fill the vacuum left by the military and civil collapse at the end of the war. However, the government was forced to accept the hated Versailles Treaty, an act that damned it in the eyes of German nationalists.

Simultaneously, the new government was threatened by Russian-inspired attempts to spread the Bolshevik revolution among the German working classes. In early 1919, German communists attempted to replicate what their Russian colleagues had done in October and November of 1917. However, this *coup d’état* was put down by the German army. The conservative generals now chose to go along with the despised Social Democrats rather than risk a communist takeover. In July 1919, the government adopted a new fundamental law, called the *Weimar Constitution* after the town where it was framed. The constitution was a high-minded, liberal, democratic document, but the government it established was already so tarnished in the eyes of many that neither the constitution nor the state it created was considered truly German and legitimate. As long as economic conditions were tolerable and the menace of a communist coup remained, the **Weimar Republic** was not in too much danger from the conservatives, but once these conditions no longer prevailed, the danger was imminent.

Reparations

The most painful part of the Paris peace to Germany was the insistence of the French (less so the Italians and British) that Germany bear the full financial responsibility for war damages and therefore pay reparations. After much delay, the Allies finally presented the full bill in 1921: \$33 billion (in 1920 dollars)—approximately the value of Germany’s total gross national product for five years! This was supposed to be paid in either gold or goods in annual installments over the next several years.

Paying such sums would have utterly bankrupted Germany, and the government attempted to reason with the French, but the Paris government would not negotiate. In 1921 and 1922, the Germans actually made most of the required payments, but in 1923, they asked for a two-year

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

BENITO MUSSOLINI (1883–1945)

The totalitarian state was first attempted in Italy. Ceaseless sloganeering and use of every type of modern propaganda carefully promoted its aura of single-minded unity and violence. Coercion of all who resisted was portrayed as the citizen's duty.

The Fascist Party of Italy was the creation of an ex-socialist named Benito Mussolini, the son of a blacksmith, who had obtained an education and become a journalist for socialist newspapers. In 1912, he had become the editor of the major Socialist Party newspaper; from that platform, he called for revolution and regularly denounced all wars in standard Marxist terms as an invention of the capitalists to keep the international proletariat divided and helpless. When World War I broke out, however, Mussolini renounced his pacifism and campaigned for intervention on the side of the Allies; for that, he was kicked out of the Socialist Party, and he proceeded to found a nationalist paper. When Italy entered the war in May 1915, he at once volunteered for frontline duty and in 1917 was wounded in action. He returned to his newspaper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, and spent the rest of the war demanding that Italy find its overdue respect and national glory in combat.

The end of the war found an exhausted but supposedly victorious Italy deprived of much of what it had been promised by President Woodrow Wilson's insistence on a peace based on national self-determination. Mussolini rode the ensuing wave of chauvinist reaction and fear of Bolshevism to proclaim himself the patriot who would lead the Italian nation to its just rewards. Appealing cleverly to the whole political spectrum, from the peasants and workers in desperate economic straits to the ultraconservative landlords of the south, the



BENITO MUSSOLINI. *Il Duce* was nothing if not a showman. He loved to strut around in public in various types of military garb.

fascist leader appeared to many Italians as the Man of Destiny.

By mid-1922, the fascist black-shirted "squads" were found in every Italian town, composed of disillusioned veterans, unemployed workers, and the flotsam and jetsam of unstable men seeking to find their place in a radically disrupted postwar era. Strengthened by a stream of undercover subsidies from the right-wing parties, the fascists moved into the vacuum in Italian politics left by the bankruptcy of the wartime government's policies.

The 1920s saw the first application of systematic violence, organized and directed from above, against political opponents in a European state. This violence, aimed at obtaining complete conformity of the populace to the wishes of a semi-mythic Leader (*Il Duce*), was promoted by innumerable slogans and distortions of the truth:

"Mussolini is always right."

"Believe! Obey! Fight!"

"Better to live one day as a lion than a hundred years like a sheep!"

"A minute on the battlefield is worth a lifetime of peace!"

"Nothing has ever been won in history without bloodshed."

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Do appeals such as those described here still find resonance in contemporary politics? Can you give some examples?



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suspension of payment. The French responded by sending troops to occupy Germany's industrial heartland, the Ruhr area along the lower Rhine. The occupying force was instructed to seize everything that was produced—mainly iron and coal. Berlin then encouraged the Ruhr workers to engage in massive nonviolent resistance through strikes that effectively shut down all production.

Inflation and Middle-Class Ruin

The Ruhr occupation and shutdown set off the final spiral of the inflation that had afflicted the German Reich mark since 1919. The inflation ruined many people in Germany's large middle class, which had been the backbone of its productive society for many years. At the height of the inflation, money literally was not worth the paper it was printed on—one U.S. dollar purchased 800 million marks in late 1923. People who lived on fixed incomes, as did much of the middle class, were wiped out. Many were reduced to begging, stealing, and selling family heirlooms to avoid starving.

The inflation was ended by a government loan in U.S. dollars to the German national bank, which reassured people that the paper currency had something of value

behind it once more. At the same time, in 1924, the U.S.-sponsored **Dawes Plan** induced the French to leave the Ruhr, forgo some of the reparations payments, and spread the remaining installments over a considerably longer time period if the Germans would resume payments. This agreement held up for a few years (1924–1929), but the psychic and financial damage to the strongest elements of German society could not be made good. The people hated the government that had permitted such things. Many of them began looking for someone who could impose order on a world that had betrayed their legitimate expectations.

EASTERN EUROPE

In the Successor states, parliamentary democracy and constitutional government were facing rocky roads after the war. By the mid-1930s, almost all of the Eastern European states had devolved into dictatorships. Czechoslovakia was the only one that retained its democratic and constitutional nature throughout the interwar period. Not coincidentally, it was also by far the most industrially developed, with a vibrant, well-organized working class.

Excessive nationalism was the universal blight of the Eastern Europeans. Every state east of Germany had a large number of minority citizens, most of whom were living unwillingly under alien rule. Many of them (such as the Magyars in Czechoslovakia and Romania, the Germans in the same states and in Poland, and the Austrians in northern Italy) were vulnerable to **irredentism**, the movement to split away from one's present country in order to unite with a neighboring, ethnically similar state. The fact that Wilson's promise of self-determination was only partially fulfilled at Paris aggravated the condition of those who found themselves left outside of their ethnic state borders. This situation would cause intense political problems throughout the interwar era in Eastern Europe.

The most pressing problem of the Eastern European states was that their economies were still based on subsistence agriculture. Between 60 and 85 percent of the people were either outside the cash economy or derived an erratic and unreliable livelihood from low-paying grain or pastoral agriculture. So long as the world commercial picture was bright and they could export their primary products (grain, hides, lumber), the Eastern Europeans could get along, but when the Great Depression of the 1930s began, this picture quickly changed.

THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

The two major European political and social democracies, Britain and France, had several advantages in the 1920s. At least formally, they had been the victors in a war that no European state had really won. Their economies and male labor forces had been hard hit by the war, but not so



Bettmann/Corbis

THE EFFECTS OF INFLATION. Money to burn? This German housewife uses worthless currency to light a fire in her cooking stove. In the early 1920s, the value of the German mark had fallen incredibly.

badly as Germany's, and they had not suffered the destructive inflation of the losing powers. They had much deeper democratic roots than the other states, and their governments were committed to constitutional processes.

Britain

This does not mean, however, that Britain and France did not have serious problems. For Great Britain, the two most serious issues were economic: (1) unemployment and (2) reduced availability of capital. The British labor force suffered severe and chronic unemployment throughout the entire interwar period for many reasons. During the war, the United States had replaced Britain as the financial center of the world. The British Empire could no longer be relied on to absorb the products of English mines and factories. Wartime losses had dramatically reduced the earnings of the world's largest merchant marine, and British goods and services were now rivaled or overshadowed by several competitors (notably the United States and Japan) in world markets.

Reduced profits and trade opportunities were reflected in the long decline of capital invested by the British in Britain and around the world. Where once the English led all nations by a large margin in profitable investments, they now often lacked the capital to invest. Furthermore, Britain, which had once been the world leader in technology, had slipped behind the United States and Germany in the late nineteenth century and was falling even farther behind now.

These conditions explain the long depression that gripped Britain early and permanently during the interwar period, when millions were "on the dole" (welfare). One result was the sudden rise of the *Labour Party*, a non-Marxist socialist group, to second place in British elections. The new party displaced the Liberals and was even able to elect a Labour government in 1924 over its Conservative opponent. Labour carried great hopes, but it had no more success than the Conservatives and Liberals in curing the nation's ills.

France

In France, on the contrary, economic problems were not apparent in the 1920s. France had a well-balanced national economy, and German reparations and the return of the rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine after 1918 helped it. But like the other belligerents, France had been seriously weakened by the loss of 1.5 million of its most productive citizens in the war, and German reparations could only slowly make up for the \$23 billion in estimated material damage to French property. France's most serious dilemma, however, was of a more psychic and/or social nature: the fear of a powerful, vengeance-minded Germany on its eastern border and the deeply felt conviction that no cause, not even national survival, was sufficient to justify another such bloodletting as the recent war.

The United States

After the passion aroused by the fight over the League of Nations had subsided, a series of conservative Republican administrations in the United States had been content to preside over a laissez-faire and prospering domestic economy. Foreign policy questions were overshadowed by the general embitterment over the Europeans' "ingratitude" for U.S. contributions to the victory and the Allies' irritating laxity in repaying their war loans. The extensive social reform crusades of the early-twentieth-century Progressives were put aside, and, in President Coolidge's words, the business of America once again became business.

Fundamental domestic changes were taking place in this decade, although most were unnoticed at the time. (See the Society and Economy box for more on the Roaring Twenties.) The Second Industrial Revolution was now complete. Corporations and the hugely expanded stock market they generated completely dominated both commerce and industry. The consumer economy became much larger thanks to new techniques, such as assembly-line production, retail chain stores, and enormously increased advertising. Suburban living became popular, and the blurring of traditional class divisions that had always been an American characteristic picked up speed. The well-dressed clerk could not be distinguished from the store manager in appearances and tastes; the blue-collar factory hand and the company's stockholders ate the same cornflakes for breakfast and sat in the same grandstand at the baseball game; and the automobile, led by Henry Ford's low-priced and mass-produced creations, swept the country.

The nation as an economic enterprise profited greatly from U.S. involvement in World War I, and the population had suffered little damage compared to the European nations. By the early 1920s, the United States had replaced Britain as the Western Hemisphere's source of technology, trade, and finance and had become the prime creditor nation in world trade. Only a few pessimists were worried about the indiscriminate speculative activity on the New York Stock Exchange.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ON THE EVE OF THE DEPRESSION

The late 1920s saw considerable hope that the lessons of world war had been learned and that war would soon become obsolete. After the failure of the Ruhr occupation and the ensuing economic chaos, the French spirit of vengeance against Germany gave way to a more cooperative stance. In 1925, the two countries signed the **Locarno Pact**, which was to be the high-water mark of interwar diplomacy for peace. Locarno allowed Germany to join the League of Nations in return for its promise to accept its frontier with France and Belgium as permanent. Soon

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY



THE ROARING TWENTIES

A large part of the reason for looking at World War I as a significant break between epochs of modern history is to be found in changes in popular culture. In literature, entertainment, apparel, communication media, and social customs—in short, in almost all facets of interpersonal and intergroup relations—the world of the late 1920s was considerably changed from that of 1914. A few examples follow.

In transport and communication, the airline industry was transformed in a space of fifteen years from the manufacture of a few dozen fragile “kites” for daredevil backyard pilots to the production of hundreds of craft large enough to carry first mail, then passengers over thousands of miles on a regular schedule. Telephony was limited to the large businesses and commercial users in a handful of Western countries before the war; residential service was unusual outside of the larger cities. By 1925 in the United States (which led the world in this area, as in many other technical advances), the business without a phone was a rarity, and telephone lines were rapidly taking the place of the telegraph everywhere.

The changes announced themselves more in the tone and content of literature than in its forms. The more profound analysis of motivation, the much franker treatment of gender relations, the use of novel technique, and many other breaks with tradition marked both the European and the American books of the twenties. Disillusionment was a frequent note, except in the numerous ranks of the communists and their fellow travelers, who affected to see a new world coming.

Entertainment media became both more varied and more commercialized. The advent of the radio was in part

responsible, as was the great popularity of the cheap phonograph record for musical reproduction. Professional sports experienced a steady upsurge in their spectator figures. The reduction of the workweek to 45 and then 40 hours allowed an increase in time for hobbies and vacation trips—although this trend was markedly more apparent in the United States than in Europe. Most important was the coming of the movie theater.

The loosening of the restrictions on female attendance in public places and at events during the wartime years has been noted. This relaxation continued in the 1920s, showing itself not only in allowances for women to enter almost any establishment without the previously mandatory escorting male, but also in permissible language, forms of address, dress, and many types of social manners. In concrete terms, the young lady of, say, 1928 in Berlin, London, or Paris might appear unescorted in a hotel bar, greet and be greeted affectionately by some of the male patrons, order and drink a martini cocktail while smoking a cigarette, and then proceed on her way in her stylish outfit of knee-length silk and high heels, without anyone imploring the manager to cease allowing his premises to be abused by “loose women.”

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Women are supposedly the guardians of public and private morality. Is this true in your experience? Or is it another example of male delusion about the other sex?

afterward, the Soviet Union was also allowed to join the league. In the same spirit, a series of conferences and agreements were held toward the goal of limiting armaments worldwide.

By this time, the U.S. president was the internationally sophisticated Herbert Hoover—a different individual from his immediate predecessors, Harding and Coolidge, neither of whom had ever set foot in Europe. With Washington’s tacit blessings, the flow of investment money from the United States to Europe, particularly Germany, was ever increasing as the profits (on paper) from speculating on the bubbling stock market made many Americans feel rich.

By 1928, Europe appeared to be en route to full recovery from the economic effects of the war. Dollar loans and private investment had helped reestablish German prosperity, and the Germans could thus manage their reduced

reparations payments to France and Britain. These countries could then begin to repay the large loans they had received from the United States during the war. For four years, this circular flow of money worked well for all concerned. The Eastern European agricultural products were bought in large quantities by the Western European industrial nations. Except in Britain, unemployment was under control.

Even the West’s hostility and fear toward Bolshevism cooled, as the Russians ceased to trumpet their confident calls for world revolution and started to behave like reasonable, if somewhat unorthodox, business partners in world trade. It was indicative that by the later 1920s, Soviet diplomats had given up the workers’ caps and boots they had donned ten years earlier and returned to formal dress of top hat and tails.

The fear that European workers would gravitate en masse toward Bolshevik Russia had proved to be

© Mary Evans Picture Library/The Image Works



SELLING HER COAT. The Great Depression affected members of all classes. While many protested conditions and went on hunger strikes, middle-class housewives, like this one, sold their personal possessions to help make ends meet.

exaggerated. Much communist energy was wasted in fighting the socialists who had refused to join the Communist (Third) International, founded and headquartered in Moscow. Even conservative politicians began to look on the communists, whether in Russia or at home, as a



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LINDBERGH PREPARES FOR TAKEOFF. Colonel Lindbergh became an instant—if reluctant—hero with the first solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927. He is shown here just before takeoff in his all-metal monoplane, the *Spirit of St. Louis*.

less urgent danger than they had originally appeared to be. In 1929, European international relations seemed to be in a healing mode. The wounds of war were closing, and good economic times allowed old enemies to think of one another as potential partners. Hope was in the air.

SUMMARY

IN THE IMMEDIATE POSTWAR YEARS, the political situation was extremely unstable in Central and Eastern Europe, with Russian Bolshevism seeking to expand westward and a series of new states without constitutional stability groping for survival.

The twentieth-century phenomenon of totalitarian government found several homes in Europe after World War I. One experiment occurred in Italy with the fascism of Benito Mussolini, but the German Nazi state under Adolf Hitler would be the most notable and aggressive example. The

Weimar Republic of Germany began its history encumbered with the guilt of signing the Versailles Treaty and presiding over a spectacular inflation—two handicaps that it could never overcome in the eyes of many citizens. In Italy, a demagogue named Mussolini bluffed his way to governmental power in 1922 and then proceeded to turn his country into a quasi-totalitarian state.

In the Western democracies, the search for economic recovery seemed to be successful in France, but less so in a subtly weakened Britain. The United States immediately

withdrew from its European wartime activity and devoted itself to domestic affairs under conservative Republican administrations. It enjoyed general prosperity, partly as a result of taking the role Britain had vacated in world financial and commercial affairs.

By the end of the decade, international conferences had secured partial successes in disarmament, border guar-

antees, and pledges of peace. The spread of Bolshevism seemed to have been checked, and the Russians became less threatening. As the decade entered its last year, most signs were hopeful for amity and continued economic progress.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Dawes Plan
fascism

Great Depression of the
1930s
irredentism

John Maynard Keynes
Locarno Pact

Benito Mussolini
totalitarianism
Weimar Republic

For Further Reflection

1. How did the terms of the Versailles Treaty portend future problems for Europe? What political and economic developments seem to have eased the chances of trouble by the late 1920s?
2. Considering the outcome of World War I for the Western European nations and the United States, how would

- you explain America's return to more conservative governments and policies in the 1920s? What effects did these have on the behavior of European governments?
3. How do you explain the loosening of social restraints and cultural traditions in Europe and America in the 1920s, as described in the Society and Economy box?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The necessary prelude to the development of the totalitarian state was
 - a. World War I.
 - b. the French Revolution.
 - c. a decline in the popularity of institutional religion.
 - d. the Bolshevik Party charter.
 - e. Nazism.
2. Which of the following is not associated with modern totalitarian government?
 - a. Continuous striving toward changing goals
 - b. Distinctions between private behavior and affairs of public policy
 - c. Subordination of the individual to the state
 - d. Leadership exercised by a single semisacred individual
 - e. A single allowed party
3. Mussolini made his political debut as
 - a. a communist organizer in postwar Italy.
 - b. a strikebreaker.
 - c. a military officer.
 - d. a liberal parliamentary delegate.
 - e. a writer of scathing editorials against the government.
4. The March on Rome
 - a. was a papal visit.
 - b. left almost 2,000 people dead.
 - c. took place when Hitler visited Mussolini.
 - d. was Mussolini's first review of the troops under his command.
 - e. brought Mussolini to power.
5. The postwar German state was the product of
 - a. a communist coup following Germany's military defeat in the war.
 - b. the Allied Powers' intervention and postwar occupation.
 - c. a liberal constitution written by the Social Democrats and their allies.
 - d. a generals' dictatorship imposed to prevent an attempted communist takeover.
 - e. a new republic that worked to enforce the will of the people.

6. The nation that suffered most dramatically from inflation after World War I was
 - a. France.
 - b. Russia.
 - c. Germany.
 - d. Britain.
 - e. Poland.
7. The Dawes Plan was a
 - a. proposal by U.S. financiers to ensure Germany's recovery and payment of reparations.
 - b. U.S. government plan to carry out the punishment of Germany.
 - c. British-French scheme to ensure German payment of reparations.
 - d. U.S. government plan to try to get the country out of the Great Depression.
 - e. proposal by the victors of World War I to outlaw war.
8. The most serious problem for the countries of Eastern Europe during the 1930s was that
 - a. ethnic minorities inside artificially constructed borders could not get along.
 - b. the communist government of the Soviet Union continued to try to annex them.
 - c. President Wilson was out of office, and no one in the United States seemed to care about them.
 - d. Britain and France were so far ahead of them technologically.
 - e. their agriculture-based economies suffered terribly during the Great Depression.
9. The nation that had the most deep-rooted unemployment problem in postwar Europe was
 - a. Great Britain.
 - b. Germany.
 - c. France.
 - d. Italy.
 - e. Belgium.
10. The high point for hopes of a lasting European peace was
 - a. the signing of the Locarno Pact in 1925.
 - b. the removal of the French from the Ruhr in 1923.
 - c. the entry of Germany into the League of Nations.
 - d. the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union by France and Britain in 1921.
 - e. the lifting of economic sanctions against Germany in 1924.



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The Soviet Experiment to World War II



THE MARCH REVOLUTION, 1917

THE BOLSHEVIKS

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

CIVIL WAR

ECONOMIC REVIVAL AND INTERNAL STRUGGLES

THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS

Agrarian Collectivization
Industrial Progress

THE STALINIST DICTATORSHIP

The Purges: A Terrorized Society

LIFE UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP

Possibilities Expanded
Liberties Suppressed

MATERIAL AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN THE INTERWAR
SOVIET UNION

It is true that liberty is
precious—so precious that it
must be rationed.

—Vladimir Lenin

1917	March/October revolutions
1918	Treaty of Brest-Litovsk; civil war begins
1921	New Economic Policy
1927	Stalin emerges as leader
1928	First Five-Year Plan begins
1936–1938	Great Purge

ONE OF THE CHIEF by-products of World War I was a radical experiment in social organization that seized Russia and was destined to last for seventy-five years. In 1917, the Russian Marxists took advantage of the disruptions, resentments, and weaknesses caused by the war to carry out revolution. The first socialist state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), was born under the watchful eye of a handful of ambitious, visionary men around Vladimir I. Lenin. Their communist government, which proudly called itself the realization of Marx's "dictatorship of the proletariat," was a frightening phenomenon to most of the rest of the world. But everywhere some men and women were inspired by its example and wished to imitate it in their own countries during the interwar period.

THE MARCH REVOLUTION, 1917

What had set the stage for this radical upheaval? By 1917, the imperial government of Russia had been brought to the point of collapse by the demands of total war. Twelve years earlier, an aborted revolution had finally brought

a constitution and the elements of modern parliamentary government to the Russian people. But the broadly democratic aims of the Revolution of 1905 had been frustrated by a combination of force and guile, and the tsar maintained an autocratic grip on the policy-making machinery as the World War began.

In the opening years of World War I, the Russians suffered huge casualties and lost extensive territory to the Germans and the Austrians. Their generals were the least competent of all the belligerents. The tsar's officials were unable or unwilling to enlist popular support for the conflict.

As the wartime defeats and mistakes piled up, the maintenance of obedience became impossible. By spring 1917, the food supply for the cities was becoming tenuous and bread riots were breaking out. Finally, the demoralized garrison troops refused to obey orders from their superiors. With no prior planning, no bloodshed, and no organization, the **March Revolution (of 1917)** simply came about when the unpopular and confused Tsar Nicholas II suddenly abdicated his throne. A committee of the *Duma* (the parliament), which had been ignored and almost powerless until now, moved into the vacuum thus created and took over the government of Russia. The Duma committee, which called itself the **Provisional Government**, intended to create a new, democratic constitution and hold free elections as soon as possible.

The new government was a weak foundation on which to attempt to build a democratic society, however. It had no mandate from the people but had simply appointed itself. Leadership soon passed into the hands of Alexander Kerensky, a moderate, non-Marxist socialist who had little understanding of the depths of the people's antiwar mood. The peasants—about 80 percent of the population—were desperately tired of this war, whose aims they had never understood and which they hated because it was devouring their sons. If peace were not soon achieved, they would refuse to grow and ship food to the cities, and Russian government of any kind must collapse. But Kerensky thought that Russia dare not make a separate, losing peace despite the ominous tide of discontent. He believed that only a victorious peace would allow the newborn Russian democracy to survive, and he was therefore determined to keep Russia in the war.

THE BOLSHEVIKS

The people's war weariness opened the way for the uncompromising communists, or **Bolsheviks**, led by the brilliant tactician **Vladimir I. Lenin** (1870–1924). Before the spring of 1917, Lenin had been a refugee from his native land, living in Swiss and German exile for twenty years, plotting and propagandizing incessantly for the triumph of the socialist revolution. He was the leader of a movement that had perhaps 100,000 members and sympathizers in the entire Russian imperial population of about 160 million.



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THE COMMUNIST PARTY MEETING. Although a Marxist, Lenin differed from Marx on the importance (as he saw it) of a committed, professionally led party to the success of a workers' revolution. Here he is portrayed with Trotsky (standing left) at a meeting of the Bolshevik Party.

Under Lenin's aegis, the Bolsheviks had changed Marx a great deal to make his ideas fit with the Russian realities. Lenin insisted on a full-time, professional leadership supervising a conspiratorial, clandestine party. Unlike Marx, he believed that such a party could hasten the coming of the revolution and that the peasantry could be led into revolutionary action. Lenin thought that in a country such as Russia, where the urban workers' class was at most about 5 percent of the population in 1910, only a movement that galvanized peasant discontent stood a chance of success. Lenin was clear that the vague dictatorship of the proletariat that Marx had talked about would quickly become a dictatorship of the Bolsheviks. Within that party, the small group around Lenin, called the Central Committee, would rule in fact.

The Bolshevik leader returned to Russia immediately after the March Revolution, when the new government, anxious to display its democratic credentials, allowed total freedom to all political groups. Through the summer of 1917, Lenin and the Provisional Government under Kerensky duelled for power. The chosen arena was the *soviets* (councils) of workers and soldiers, which had formed all over Russia. Chairing the supremely important St. Petersburg soviet was **Leon Trotsky** (1879–1940), Lenin's dynamic second-in-command, who was able to lead the body into the Bolshevik camp.

In the short term, the fate of the country would necessarily be determined by which group could secure

the allegiance of the armed forces. The imperial army had been disintegrating since the spring, with mass desertions commonplace. The peasant soldiers hated the war, and a wide cleft had opened between them and their middle- and upper-class officers. Into this rift, Bolshevik pacifist and revolutionary propaganda was pouring and finding a ready audience.

Kerensky decided to accede to the demands of his hard-pressed allies in the West and gamble everything on an ill-prepared summer offensive, which was soon turned into a rout by the Germans' counterattack. By September, the enemy was at the gates of St. Petersburg, and the army was visibly collapsing. The cities were on the point of mass starvation, and the peasants were taking the law into their own hands and dividing up the estates of their helpless landlords, much as their French counterparts had done a century and a quarter earlier.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

By mid-October, Lenin had convinced a hesitant Central Committee that the time for armed revolutionary action was at hand. He insisted that the brilliantly simple Bolshevik slogans of "All power to the Soviets" and "Land, bread, peace" would carry the day despite the tiny number of Bolsheviks.

On the evening of October 26, Old Style (November 6 by the modern calendar), the Bolsheviks used their sympathizers among the workers and soldiers in St. Petersburg to seize government headquarters and take control of the city. The great **October Revolution** of Soviet folklore was in fact a coup d'état that cost only a few hundred lives to topple a government that, as Lenin had insisted, had practically no support left among the people. In the next few weeks, Moscow and other major industrial towns followed St. Petersburg by installing Bolshevik authorities after engaging in varying amounts of armed struggle in the streets. What about the 80 percent of the population outside the cities? For several months, the countryside remained almost untouched by these urban events, with one exception: In the villages, the peasants took advantage of the breakdown of government to seize the land they had long craved from the hands of the nobles and the church. For the peasants, the redistribution of land from absentee landlords to themselves was the beginning and the end of revolution. Of Marxist theory about collectivization of agriculture they knew and wanted to know nothing at all.

Lenin moved swiftly to establish the Bolshevik dictatorship, using both armed force and the massive confusion that had overtaken all levels of Russian government after October. By December, large economic enterprises of all types were being confiscated and put under government supervision. The first version of the dreaded political police, the **Cheka**, had been formed and was being employed against various enemies. The remnants of the

imperial army were being bolshevized and turned into a weapon for use against internal opponents.

CIVIL WAR

Against heavy opposition from his own associates, Lenin insisted that Russia must make immediate peace with the Germans and the Austrians. His rationale proved to be correct: A civil war against the many enemies of Bolshevism was bound to come soon, and the party could not afford to still be fighting a foreign foe when it did. In March 1918, the harsh **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** was signed with the Central Powers. The collapse of the Central Powers eight months later made this treaty a dead letter. By that time, the Bolshevik "Reds" were engaged in a massive and very bloody civil war, which was to last two and a half years and cause about as many Russian deaths as had occurred in World War I.

The Reds won this conflict for several reasons. They were far-better organized and coordinated by a unitary leadership than were their opponent "Whites." Despite his total lack of military experience, Lenin's colleague Trotsky proved to be an inspiring and effective commander in chief of the Red Army, which he created in record time. The Reds had a big advantage in that they controlled most of the interior of European Russia, including the major cities of St. Petersburg and Moscow and the rail networks that served them (see Map 43.1). The opposition armies, separated by vast distances from one another, were often at cross-purposes, did not trust one another, and had little coordination in either military or political goals. Moreover, the Whites were decisively defeated in the propaganda battles, in which the Reds played up the White generals' multiple links with both the old regime and the landlords. Personal rivalries also damaged the White leadership.

The intervention of several foreign powers in the civil war also became a Red asset, although it was intended to assist the Whites. In early 1918, fearing that the Bolsheviks would take Russia out of the war and that material meant for the old imperial army would fall into enemy hands, the French and British sent small forces into Russia. Inevitably, these forces clashed with the Reds, and the foreigners (including a small U.S. detachment in the far north) began actively assisting the Whites. Overall, the foreign intervention provided little practical help for the Whites but gave the Leninists an effective propaganda weapon for rallying support among the Russian people.

ECONOMIC REVIVAL AND INTERNAL STRUGGLES

By the summer of 1921, the Bolsheviks were close enough to victory that they abolished their coercive "War Communism"—the label they used for rule at the point of a



MAP 43.1 Russian Civil War, 1918–1921

This map of the civil war shows the advantage of holding the interior lines of transport and communication, as well as the two leading cities (Moscow and St. Petersburg). Consequently, by the summer of 1920, the Reds had defeated the Whites and controlled most of the country.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What does the map suggest about the advantages enjoyed by the Red Army against the Whites?

gun. Lenin had employed this method since 1918 through the Red Army and the Cheka, and it had sustained the Bolshevik rule, but only at great costs. Along with terrible famine and the disruptions of civil war, War Communism had reduced the Russian gross national product to an estimated 20 percent of what it had been in 1913!

In place of War Communism, Lenin now prescribed the **New Economic Policy (NEP)**, which encouraged small-scale capitalist business and profit seekers, while retaining “the commanding heights” of the national economy firmly in state hands. By this time, state hands meant Bolshevik hands. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), headed by Lenin and his colleagues, was in sole control of both economic and political affairs. By 1922, all other parties had been banned, and Russia was fast becoming a totalitarian state.

After being wounded in an attempted assassination, Lenin suffered a series of strokes starting in 1922. Power in everyday affairs was transferred to an inside group of the Central Committee, called the *Politburo* (Political Bureau). This group included Lenin’s closest colleagues.

Trotsky was the best known and seemed to hold the dominant position within the party’s innermost circle, but when Lenin died in January 1924 without naming anyone to succeed him, a power struggle was already under way.

One of Trotsky’s rivals was **Josef Stalin** (1879–1953), a tested party worker since early youth. He was esteemed by Lenin for his administrative abilities and hard work. At the end of his life, however, Lenin had turned against Stalin because of his “rudeness” and his contempt for others’ opinions.

Lenin was too late in reaching this conclusion: Stalin, as the party general secretary (administrator), had already cemented his position. Brilliantly manipulating others, Stalin was able to defeat first Trotsky and then other contestants for Lenin’s position in the middle-to-late 1920s. By 1927, he was the leader of the majority faction in the Politburo and thus of the Communist Party. By 1932, Stalin was becoming dictator of the Soviet Union’s entire public life. By 1937, he was the undisputed master of 180 million people. (See the Law and Government box for more on Trotsky.)

Under the NEP, both the agrarian and the industrial economy had made a stunning recovery by late 1928 from the lows of the early postwar era. The peasants were apparently content and producing well on their newly acquired private farms. Industrial production exceeded that of 1913. To foreign businessmen interested in Russian contracts, it appeared that Bolshevism's revolutionary bark was much worse than its bite. One could, after all, do good capitalist business with the Soviets. But only a few months later, the entire picture changed.

THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS

At Stalin's command, the **First Five-Year Plan** of 1928–1932 was adopted. It would transform the Soviet Union in several ways. The “Stalin Revolution” had started.

Russia was still an overwhelmingly rural, agrarian society, backward in every way compared with Western Europe or the United States. Throughout the 1920s, some party members had been discontented with the “two steps forward, one step back” concessions of the NEP. In their view, the good proletarian workers in the cities were still at the mercy of the “reactionary” peasants who fed them. Very little additional investment had been made in industry, which was seen as the key to a socialist society.

In the fall of 1928, many of the more-prosperous peasants decided to hold back their grain until they could get better prices in the state-controlled markets. Stalin used this perceived “betrayal” as a reason to start the drive for

agricultural collectivization and rapid industrialization, which would go on at a breathtaking pace until World War II brought it to a temporary halt.

Stalin's Five-Year Plan was intended to kill three major birds with one enormous stone: (1) The age-old resistance of private landholders to any kind of government supervision would be broken by massive pressure to collectivize; (2) a huge increase in investment would be allocated to heavy industry and infrastructure (such as transportation and communication systems) to modernize the backward society; and (3) the organization and efforts required to achieve the first two goals would enable the total integration of the citizenry into the CPSU-controlled political process.

Agrarian Collectivization

In 1929, Stalin began his collectivization campaign as a way to “win the class war in the villages”—that is, the alleged struggle between the poor peasants and those who were better off. The richer peasants (*kulaks*) were to be dispossessed by force; the poorer peasants were to be forced onto newly founded collective farms under party supervision.

As many as 10 million peasants are estimated to have died in the collectivization drive between 1929 and 1933, most of them in an artificially caused famine. Determined to break the peasants' persistent resistance, Stalin authorized the use of the Red Army as well as armed party militants against the villages. Millions were driven off their land and out of their houses and condemned to wander as starving beggars. Their former lands, machinery, and animals were turned over to the new *collectives*. These enormous farms, which were run like factories with wage labor by party bosses, proved to be inefficient, largely because the peasants heartily disliked their new situation and felt little responsibility and even less incentive to produce. Throughout the Soviet Union's history, agriculture remained a major weakness of the economy.

The collectivization struggle left deep scars, and its costs were still being paid a generation later. Stalin rammed it through because he believed it was essential if the Soviet Union were to survive. The ignorant, conservative peasants must be brought under direct government control and their numbers reduced by forcing them into a new industrial labor force. Both of these goals were eventually reached, but at a price that no rational economist could justify.

Industrial Progress

Stalin's second goal was rapid industrialization. Here again, the costs were very high, but their justification was easier. Soviet gains in industry between 1929 and 1940 were truly impressive. In percentage terms, the growth achieved in several branches of heavy industry and infrastructure was greater than any other country in history has ever achieved in an equivalent period—about 400 percent even by conservative estimates. Whole industrial



REVISING HISTORY: STALIN AT LENIN'S FUNERAL. This painting intentionally features Stalin looking down on Lenin's casket, with no other rivals for the Communist Party leadership in the picture. What does this imply?

State K. Savitsky/Art Museum, Pensa/The Bridgeman Art Library

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

LEON TROTSKY (1879–1940)

Lev Davidovitch Bronstein, better known by far as Leon Trotsky, was born to a prosperous Jewish farmer in southern Ukraine in 1879. Like many other Russian revolutionary figures, Trotsky's career as a radical challenger of the status quo began early, while he was in high school in Odessa. In 1898, he underwent the traditional coming-of-age ceremony for eastern European reformers: arrest by the political police.

Exiled to Siberia in 1900, Trotsky escaped two years later and fled abroad, where he met Vladimir Lenin and other leaders of the budding Russian Marxist movement. Even in that highly intellectual and aggressive company, young Trotsky stood out by force of character and self-assurance. Opposed to Lenin's version of Marxism, Trotsky later adopted an independent standpoint of his own, refusing to submit to the discipline Lenin demanded of all his followers but not condemning Bolshevism outright. During the short-lived Revolution of 1905, Trotsky had momentary power as chairman of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers. He was again exiled and again escaped to Europe in 1907.

Still opposed in principle to Bolshevism during the early years of the war, Trotsky changed his mind after the March 1917 revolution. He now fell under Lenin's powerful personality and joined him as his right-hand man. Trotsky was second only to Lenin in preparing the October Revolution that brought them to power. After a brief stint as commissar for foreign affairs, Trotsky then took over as commissar for war in 1918. His brilliance as a strategist and his ruthlessness were major reasons for the Reds' victory in the civil war that wracked Russia between 1918 and 1921.

In the struggle for succession to Lenin, which began as early as 1922, Trotsky seemed to be the most inevitable choice, but Stalin and others were determined that this would not happen and proved to be both less scrupulous and more in tune with party members' thinking than Trotsky. One step after another forced the civil war hero out of the Central Committee, then out of the commissariat for war, then out of the party, and finally, in 1929, into foreign exile. In 1940, after

several moves, Trotsky was murdered on Stalin's orders in his final refuge in Mexico.

A tiny, unprepossessing figure with thick glasses, Trotsky was possessed of almost incredible energy and single-mindedness. He was totally uncompromising and totally convinced of his own correctness in things political. Like his hero, Lenin, he never allowed what the Bolsheviks called "bourgeois sentiment" to interfere with his dedication to a communist triumph. Again like Lenin, his force of personality attracted a clique of followers who were entirely devoted to him, but he lacked the organizational skills of his master and was never interested in the day-to-day administrative details.

Trotsky became a hero to some because of his unremitting and devastating criticism of Stalin's dictatorship at a time—the 1930s—when few other reformers were willing to see just how repressive Stalin's regime had become. Trotsky believed, as Mao Zedong would later, that bureaucracy was the great danger to revolutions, and he condemned it among communists as well as capitalists. He was a steadfast adherent of "permanent revolution" and the opponent of Stalin's "socialism in one country." He believed that if the communist revolution did not spread, it would inevitably degenerate under a dictator such as Stalin. Trotsky's attempt to found an anti-Stalin Fourth International did not get far, but his charisma

and his vivid writings about the Russian Revolution of 1917 have guaranteed him a place in the pantheon of twentieth-century revolutionaries.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Why are succession problems frequently violent, even lethal, in revolutionary governments?



LEON TROTSKY.

Illustrated London News Picture Library, London/The Bridgeman Art Library



cities rose up from the Siberian or Central Asian plains, built partly by forced labor and partly by idealists who believed in Stalin and in communism's vision of a new life. Throughout the economy, "fulfilling the Plan" became all-important. Untouched by free-market realities and constraints, the Soviet managers plunged ahead in a wild race to raise total production.

The new industry turned out capital goods, not consumer items. Consumer goods such as clothes and baby carriages became more difficult to obtain, and their prices rose ever higher throughout the 1930s. When a suit of clothes could be found, it cost the equivalent of four months' wages for a skilled worker. Items such as refrigerators, automobiles, and washing machines were out of the question. Even basic food had to be rationed for a while because of the drop in production caused by collectivization. It is testimony to the extraordinary capacity of the Russian people to suffer in silence that so much was accomplished at such high costs with so little reward for those doing it.

The uprootings and hardships caused by the industrialization drive in the 1930s were nearly as severe as those caused by collectivization in the countryside. And Stalin's slave laborers performed much of the work on the new mines, canals, logging operations, and other projects. By conservative estimates, fully 10 percent of the 1930s Soviet gross national product was produced by prisoners of the NKVD (one of the several successive names for the Soviet political police).

THE STALINIST DICTATORSHIP

The third goal of the Five-Year Plans was, in effect, a revolution by Stalin and a changed Communist Party against the Soviet peoples. In 1928, Stalin was chief of a CPSU that was still an elite organization. It was relatively small (about 6 percent of the adult population) and difficult to join. The party was tightly disciplined and composed of intellectuals, white-collar personnel, and some workers. It included very few peasants and few women above the lowest ranks. Many members still knew little of Stalin and were totally unaware of the secret high-level struggles for control in the Politburo.

Stalin emerged as the Boss (*vozhda*) on his fiftieth birthday in 1929, when a tremendous fuss was made over his role as Lenin's successor. From this time on, no one else in the Soviet hierarchy was allowed to rival Stalin in press coverage or authority. From the early 1930s, every party member lived in Stalin's shadow. He proved to be a master of Mafia-style politics, never forgetting who had helped and who had hurt him in his climb to power. Absolutely vindictive toward political rivals and enemies (they were the same to him), his character has long fascinated many Russian and foreign analysts.

Stalin cultivated an image of mystery. Unlike his fellow dictators, he had no gift for speech making, and he never



Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis

LENIN AND STALIN: A FAKED PHOTOGRAPH. This photo of the two leaders, purportedly taken shortly before Lenin's death and used extensively by the Stalinist propaganda machine to show the closeness of their relationship, is known to have been "doctored." Stalin's figure was placed into the photo later. Lenin came to distrust Stalin in his last days but took only ineffective measures to warn the party against him.

indulged in the dramatics that some other dictators constantly employed in their public appearances. After 1935, he was rarely seen in public—and then only under totally controlled circumstances.

Although he was a Georgian by birth, Stalin became a strong Russian nationalist and soon transformed what had truly been a supranational movement under Lenin into a Russian one. He took the international communist organization, called the *Comintern* (Communist International) and based in Moscow, and turned it into an organ of Russian foreign policy. No foreign communists dared to challenge the policies dictated by Stalin's stooges on the governing board of the Comintern, even when, as sometimes happened, those policies were directly opposed to the interests of the Communist Party in the foreigners' country. In the communist world, Moscow alone called the tune.

The Purges: A Terrorized Society

Although Stalin had crushed his high-level opponents by 1933, he still had some opposition in the party. In 1935, he apparently decided that he must crush those opponents too. He proceeded to do so over the next few years in a fashion that shocked and mystified the world.

Between 1936 and late 1938, Moscow was the scene of a series of **show trials**, where leading party members

were presented with absurd charges of treason and sabotage. Virtually all of Lenin's surviving comrades had disappeared from public sight by 1939, and Stalin was alone as master. Hundreds of thousands of ordinary citizens were arrested at the same time for alleged crimes against the state and sentenced to prison or to the Siberian labor camps, where most of them eventually died.

To this day, historians do not agree on an explanation of why the purge happened. What is known is that between 1935 and the end of Stalin's life in 1953, perhaps 10 million Soviet citizens were at one time or another banished to prison camps without trial and almost always without proof of violation of Soviet law. Everyone had a close relative or friend who had been spirited away, usually in the night, by the dreaded secret police. These "administrative measures," based on anonymous denunciations, were conducted completely outside the usual court system, and often the prisoners were never told of their crimes, even after serving many years. Some survived their sentences, but very many did not. It was commonplace for the camp overseers to extend the original sentences, adding five more years for such "offenses" as trading a bit of bread for a pair of socks.

Stalin never offered an explanation for his actions, then or later. One thing is certain: If Stalin instituted the **Great Purge** to terrorize the party and Soviet society into complete obedience, he succeeded. Until his death, no one in the party, military, or general society dared oppose him openly.

How did Stalin's dictatorship compare with Adolf Hitler's—that other terrifying Western dictatorship of the twentieth century? One major difference should be noted: Stalin posed as the champion of the underdog everywhere, whereas Hitler was the champion only of the Germans. We will see in Chapter 44 that Hitler's narrowly racist ideology

had no vision of the beneficial transformation of human society, whereas Stalin's international communism did. Stalin and his assistants were able to fashion that vision so that a significant portion of the world, from China to Cuba, came to believe in it—for a time.

LIFE UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP

Stalin and his associates believed that a "new Soviet man" would emerge after a few years of Soviet rule. In this ideal, they were sadly mistaken. The Soviet people continued to be old-style human beings with all their faults, but a new type of society did emerge in the Soviet Union, and it had both good and bad points.

Possibilities Expanded

On the good side, the forced-draft industrialization and modernization under the Five-Year Plans allowed a very large number of human beings to improve their professional prospects dramatically. Mass education of even a rather primitive sort enabled many people to hold jobs and assume responsibilities that they could not have handled or would never have been offered in the old society. Many illiterate peasants saw their sons and daughters obtain degrees in advanced technology, while the new Soviet schools turned out engineers by the millions. For example, Nikita Khrushchev, Stalin's successor as head of the Communist Party, worked as a coal miner in his early years before becoming a full-time communist organizer.

Millions of Russian and Soviet women were emancipated from a life that offered them no real opportunities to use their minds or develop their talents. Despite much propaganda to the contrary, the Soviet leaders did not really believe in equality for women, and the highest positions remained overwhelmingly male until the Soviet Union's collapse, but the leaders *did* believe in additional skilled labor, male or female. By the end of the 1930s, most Soviet women worked outside the home. Living standards were very low, and the woman's additional income was crucial for many Soviet families. Still, the door to a more varied, more challenging life had been opened and would not be closed again.

Then, a basic "safety net" was established for all citizens. Medical care was free, all workers received pensions, and education was open and free to all politically reliable people. There were few actual ceilings to talent, provided of course that one was either a sincere communist or paid the necessary lip service to the system and the dictators (see the Arts and Culture box). Aside from such measures, however, approximately 7 million people died both inside and outside the Soviet labor camps (the infamous *Gulag Archipelago*) from want and from state persecution for their political views.



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VICTORY IN THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN. Soviet propaganda for the "Workers' Paradise" created by Stalin's dictatorship particularly liked to show the alleged enthusiasm of the workers for their new tasks. This view was often the opposite of the truth.

IMAGES OF HISTORY

SOVIET SECRET POLICE

> LITHOGRAPHIC SATIRE OF THE FUNERAL OF FELIX DZHERZHINSKY (1926).

Dzherzhinsky was founder and director of the Soviet Secret Police, or CHEKA. Note the presence of Trotsky and the obvious joy of the thousands of (dead) intellectuals following the casket, all of whom Dzherzhinsky had murdered.

Other Bolsheviks
(later murdered by Stalin)

Marx

Stalin

Trotsky
(later assassinated)



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Archives Chame/The Bridgeman Art Library

Liberties Suppressed

On the bad side were all of the drawbacks we have already mentioned as inherent in the Stalinist dictatorship: lack of any political freedom, terror and lawlessness, and low standards of living. There were other disadvantages too: religious persecution, cultural censorship, constant indoctrination with a simplistic and distorted version of Marxism, and constant interference in private lives. For a certain time during the 1920s and early 1930s, many well-meaning people in and outside the Soviet Union were able to rationalize the bad aspects of Soviet life by balancing them against the good. They accepted the Stalinist statement “You can’t make an omelet without breaking eggs.” They believed that within a few years, Soviet society would be the envy of the capitalists in the West. Then, the glories of developed socialism would be wonderful to behold, and the evils of the transition period would soon be forgotten.

The terror of the purges of the mid-1930s disillusioned many, however, and the continued iron dictatorship after World War II discouraged many more. Even the youths,

who had been the most enthusiastic members of the party and the hardest workers, were disappointed that the enormous sacrifices made during World War II seemed to go unappreciated by the Leader. The CPSU lost its spirit and its moral authority as the voice of revolutionary ideals. In the postwar years, it came to resemble just another huge bureaucracy, providing a ladder upward for opportunists and manipulators. The only real talent necessary for a successful party career became to pretend to worship Stalin.

MATERIAL AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN THE INTERWAR SOVIET UNION

Material life under Lenin and Stalin generally remained hard, but it gradually began to show improvement. The success of the NEP reversed the near collapse that the Soviet Union’s economy had suffered during the civil war years. Radical though they were, Stalin’s Five-Year Plans

ARTS AND CULTURE

FROM COMMUNISM TO PERSONALITY CULT:
A HYMN TO STALIN

Under both Lenin and Stalin, the relatively benign Marxist notions about socialism and communism had become far more radical, soon evolving into a full-blown personality cult. The Communist Party in the Soviet State became a true instrument of totalitarianism. The Party rigorously controlled all thought, all media, and all culture. Survival depended on pleasing the men who controlled the Party and the State. This especially became true under Stalin, as the following example evinces:

Thank you, Stalin. Thank you because I am joyful. Thank you because I am well. No matter how old I become, I shall never forget how we received Stalin two days ago. Centuries will pass, and the generations still to come will regard us as the happiest of mortals, as the most fortunate of men, because we lived in the century of centuries, because we were privileged to see Stalin, our inspired leader. Yes, and we regard ourselves as the happiest of mortals because we are the contemporaries of a man who never had an equal in world history.

The men of all ages will call on thy name, which is strong, beautiful, wise and marvelous. Thy name is engraven on every factory, every machine, every place on the earth, and in the hearts of all men.

Every time I have found myself in his presence I have been subjugated by his strength, his charm, his grandeur. I have experienced a great desire to sing, to cry out, to shout with joy and happiness. And now see me—me!—on the same platform where the Great Stalin stood a

year ago. In what country, in what part of the world could such a thing happen.

I write books. I am an author. All thanks to thee, O great educator, Stalin. I love a young woman with a renewed love and shall perpetuate myself in my children—all thanks to thee, great educator, Stalin. I shall be eternally happy and joyous, all thanks to thee, great educator, Stalin. Everything belongs to thee, chief of our great country. And when the woman I love presents me with a child the first word it shall utter will be: Stalin.

*O great Stalin, O leader of the peoples,
Thou who broughtest man to birth,
Thou who fructifies the earth,
Thou who restorest to centuries,
Thou who makest bloom the spring,
Thou who makest vibrate the musical chords ...
Thou, splendour of my spring, O thou,
Sun reflected by millions of hearts.*

—A. O. Avidenko

From the *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*, ed. Paul Halsall, 2006.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

How sincere do you think the writer was in his praise for the dictator? Is it possible that he was as sincere in his thoughts and feelings as in his words? Did Stalin and the Communist Party do any good for Russia?

led to considerable improvements in the infrastructure and in the output of basic industries. Living standards remained well below those of Europe and North America; yet overall conditions continued to improve until World War II and the sufferings it brought on the Russian people.

Social problems were sometimes met head-on by government action, and sometimes ignored. The divorce and abortion rates shot up in the 1920s, in line with the communist-supported emancipation of Russian women. In the mid-1930s, Stalin reintroduced tight restrictions on abortion and divorce and rewarded women who bore many children with cash and medals (“Heroine of Socialist Labor”). The underlying reason for this change in policy was the shortage of labor in Soviet industry and agriculture, both of which were extraordinarily inefficient in their use of labor and which suffered from endemic low productivity.

Soviet medical care was supposedly free to all but was spotty in quality, and party membership was a definite advantage. Clinics were established for the first time throughout the countryside, but the problems of poor nutrition, superstition about prenatal and postnatal care, and the large Muslim population’s distrust of all Western-style medicine were great handicaps to overcome in lowering the epidemic death rate or infant mortality.

Alcoholism remained what it had always been in Russia: a serious obstacle to labor efficiency and a drain on resources. Repeated government campaigns for sobriety had only limited effects on the peasants and urban workers. Home brew was common despite heavy penalties on its production.

Some common crimes were effectively reduced, at least for a time. (The Soviet government was always reluctant to



provide accurate statistics on social problems, especially crime.) Prostitution became rare for a while, partly because the original Bolshevik attitude toward sex was quite liberal: Men and women were equals and should be able to arrange their sexual activities as they saw fit without interference. This changed over time to a much stricter Puritanism. Financial offenses, such as embezzlement and fraud, were almost eliminated because opportunities to commit them were originally almost nonexistent. This, too, was to change radically in later days. Theft, on the other hand, became

common, as all classes of people frequently had to resort to it in order to survive during the civil war; later, the attitude became that stealing from a government-owned shop or enterprise was not really a crime, as all property belonged to “the people,” hence to no one. Violence against persons increased in the early Soviet period, when civil war, starving wanderers, and class struggle were commonplace and provided some cover for personal criminal acts. So far as could be seen from statistics, violent crimes then reverted to their original prerevolutionary patterns.

SUMMARY

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION OF 1917 was one of the milestones of modern history. For a long time, millions of idealists considered it the definitive dawn of a new age. No other modern social or economic movement has convinced so many different people that it was the solution to society’s various ills.

Lenin’s installation of a dictatorship by the Communist Party immediately after the revolution broke the ground for the Stalinist rule of later date. After a hidden power struggle, Leon Trotsky, the presumed successor to Lenin, was overcome by Josef Stalin, who had mastered the art of closed-group infighting better than any of his competitors. In a few more years, he had made himself the master of his country in unprecedented fashion.

In 1928, the introduction of the First Five-Year Plan was virtually a second (or Stalinist) revolution. Agrarian life was transformed by collectivization of the peasants, and the USSR became a major industrial power. Midway through the 1930s, the Great Purge of both party and people began, claiming millions of innocent victims. Stalinist policies helped the material welfare of large segments of the Soviet populace. These measures improved education, professional opportunities, and medical care and generally allowed the population to live a more modern lifestyle, but the Soviet people paid high prices for these advantages. They gave up all political and economic liberties and suffered through a generation of great hardships under the dictatorial rule of the party and its omnipotent head.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

show trials
Josef Stalin

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
Leon Trotsky

Bolsheviks
Cheka
First Five-Year Plan
Great Purge
Vladimir I. Lenin

March Revolution (of 1917)
New Economic Policy (NEP)
October Revolution
(of 1917)
Provisional Government

For Further Reflection

- 1 In what ways does it appear that Lenin and the Bolsheviks differed in their ideas about “communism” from Marx?
- 2 To what extent was Lenin’s and Trotsky’s success in bringing the Bolshevik (or Communist) Party to power in Russia in 1917 due to chance?
- 3 What efforts did Soviet leaders make to export the communist revolution to other parts of the world?

- To what extent were they successful? Why would conditions during the 1930s have been especially favorable to the spread of communism? What might be the appeal of communism (or at least Marxism) to countries with extremely high levels of poverty?
- 4 To what extent did Lenin and Stalin solve the major problems of Russia once they came to power?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- The March Revolution in Russia took place without real opposition after
 - Alexander Kerensky spoke in Moscow and called for the people to rebel.
 - Tsar Nicholas II abdicated the throne.
 - Vladimir Lenin returned to Russia.
 - Leon Trotsky took control of the military.
 - Russia and Germany signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.
- In the early 1920s, Lenin's closest associate and apparent successor as leader of the Soviet Party and state was
 - Stalin.
 - Trotsky.
 - Khrushchev.
 - Romanov.
 - Kerensky.
- The October Revolution began in the city of
 - Leningrad.
 - Moscow.
 - St. Petersburg.
 - Kiev.
 - Stalingrad.
- By 1921 in Russia,
 - a large part of the population was taking up arms against communism.
 - the majority of Russians had become communists.
 - a civil war had greatly worsened the damage sustained during World War I.
 - the economy had almost recovered from wartime damages.
 - the White Russians were on the verge of winning the civil war.
- During the Five-Year Plans, the peasants were
 - finally liberated from dependence on the government.
 - ignored by the authorities, who were concentrating on industry.
 - deprived of most of their private property.
 - given a major boost in productivity by government action.
 - relegated to the fringes of society but left in charge of their own lands.
- The Five-Year Plans called for
 - subordination of the Communist Party to the government.
 - rapid, forced industrialization.
 - distribution of the farmlands to the peasants.
 - war on the Western democracies.
 - the reinstitution of religion in the Soviet Union.
- Which of the following were not members of the new communist elite in the Soviet Union?
 - Artists and writers
 - Party officials
 - Intellectuals
 - Technical managers
 - Medical specialists
- The Great Purges started
 - after an assassination attempt on Stalin.
 - after evidence of a foreign spy ring within the Communist Party was uncovered.
 - because of a rebellion of party leaders against the Five-Year Plans.
 - because of Stalin's suspicions about his associates' loyalty.
 - after Stalin became concerned about the growing strength of Leon Trotsky.
- One of the chief rewards for the workers in the new Soviet Union of the 1930s was
 - improved and expanded housing.
 - mass educational facilities.
 - a decisive voice in public affairs.
 - security of life and property against the state.
 - improvements in their working conditions.
- Which of the following is most descriptive of the Stalinist era in the Soviet Union?
 - Most people had seen their lives improve somewhat between 1930 and 1950.
 - Divorce rates rose throughout the period, but government sanctions led to lower abortion rates.
 - Free medical care was equally available to all citizens.
 - Rates of fraud and embezzlement dropped significantly, but thievery became much more common.
 - Government efforts almost eliminated the problem of alcoholism.



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44

Totalitarianism Refined: The Nazi State

HITLER AND THE THOUSAND-YEAR REICH

Hitler's Early Career
The Nazi Program
The Great Depression's Effects
The Seizure of Power

THE NAZI DOMESTIC REGIME

The "Jewish Question"
Nazi Economic Policy

One does not establish a dictatorship in order to make a revolution; one makes a revolution in order to establish a dictatorship.

—George Orwell, 1984

IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, a new form of state organization came into the world—a savage form called totalitarianism (see Chapter 42). It was an unprecedented denial of the traditional freedom of the individual citizen in order to glorify and strengthen the powers of the state. Was totalitarianism the result of some peculiar, temporary combination of circumstances in the political-economic spectrum of the 1920s and 1930s? Or was what occurred in those years in several European countries the result of the inevitable stresses generated by the modern nation-state and therefore the possible harbinger of worse things still to come? Experts continue to argue about these questions.

Totalitarian states were necessarily always ruled by dictators, but not all dictatorships were necessarily totalitarian. The interwar years (1919–1939) saw the rise of several dictatorships in various parts of the world. Most of these regimes were not totalitarian in character. In this chapter, we concentrate on the most aggressive and militant of totalitarian states: that erected by Adolf Hitler, the leader of Nazi Germany from 1933 until his death at the end of World War II. Hitler took some of his strategies and tactics from the Italian fascist pioneers, but he soon refined and systematized them to an extent not approached by the followers of Mussolini.

1920	Hitler takes charge of NSDAP
1923	Munich <i>putsch</i> fails
1924	<i>Mein Kampf</i>
1930–1932	Great Depression in Germany
1933	Hitler becomes chancellor; Enabling Act
1935	Nuremberg Laws on race
1936–1939	Nazi preparation for war
1938	"Kristallnacht"; harassment of Jews intensifies

HITLER AND THE THOUSAND-YEAR REICH

The "honor" of creating the most ruthless totalitarian system was divided between the communist dictatorship of Josef Stalin in Russia (see Chapter 43) and the Nazi dictatorship of Adolf Hitler in Germany. We have seen that Stalin attained tremendous power by cynically manipulating an idealistic movement aimed at bringing first Russia and then the world into a new era of equality and freedom. The German dictator had no such visions, however.

Hitler's Early Career

Adolf Hitler was born an Austrian citizen in 1889. He was the only child of a strict father and a loving mother who spoiled him in every way her limited resources allowed.

When he was seventeen, he went off to Vienna in hopes of an art career. Rejected as having no talent, he survived for the next few years on the fringes of urban society, living hand to mouth on money from home. He fully absorbed the anti-Semitism prevalent in Vienna at that time, and his

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

ADOLF HITLER (1889–1945)

Despite many tries, no one has been able to satisfactorily explain why Adolf Hitler's political and social doctrines were so attractive to most German people. During the 1930s, few Germans were disturbed by his anti-Semitic and antiforeign slogans, his manic nationalism, or his crude and violent ideas for renovating the German nation.

True, the plight of the Germans after World War I and the struggle for survival during the first years of the Great Depression contributed to their acceptance of Hitler's views. The orderly and progressive world of Kaiser William II had crumbled before their eyes. Germany was forced to yield to a partial Allied occupation and to give up most of its much-honored army and its equipment. Most irritating of all, Germany was forced to accept a peace treaty that branded it as the sole culprit for causing the ruinous war and was required to pay many billions of dollars as compensation to the victors.

The punishment was far greater than most had anticipated, and the common people suffered the consequences. Inflation, unemployment, and political turmoil spread. The fear of communism was acute among the middle classes, while the laborers and intellectuals struggled to make their voices heard. The old system was thoroughly discredited, and Germans looked for a new architect of morals. In 1923, a candidate appeared who had not yet found his proper voice. His name was Adolf Hitler.

Hitler had served during the war and—like millions of other frontline soldiers—emerged from that experience with contempt for the politicians and the traditional leaders of his people. He was looking for revenge against the “dark forces,” which he sensed had thus far prevented him and those like him from assuming their rightful place in society and prevented Germany as a nation from reaching its rightful, dominant place in the world.

In 1920, Hitler found his chance at the head of a tiny party of malcontents. Rapidly expanding its membership through his mesmerizing ability to capture a crowd, Hitler entered into a half-baked scheme to take over the government in 1923, when the terrible postwar inflation and popular turmoil were at their height. The attempted coup failed, with fourteen deaths. Hitler was tried for treason, turned the courtroom into a rostrum for his passionate attacks on the Jews and socialists, and was jailed for a year.

From 1924 on, the Nazi movement slowly gained strength. Hitler became an ever-more-skilled manipulator of political propaganda and gathered around him a mixed band of dreamers, brutes, ambitious climbers, and opportunists. Some of them firmly believed in the *Führer* and his self-proclaimed mission to save Germany and bring a New Order to Europe. Others hitched their wagons to his star without necessarily believing the wild rantings in *Mein Kampf*. Few took his promises to exterminate Jews and communists as anything more than a rabble-rouser's empty words.

Hitler's personality was a collection of contradictions. He despised organized religion and proclaimed himself untrammelled by common morality, yet he lived a life of ascetic restraint. A strict vegetarian and teetotaler, he frowned on the more boisterous and indulgent lifestyle of some of his followers (such as that of the fat hedonist Göring). He was fascinated by the power of the intellect and will, yet held intellectuals in contempt. He would work thirty-six hours at a stretch, yet went into nervous collapse and secluded himself from his officials in several political crises. He was a notorious charmer of susceptible women, yet abstained from all sexual relations and was probably impotent.

He was perhaps the most murderous power holder of the twentieth century, committing endless atrocities against Germans and other human beings, yet he had a deep reverence for the arts and considerable artistic talent. Perhaps a hint of the truth lies in his artistic personality: When his paintings were exhibited after the war, critics were impressed by his talent for rendering structural accuracy but noted his inability to sketch the human form.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Why do you think Hitler seized on the Jews as the German people's most dangerous enemy? Is it unusual for a political leader to hold sharply contradictory views of moral standards for himself versus for the mass of people?



You can read some of Hitler's speeches online.



constant reading convinced him of the falsity of typical “bourgeois” values and politics. But he despised Marxism, which was the most common hope and refuge of social outsiders like himself. When World War I broke out, Hitler was a young malcontent of twenty-five, still searching for some philosophy that would make sense of a world that had rejected him.

Enlisting immediately, Hitler distinguished himself for bravery under fire, receiving the Iron Cross. The wartime experience gave him his first idea of his life’s purpose. With millions of other demobilized men, he spent the first months of the postwar era in a state of shock and despair, seeing the socialist government that had replaced the kaiser and accepted the Versailles Treaty as the betrayers of the nation. As time passed, he became determined to join those who were aiming to overturn the government.

In 1920, Hitler took over a tiny group of would-be reformers and renamed them the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP), or “Nazis” for short. Devoting his fanatical energy to the party, he rapidly attracted new members in the Munich area, where he had been living since before the war. In 1923, Hitler, supported by a few discontented army officers, attempted a *putsch* (coup d’état) in Munich, but it failed miserably. Arrested for treason, he used the trial to gain national notoriety. He was sentenced to five years in prison by a sympathetic judge and used the year he actually served to write his autobiography and call to arms: *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle).

The Nazi Program

In wild and ranting prose, *Mein Kampf* laid out what Hitler saw as Germany’s problems and their solutions. It insisted on all of the following:

- ◆ **Anti-Semitism.** Jews were declared born enemies of all proper German values and traitors to the nation.
- ◆ **Rejection of the Versailles Treaty and German war guilt.** Hitler called the treaty the most unfair in world



© Mary Evans Picture Library/Alamy

NAZI TOTALITARIANISM AND THE MEDIA. “The whole of Germany hears the *Führer* with the people’s radio.” This illustrates the critical importance to totalitarian regimes of controlling the national media.

history, dictated by a (temporarily) strong France against a helpless, tricked Germany.

- ◆ **Confiscation of illicit war profits.** This measure was aimed mainly at Jews but also at non-Jewish German industrialists. This point reflected the Nazis’ claim to be socialists (though anti-Marxist).
- ◆ **Protection of the middle classes from ruinous competition.** The Nazis made a special show of paying attention to the growing concerns of the shopkeepers and white-collar workers who feared that they were being forced downward on the economic ladder by big business.
- ◆ **Land redistribution for the peasants.** With this pseudo-socialist measure, Hitler claimed to be protecting the peasants who were being squeezed out by large landholders.

The basic tenor of *Mein Kampf* and of Nazi speeches and literature in the 1920s was consistent: hatred for the existing situation in Germany and the determination to change it radically. The “Marxist-Zionist” government that had accepted the Versailles Treaty had given a “stab in the back” to the brave German Army in 1918. Germany must be reborn and once again gain its rightful place! Whatever means were necessary to do this were justified, as only the strong would survive in a jungle world of competing nations. In later years, Hitler and the Nazis developed and defined notions of a “pure-blooded Aryan” (i.e., German) master race who were destined for world domination of all “inferior” races (non-“Aryans”). This meant that groups in addition to the Jews were targeted for imprisonment, enslavement, and annihilation to free Germany of “impurities” they brought into the blood of the master race. The list included racial minorities, gypsies, homosexuals, Slavs, and those born with mental and physical handicaps (see the Patterns of Belief box).

After the failure of the Munich *putsch*, Hitler swore that he would come to power by constitutional, legal means.

No one could later say that he had acted against the will of his people. From the moment that he was released from jail, he devoted himself tirelessly to organizing, speech making, and electioneering from one end of the country to the other.

Hitler was an extremely gifted rabble-rouser who quickly learned how to appeal to various groups in language they could not forget. His targets were always the same: Jews, the signers of the Versailles Treaty, the communists, and the clique of businessmen and bureaucrats who supposedly pulled the strings behind the scenes.

(For more about Hitler's life and his appeal, see the Law and Government box.)

Between 1925 and 1929, which were prosperous years for Weimar Germany, the Nazis made little headway among the masses of industrial workers, who remained loyal to either the Social Democrats or the large, legal German Communist Party. But the Nazis did pick up voters among the members of the middle classes who had been ruined in the great inflation and among the numerous white-collar workers who saw their relative status slipping

PATTERNS OF BELIEF

RESISTANCE TO NAZI INDOCTRINATION OF GERMAN CHRISTIANS

A key feature of totalitarian states is use of the media to control culture and thought. In the case of Marxist-Leninist Russia, that produced an almost total ban on religion. In Germany, the NSDAP tried to make the Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches subordinate to the State. In 1934, theologian Karl Barth and the emerging "Confessing Church" adopted this declaration to resist the theological claims of the Nazis.

The Confessional Synod of the German Evangelical Church met in Barmen, May 29–31, 1934. Here representatives from all the German Confessional Churches met with one accord in a confession of the one Lord of the one, holy, apostolic Church . . . 8.09 In view of the errors of the "German Christians" of the present Reich Church government which are devastating the Church and also therefore breaking up the unity of the German Evangelical Church, we confess the following evangelical truths:

8.11 Jesus Christ, as he is attested for us in Holy Scripture, is the one Word of God which we have to hear and which we have to trust and obey in life and in death . . .

8.12 We reject the false doctrine, as though the church could and would have to acknowledge as a source of its proclamation, apart from and besides this one Word of God, still other events and powers, figures and truths, as God's revelation.

8.16 - 3. "Rather, speaking the truth in love, we are to grow up in every way into him who is the head, into Christ, from whom the whole body [is] joined and knit together." (Eph. 4:15, 16.) . . .

8.18 We reject the false doctrine, as though the Church were permitted to abandon the form of its message and order to its own pleasure or to changes in prevailing ideological and political convictions.

8.19 - 4. "You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great men exercise authority over them. It shall not be so among you; but whoever would be great among you must be your servant." (Matt. 20:25, 26.)

8.21 We reject the false doctrine, as though the Church, apart from this ministry, could and were permitted to give itself, or allow to be given to it, special leaders vested with ruling powers.

8.22 - 5. "Fear God. Honor the emperor." (1 Peter 2:17.) Scripture tells us that, in the as yet unredeemed world in which the Church also exists, the State has by divine appointment the task of providing for justice and peace....The Church acknowledges the benefit of this divine appointment in gratitude and reverence before him. It calls to mind the Kingdom of God, God's commandment and righteousness, and thereby the responsibility both of rulers and of the ruled. It trusts and obeys the power of the Word by which God upholds all things.

8.23 We reject the false doctrine, as though the State, over and beyond its special commission, should and could become the single and totalitarian order of human life, thus fulfilling the Church's vocation as well.

From: *The Church's Confession Under Hitler*, by Arthur C. Cochrane. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962, 237–242.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What do you think were the "German Confessional Churches" referred to in the statement? What were the bases on which Barth and his followers rejected the interference of the Nazi-led German state?



in postwar Germany. As late as the elections of 1928, the Nazis received only 2.6 percent of the vote and 12 seats in the *Reichstag* (German parliament). In comparison, the Communists had 77 seats, and the Social Democrats had 156. Moderate or conservative parties that regarded Hitler as a loose cannon who might possibly be useful against the socialists held the rest of the Reichstag's 500 seats.

The Great Depression's Effects

The collapse of the German (and world) economy in 1930–1931 set the stage for Nazi political success. In late 1929, the New York Stock Exchange went into a tailspin that soon had effects on every aspect of finance in the Western world. Germany was particularly affected because for years German industrialists and municipalities had been relying on American investment and loans. Suddenly, this credit was cut off as loans were called in on short notice. Instead of new investment, international finance and trade shrank steadily as each nation attempted to protect itself from external competition by raising tariffs and limiting imports.

The results for Germany were horrendous: The number of unemployed rose from 2.25 million in early 1930 to more than 6 million two years later (about 25 percent of the total labor force), and this figure does not count involuntary part-time workers or the many women who withdrew from the labor market permanently. In no other country, not even the United States, was the industrial economy so hard hit.

The governing coalition of Social Democrats and moderate conservatives fell apart under this strain. In the frequent elections necessitated by the collapse of the coalition, the middle-of-the-road parties steadily lost seats to the extremes on right and left: the Nazis and the Communists. In an election for the Reichstag in mid-1930, the Nazis won a total of 107 seats, second only to the weakening Social Democrats.



Private Collection/Archives Chamber/The Bridgeman Art Library

AN ALL-GERMAN PARTY PARADE. A major reason for the Nazi success was the masterly touch of drama accompanying the party's functions. Slogans and banners that proclaimed the party's strength in every part of the homeland fostered the impression of overwhelming force.

As the economy continued downhill, Hitler promised immediate, decisive action to aid the unemployed and the farmers. In another national election in early 1932, the Nazis won 14.5 million votes of a total of about 35 million. The Nazis were now the largest single party but still lacked a majority. Their attacks on the government and the other parties intensified both verbally and, increasingly, in the streets.

The Seizure of Power

Finally, in a move aimed at moderating Hitler by putting him into a position where he had to take responsibility rather than just criticize, the conservative advisers of the old president, Paul von Hindenburg, appointed Hitler chancellor on January 30, 1933. Within eight weeks, Hitler had transformed the government into a Nazi dictatorship, and technically he had accomplished this seizure of power by constitutional procedures, as he had promised.

How did this transformation occur? It involved two complementary processes: the capture of legal authority for the Nazis and the elimination of competing political groups. First, the Nazis whipped up hysteria over an alleged communist revolutionary plot. Under the constitution's emergency provision, Hitler as chancellor introduced the equivalent of martial law and used it to round up tens of thousands of his opponents in the next weeks.

After the election that Hitler called for in March (in which the Nazis still failed to gain a simple majority), all Communist and some Social Democratic delegates to the Reichstag were arrested as traitors. Finally, in late March, the Nazi-dominated rump parliament enacted the so-called **Enabling Act**, giving Hitler's government the power to rule by decree until the emergency had passed. It did not pass for the next twelve years, until Hitler was dead in the ruins of Berlin.

The German Communist Party was immediately outlawed, and the Social Democrats were banned a few weeks later. One by one, the centrist and moderate parties disappeared, either by dissolving themselves or by being abolished by Nazi decree. In mid-1933, the Nazis were the only legal political organization left in Germany. In its

various subgroups for women, youths, professional associations, farmers, and others, all patriotic Germans could find their place.

Hitler completed the process of consolidating power with a purge within the party itself. This was the infamous *Night of the Long Knives* in June 1934, when the paramilitary **Storm Troopers**, or **SA**, who had been very important to the Nazi movement as bullyboys, were cut down to size. Using another of his suborganizations, the new **Blackshirts**, or **SS**, Hitler murdered several hundred of the Storm Troop leaders. By doing so, he both rid himself of potentially serious rivals and placated the German Army generals, who rightly saw in the brown-shirted Storm Troopers a menace to their own position as the nation's military leaders.

THE NAZI DOMESTIC REGIME

When the Nazis took power, the NSDAP had an active membership of about 1 million and probably twice that many supporters who could be counted on to show up for major party affairs or contribute some money. By 1934, about 15 percent of the total population had joined the Nazi Party. The numbers rose steadily thereafter. By the middle of the war, about one-fifth of adult Germans belonged, although many joined under severe pressure and contributed nothing except mandatory dues.

Rank-and-file party members were drawn from all elements of the population, but the leaders were normally young men from the working and lower-middle classes. Like the Russian communists, the Nazis were a party of young men who were in a hurry and had no patience with negotiation or gradual reform. Unlike the Communists, they saw themselves not so much as implementing a revo-

lution but as restoring proud Germanic traditions that had been allowed to decay.

The party was represented in all parts of Germany, which were now reorganized into *Gaue*, or districts under the command of a *Gauleiter* (a district party boss). Special organizations tended to the explanation and practice of party doctrine for different parts of the population. But there was remarkably little “philosophy” in Nazism; the emotional rantings of *Mein Kampf* and the even-more-confused babblings of Julius Rosenberg’s brochures—which no one could render intelligible—were the official credos of the movement. In the end, the Nazi phenomenon depended on a primitive German nationalism and resentments of the peace treaty and the Jews.

As under the Bismarck and Weimar governments, Prussia was the most important region in Germany. The brilliant and unscrupulous propagandist, Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945), was Hitler’s deputy here. Another member of Hitler’s small circle of intimates was Hermann Göring (1893–1946), the rotund, wisecracking, and entirely cynical pilot-hero of World War I who was generally seen as the number-two man in the hierarchy. From his release from the Munich jail, Hitler’s policies were designed to make Germany into a totalitarian state, and they did so considerably more thoroughly and more rapidly than Mussolini was able to accomplish in Italy. His right arm in this process was **Heinrich Himmler** (1900–1945), the head of the SS and of the *Gestapo*, or political police. Himmler was Hitler’s most loyal colleague, and he was charged with overseeing the internal security of the Nazi regime. Himmler’s SS operated the concentration camps that opened as early as 1934 within Germany (and later in the conquered territories); a branch of the SS conducted the Holocaust of the Jews, setting up the slave labor camps and installing a reign of terror against all possible resistance.



Private Collection/The Stapleton Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

HITLER YOUTH. At the annual mass rally of Nazi organizations in Nuremberg, the uniformed Hitler Youth were always given a prominent place to salute the Führer’s carefully staged arrival. Membership was all but mandatory; those who didn’t join were singled out for social ostracism.



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THE DEHUMANIZING OF THE JEWS. The Nazis viewed Jewish-Christian sexual relations as pollution of German blood. The woman's sign reads, "I am the biggest pig in the place and get involved only with Jews." The Jewish man's placard says, "As a Jewish fellow, I take only German girls to my room." The public humiliation of such couples began immediately after the Nazis came to power in 1933.



Lordprince Collection/Alamy

NUREMBERG NAZI RALLY, 1938. The massive display of strength and unity so dear to the Nazis was nowhere better on view than at the regular rallies held in the Bavarian town of Nuremberg. In this photo, Hitler exchanges salutes with party officials.

The "Jewish Question"

The most horrible of the Nazi policies was the genocide against the Jews. For the first time in modern history, a systematic, cold-blooded war of extermination was practiced against a noncombatant people, solely on the basis of ethnicity. The war against the Jews went through four distinct phases in the twelve years of Nazi rule between 1933 and 1945:

1. From March 1933 to 1935, German Jews were publicly humiliated and excluded from government jobs.
2. In September 1935, the **Nuremberg Laws** prohibiting social contacts between Jews and "Aryans" (defined as persons with no Jewish blood for two generations on both sides of their family) made Jews into noncitizens. The government began to constantly harass Jews and push them either to emigrate or enter urban ghettos for easier surveillance.
3. In November 1938, new policies made it almost impossible for Jews to engage in public life and business and forbade emigration unless they surrendered all their property in Germany and went as paupers. By this time, many thousands of "antistate" Jews (Communists, Social Democrats, anti-Nazis) had been consigned to the camps.
4. At the **Wannsee conference** in Berlin in 1942, the **Final Solution** for the "Jewish problem" was approved by Hitler. The Jews were rounded up

from the ghettos throughout Germany and occupied Europe and sent to the death camps in Poland. The Holocaust had begun and would not end until Germany's defeat in 1945. By then, some 6 million Jews from all over Central and Eastern Europe had been murdered, starved to death, or had otherwise fallen victim to Himmler's henchmen. Of the more than 2 million Jews living in Germany in 1933, only a few tens of thousands had survived at the close of the war, overlooked or hidden by sympathetic neighbors.

Nazi Economic Policy

Economic policy in the Nazi state was a peculiar mixture of a fake "socialism" and an accommodation of the big businesses and cartels that had dominated Germany for a generation. As in Mussolini's Italy, the government's economic policies generated some measure of social reform. Workers and farmers were idealized in propaganda as the true Aryan Germans, but private property remained untouched, and the capitalist process was subjected to only sporadic and selective interference by the government. The labor unions, like every other type of public association, were fully subordinated to the party and became arms of the Nazi octopus. Strikes were illegal, and the Marxist idea of class conflict was officially declared nonexistent among Germans.



MAP 44.1 Europe in 1939, on Eve of World War II

Most of Europe was under dictatorial rule of various types by the end of the 1930s. The impact of the Great Depression pushed some

of the former parliamentary democracies into the dictatorship column during the middle of the 1930s. Only Britain, France, and the Scandinavians kept alive the reality of democratic politics.

Hitler had come to power partly on the strength of his promises to end the unemployment problem. From 1933 to 1936, he instituted measures that were effective at providing jobs. The huge road construction and public works programs he began in 1934 absorbed a large portion of the pool of unemployed. With rearmament, the military was greatly enlarged, and munitions factories and their suppliers received government orders. Raw materials were rapidly stockpiled. Synthetic substitutes for the vital raw materials that Germany lacked (petroleum, rubber, tin, and many other exotic minerals) were invented in government-supported laboratories and produced in new factories.

Already by 1936, Hitler was putting Germany on a war footing. Labor was allocated according to government priorities. Government ministries decided what would be imported and exported. In the western

border region, a huge “West Wall” was being erected. This system of fortifications would mirror the fortified French Maginot Line across the frontier. The *autobahns* (expressways) were built to crisscross the country, creating a system that could move men and material quickly in case of war.

By 1937, the number of unemployed was down to 400,000 (from 6 million), and a labor shortage was developing. Unmarried women and youths were put into more-or-less compulsory organizations to relieve the shortfall. In every German village and town, Nazi Youth organizations gave boys and girls ages seven to twenty-one a place to get together with their peers for both work and fun while imbibing the Nazi viewpoints. The nation was prosperous, the Great Depression became a dim memory, and many millions of Germans were proud of their government and their *Führer* (FYOO-rer).

SUMMARY

THE DEFEAT IN 1918, THE runaway inflation of the early 1920s, and the weak and unpopular socialist government combined to exert a devastating effect on German national morale. Millions of voters lost faith in liberal democracy and the parliamentary process. So long as the economic situation remained favorable, this political weakness was manageable, but the onset of the world depression brought on a crisis from which the gifted demagogue, Adolf Hitler, and his Nazi Party emerged triumphant in 1933. The Nazis could soon boast that the Führer made

good on his promises to his people. He had obtained government power legally, and an intimidated legislature gave him dictatorial authority soon thereafter.

By the mid-1930s, rearmament and a vigorous social investment policy had restored German prosperity. Most Germans were content with Hitler's guidance. His ranting anti-Semitism and brutal harassment of all opposition elements did not overly disturb the majority, who had found prosperity, security, and a sense of national purpose that had been sorely lacking.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Anti-Semitism
Blackshirts/SS
Enabling Act
Final Solution
Führer
Heinrich Himmler

Mein Kampf
Nuremberg Laws
putsch
Storm Troopers/SA
Wannsee conference

For Further Reflection

1. What conditions in Germany during the 1920s and 1930s help explain the rise of Adolf Hitler and the NSDAP? How did these conditions compare with those in Russia in the years before the Bolshevik revolution?
2. Compare Hitler to other dictators who rose to power during the interwar years (Lenin, Stalin, and Mussolini).

What similarities were there, if any, in their personalities and political ideologies?

3. How do Marxist Leninism, fascism, and Nazism compare with each other? Is it possible that Germany could have experienced a Marxist-Leninist revolution instead of a fascist-style seizure of power? Why did it not?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. Hitler's major political ideas were formed
 - a. during his early manhood in Vienna.
 - b. as a reaction to the Great Depression.
 - c. during his boyhood in rural Austria.
 - d. after he formed the Nazi Party in the postwar era.
 - e. during his incarceration after the 1923 putsch.
2. Which of the following was *not* a part of Hitler's call to arms in *Mein Kampf*?

- a. Protection of the middle classes
 - b. Rejection of the Versailles Treaty
 - c. Land redistribution
 - d. Confiscation of money and goods gained as a result of World War I
 - e. Government ownership of all property
3. Which of the following did *not* help Hitler in his bid for political power?
 - a. His sympathy for Marxist theory and practice
 - b. His gift for influencing the masses
 - c. The ineptitude of the democratic leaders in meeting the economic crisis
 - d. Massive economic hardship
 - e. His personal charisma

4. The political party that held the most seats in the Reichstag at the beginning of the Great Depression was the
 - a. Communist Party.
 - b. Fascist Party.
 - c. Social Democrat Party.
 - d. Nazi Party.
 - e. Liberal Party.
5. The German chancellorship came to Hitler in 1933 through
 - a. legal appointment.
 - b. a conspiracy.
 - c. an overwhelming electoral victory.
 - d. armed force.
 - e. a military takeover.
6. The Enabling Act
 - a. made Hitler chancellor of Germany.
 - b. gave Nazis in the Reichstag absolute power.
 - c. outlawed the Communist Party.
 - d. gave Hitler's government the right to rule by decree.
 - e. banned the Social Democratic Party.
7. The internal purge of the Nazi movement was called
 - a. the Day of Judgment.
 - b. the Night of the Long Knives.
 - c. the Second Coming.
 - d. the Führer's Triumph.
 - e. Bloody Sunday.
8. Hitler's head of the SS and the Gestapo was
 - a. Goebbels.
 - b. Himmler.
 - c. Göring.
 - d. Gauleiter.
 - e. Bismarck.
9. The Nuremberg Laws
 - a. outlawed the German Communist Party.
 - b. laid out the details of the Nazi dictatorship in Germany.
 - c. detailed who was Jewish and what that meant.
 - d. were the formal rejection of the reparations bill from World War I.
 - e. expelled all Jews from Germany.
10. Which was *not* true of Hitler's government during the 1930s?
 - a. Its policy was increasingly anti-Semitic.
 - b. It was successful in eliminating mass unemployment.
 - c. It allowed only one party to represent the German people.
 - d. Its economic policy abolished private ownership.
 - e. It built up a strong military in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles.



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East Asia in a Century of Change

CHINA

Chiang Kai-shek's Regime
The Sino-Japanese War and the Maoist Challenge
The Communist Victory

JAPAN

The Emergence of Modern Japan
The Meiji Reforms
Foreign Successes
Between the World Wars

SOUTHEAST ASIA

The art of government is the organization of idolatry.

—George Bernard Shaw

AS WAS SEEN IN Chapter 38, almost 4 thousand years of imperial rule in China ended when Sun Yat-sen and others overthrew the last Qing emperor and declared a republic. However, the declaration of the republic did not end China's tribulations. A temporary coalition between the **Kuomintang** (Nationalist Party) and the Communist Party of China (CPC) in the 1920s and the 1930s helped to carry on a struggle against Japanese occupation. But the ideological differences between the two groups led to an inevitable showdown that resulted in a victory for the communists in 1948. The remnants of the Kuomintang were forced to flee to the nearby island of Taiwan.

In contrast, Japan had undergone one of the most remarkable self-willed transformations known to history. An aggressive imperialism brought Japan into conflict with a struggling China in the 1930s and later with the West.

Elsewhere, almost all of Southeast Asia were European colonies, and by the early twentieth century, this region was experiencing a buildup of frustrated nationalism among both intellectuals and ordinary folk. This became even truer after the Asians witnessed the humiliation of Russia by Japan in 1905 and the mutual slaughter of Europeans in World War I. In retrospect, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were the high point of European domination of Asia. After World War II, the tide would turn toward a closer balance in East–West relations.

1904–1905	Russo-Japanese War
1910	Japan annexes Korea
1912	Founding of Chinese Republic
1937	Beginning of Second Sino-Japanese War
1941–1945	Pacific Allies' War against Japan
1947–1949	Civil War in China

CHINA

By the third decade of the twentieth century, China had undergone the early stages of a revolution. Nationalism, the force that more than any other had driven change throughout the world in the nineteenth century, had spread to

western Asia and had now reached the Far East. Chapter 38 briefly discussed how, after thirty-five centuries of dynastic imperial rule, those who followed Sun Yat-sen (the leading thinker of Chinese nationalism) deposed the last emperor and established a republican form of government in China.

Chiang Kai-shek's Regime

Sun Yat-sen's most able and aggressive lieutenant was **Chiang Kai-shek** (chung key shehk), who headed the Kuomintang's military branch. After the founder's death in 1925, Chiang moved quickly to take over leadership, while maintaining the liaison with the tiny **Chinese Communist Party (CCP)** that Sun had established in the early 1920s to assist in modernizing the state. In 1926, Chiang felt strong enough to go after the warlords who had made themselves into petty kings in the north and north-east and bring them under effective central control. This Northern Expedition was a success, and several provinces were recovered. Strengthened by this and by the increasing support of Chinese financial circles, Chiang decided to finish off the communists who had displayed disturbingly little support in Shanghai and a few other coastal cities. In 1927, he conducted a sweeping blood purge of all suspected communists, killing tens of thousands before it was

over. The CCP appeared to have suffered an irremediable defeat. Chiang was clearly in control and established himself as the president of a national Kuomintang government in Beijing a few months later.

The Kuomintang government under Chiang (1928–1975) was a barely disguised dictatorship, led by a man who believed in force as the ultimate political argument. He had married a Westernized Chinese plutocrat, who successfully acted as his intermediary when dealing with Western governments throughout his long career. Chiang believed that the obstacles to making China into a sovereign, respected state were first the Japanese and then the communists. As time passed, however, that order began to reverse. Under new leaders, the CCP had staged a quick recovery from the events of 1927 and, within a few years, had established a strong base among the peasants in south China. Knowing that he did not as yet have the strength to challenge the superior weaponry and training of the Japanese, Chiang threw his 700,000-man army against the communists.

Following their leader, **Mao Zedong** (mau tseh-duhng), the communists were driven from their rural strongholds and forced into the famous **Long March of 1934**. At the start of this migration, Mao's followers numbered perhaps



Join Dominis/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND MADAME CHIANG. The newsweekly *Time* selected Chiang and his spouse as “Man and Wife of the Year, 1937.” Madame Chiang handled much of China's diplomacy with the Western powers in this epoch.



Private Collection/Archives Chamer/The Bridgeman Art Library

THE LONG MARCH. Once the Chinese Communist Party was in power, it created a totalitarian state in which myth and propaganda played major roles. These posters, created after the fact, contributed to raising the Long March virtually to the level of legend in modern Chinese history. In the top one, Mao Zedong is depicted leading the march, and in the bottom, he is shown instructing his followers.

100,000 poorly armed peasants. Their epic journey lasted over a year and covered more than 6,000 miles through western China. Out of those who started, only 10,000 or so survived starvation and combat and finally managed to barricade themselves in Shensi in the far northwest near the Mongolian border. Here, during the remainder of the 1930s, they preached the Marxist gospel to the desperately poor peasants around them.

By these actions, they were following Mao's new precept: The Chinese peasants are a true revolutionary force, and no revolution will succeed without them. Mao pursued peasant support in clever and concrete ways. He never spoke of collectivization but only of justice, lower interest rates, and fair distribution of land. The members of the CCP became village teachers—the first ever

in Shensi Province—and made sure that the communist army did not behave like earlier Chinese armies and “liberate” what they needed and wanted from the helpless farmers. Soon the locals were sufficiently impressed with Mao's forces that they began to join them.

The Sino-Japanese War and the Maoist Challenge

Americans sometimes forget that for four years before Pearl Harbor, the Japanese and the Chinese were engaged in a bloody war. This conflict had actually begun with the Japanese aggression in Manchuria in 1931, but it had been sporadic until a minor incident in the summer of 1937 gave the Japanese commanders the pretext they had long

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

JAPAN'S “RAPE OF NANJING”

One of the most notorious incidents of Japanese brutality with captives before and during World War II was the “Rape of Nanjing” in 1937. Even today, the Chinese memory of these events remains a very sensitive issue that clouds diplomatic relations between China and Japan. The following are excerpts from an account given by one “eyewitness”:

ABOARD THE U.S.S. OAHU AT SHANGHAI, DEC. 17 [1937]

The killing of civilians was widespread. Foreigners who traveled widely through the city Wednesday found civilian dead on every street. Some of the victims were aged men, women and children.

Policemen and firemen were special objects of attack. Many victims were bayoneted and some of the wounds were barbarously cruel.

Any person who ran because of fear or excitement was likely to be killed on the spot as was any one caught by roving patrols in streets or alleys after dark. Many slayings were witnessed by foreigners.

The Japanese looting amounted almost to plundering of the entire city. Nearly every building was entered by Japanese soldiers, often under the eyes of their officers, and the men took whatever they wanted. The Japanese soldiers often impressed Chinese to carry their loot...



Karen Su/China Span/Getty Images

The mass executions of war prisoners added to the horrors the Japanese brought to Nanking. After killing the Chinese soldiers who threw down their arms and surrendered, the Japanese combed the city for men in civilian garb who were suspected of being former soldiers.

Just before boarding the ship for Shanghai the writer watched the execution of 200 men on the Bund [dike]. The killings took ten minutes. The men were lined against a wall and shot. Then a number of Japanese, armed with pistols, trod nonchalantly around the crumpled bodies, pumping bullets into any that were still kicking.

MEMORIAL TO THE “RAPE OF NANJING.” The Japanese invasion of Nanjing in 1937 was notorious for its brutality. Most estimates of the civilian death toll are in the range of 100,000 to 200,000.

(continued)

The army men performing the gruesome job had invited navy men from the warships anchored off the Bund to view the scene. A large group of military spectators apparently greatly enjoyed the spectacle.

When the first column of Japanese troops marched from the South Gate up Chungshan Road toward the city's Big Circle, small knots of Chinese civilians broke into scattering cheers, so great was their relief that the siege was over and so high were their hopes that the Japanese would restore peace and order. There are no cheers in Nanking now for the Japanese.

The flight of the many Chinese soldiers was possible by only a few exits. Instead of sticking by their men to hold the invaders at bay with a few strategically placed units while the others withdrew, many army leaders deserted, causing panic among the rank and file.

Those who failed to escape through the gate leading to Hsiakwan and from there across the Yangtze were caught and executed...

Civilian casualties also were heavy, amounting to thousands. The only hospital open was the American managed University Hospital and its facilities were inadequate for even a fraction of those hurt.

The capture of Hsiakwan Gate by the Japanese was accompanied by the mass killing of the defenders, who were piled up among the sandbags, forming a mound six feet high. Late Wednesday the Japanese had not removed the dead, and two days of heavy military traffic had been passing through, grinding over the remains of men, dogs and horses.

The Japanese appear to want the horrors to remain as long as possible, to impress on the Chinese the terrible results of resisting Japan.

From F. Tillman, "All Captives Slain," *The New York Times*, December 18, 1937, 1, 10. Copied from "The Internet East Asian History Sourcebook," ed. Paul Halsall.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Who is the writer of the account? What was he doing in Nanjing, and from where did he observe the events he recounts? Does it appear that he personally witnessed everything he reports? What else besides personal observation might have influenced his account?

Assuming the accuracy of the account and aside from the obvious brutality of the Japanese soldiers, what purposes do the actions of the Japanese seem to have served?

Besides the attacks on the Chinese soldiers, what other actions by the Japanese made this a war crime?

sought to begin war. After a few months of unequal fighting, the two major cities of Beijing and Nanjing had fallen, and much of coastal China was under Japanese control.

Instead of submitting and becoming a Japanese puppet as expected, Chiang elected to move his government many hundreds of miles west and attempt to hold out until he could find allies. The move inland meant, however, that Chiang was isolated from his main areas of support. Furthermore, the Kuomintang army and officials appeared to the local people around the new command city of Chongqing (chun-king) as a swarm of devouring locusts. Famine was endemic in this poverty-stricken region, and official corruption in the army and civil government was widespread.

Morale deteriorated steadily under these conditions, especially because Chiang refused to actively fight the Japanese invader. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, he had decided that the Americans would eventually defeat Tokyo and that the communists under Mao were China's real enemy. Protected in his mountainous refuge, he wanted to husband his forces. When World War II ended in 1945, Chiang was the commander of a large but poorly equipped and demoralized garrison army that had no combat experience and was living parasitically on its own people.

The Maoists, on the other hand, made steady progress in winning over the anti-Japanese elements among the people, especially the peasants. They claimed to be nationalists and patriots as well as reformers, and they fought the invader at every opportunity from their bases in the northwest. Mao set up a local government system that was far more just and more respectful of the peasants than the Kuomintang had been. He introduced democratic practices that won the communists the support of many of the intellectuals and the workers. Mao's armed force grew by large numbers during the war years to a total of almost 1 million men in organized units, plus many thousands of guerrilla fighters behind the Japanese lines. The CCP set up mass organizations with branches in every village for women, youth, educators, and others.

The Communist Victory

At the Pacific war's end, Chiang's army was about three times the size of Mao's, and now that the Americans had disposed of the Japanese, he was confident of victory over the internal rivals. The civil war broke out soon after the Japanese surrendered. The United States at first backed Chiang with supplies and money but could not counter

the effects of years of corrupt Kuomintang rule, inaction, and failure on Chiang's part to appreciate what China's peasant masses wanted. While the Kuomintang armies deserted, the communist forces enjoyed wide and growing support. The superior fighting spirit and military tactics of the Maoists decisively turned the tide in 1948, when Beijing and the big port cities fell into their hands.

By October 1949, all of China was under Mao's control, and Chiang with several hundred thousand Kuomintang men were refugees on the Chinese offshore island of Taiwan. Here, they set up a regime that called itself the Republic of China and was recognized as the legitimate government of China by the anticommunist world for some time to come. But "Red" China (properly the People's Republic of China, or PRC), with the world's largest population, was now presumably a devoted Cold War ally of the Soviet Union under the ruthless communist Mao and aiming at world revolution side by side with the Soviets.

JAPAN

In the mid-nineteenth century, Japan's two centuries of seclusion under the Tokugawa shoguns ended, and the country began to be transformed.

The Emergence of Modern Japan

The trigger for Japan's modernization was the forceful "opening of Japan" by American commodore Matthew Perry in 1853 and 1854 (see Chapter 27). In the name of international commerce, Perry extorted a treaty from the *shogun* that allowed U.S. ships to dock and do business in Japanese ports. This treaty was soon followed by similar agreements with the European trading nations. With the country divided over whether to allow the "pale-faced barbarians" into the ports, a brief conflict broke out among the *daimyo* lords for the shogun's power, and a few resident foreigners were molested. In 1863, a retaliatory attack by Western naval forces revealed how far Japan had fallen behind in the arts of war.

Japan seemed on the brink of being reduced to yet another helpless victim of Western imperialism, but at this point, a decisive difference emerged. Some of the *daimyo* and samurai faced the causes and consequences of Japanese impotence squarely: They decided to imitate the West as rapidly as possible. These men engineered the revolt against the shogunate in 1867—termed the **Meiji Restoration** (may-JEE) because, in a formal sense, the emperor was restored to the center of political-governmental life and the shogunate was abolished. It was not the emperor who was in control, however, but the powerful *daimyo*, who had seen that the semifeudal shogunate was obsolete and now replaced it with a new style of government.

Starting in 1871, one major reform after another came out of the imperial capital in Tokyo (formerly Edo). All

were modeled on the West. Unlike their neighbors across the China Sea, the Japanese leaders were willing and able to add up the pluses and minuses of accepting Western ideas and come to definite, consensual decisions about them. Then they systematically carried out reforms, even at the expense of cherished tradition.

The Meiji Reforms

The major reforms of the Meiji Restoration included the following:

- ◆ *Military.* The *daimyo*-samurai feudal forces were removed in favor of a conscript army with a modern organization, modern weaponry, and professional discipline.
- ◆ *Financial.* A new national tax system and a new national bank and currency were established; credit facilities and corporations on the Western model were introduced.
- ◆ *Agrarian.* Land was redistributed, quasi-feudal dues were abolished, and ownership was established clearly and securely by survey.
- ◆ *Constitutional.* In 1889, a group of notables framed an entirely new constitution. It gave the parliamentary vote to a small electorate and allowed the emperor considerable (but not supreme) power over the government elected by the parliament.

By no means did all Japanese support these reforms. The samurai majority were so discontented by their total loss of status (even their precious swords were taken from them in 1876) that they attempted to rebel several times, only to be crushed by the new army. The new tax system, which required money payments to the government rather than service to the *daimyo*, reduced many peasants from landowners to tenants and was unpopular, but after twenty years, the reform element in Tokyo was unshakably entrenched.

Students were sent abroad by the hundreds annually to study Western science and Western government. For a time, everything Western was highly fashionable in Japan—from pocket watches to Darwinian biology. As elsewhere, the most potent of all the Western influences was the modern sense of nationalism, which struck Japanese youth just as strongly as it had Chinese. New political parties sprang up and vigorously contested the seats in the lower house of the *Diet* (parliament), even though only about 5 percent of the male population had the franchise. The constitution of 1889 was modeled after the German constitution authored by Bismarck and reserved decisive powers to wealthy voters and imperial ministers. The emperor was sovereign, not the people. He was also commander in chief of the armed forces, and the ministers answered solely to him, not to the parliament.

At the same time, the Meiji leaders made sure that the ancient regime and the traditional values of the people



Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

JAPAN'S FIRST RAILWAY. In 1872, the Tokyo–Yokohama rail line was opened, only a few years after the Meiji reform era began. Built under the direction of Western engineers, the line fascinated the Japanese, who portrayed it in this early print of the Shimbashi Station in Tokyo.

were held in high esteem. The reformers strongly supported the Shinto faith, which revered the emperor as the quasi-divine leader of his country. The constitution (which remained in force until 1945) explicitly stated that “the empire of Japan shall be governed by a line of emperors unbroken forever.” The Meiji reformers made no attempt to throw out what they thought of as truly Japanese. Rather, the reform consciously—and successfully—aimed at making Japanese of all classes into good patriot-citizens.

Industrial development received much attention from the outset. Government funds were directed to railroad construction, shipyards, mines, and munitions under the supervision of foreign technicians. Later, in the 1890s, many of these costly enterprises were sold at bargain rates to combinations of individual investors. Thus began the peculiar Japanese form of government-assisted large corporations called *zaibatsu* (zeyeh-BAH-tsoo), which came to dominate the nation's economy.

New banks were founded to provide credit for entrepreneurs, and the internal transport of people and goods was greatly eased by the construction of a dense network of railways. Mountainous terrain and the island geography had physically isolated much of Japan's population until the early twentieth century, but the railroads changed that.

Agriculture became more productive as taxes were paid in fixed amounts of money rather than produce, and peasants were able for the first time to freely buy, mortgage, and sell land. Silk—in demand everywhere in the industrial world—was the big money crop, rising from 2.3 million pounds in 1870 to 93 million in 1929. Japan's mechanization of silk production practically blew the Chinese out of the world market they had previously dominated. Rice production—the key Japanese commodity—also rose sharply, more than doubling in tonnage produced in one generation's time.

Foreign Successes

The foreign policy of Meiji Japan was aggressive and grew more so as time went on. The challenge to “big brother” China in 1895 was a great success. Another success was the gradual elimination of the unequal treaties signed with the Western powers in the 1850s and 1860s. As in China, Japanese authorities had at first agreed to a series of treaties that allowed Westerners to enjoy extraterritoriality. Persistent negotiations reversed this situation by the end of the nineteenth century, and Japan became the first Asian power in modern times to trade with Europeans as equals.

But the big breakthrough for Japanese prestige in foreign eyes was the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. This war—the first between an Asian and a European nation that ended in victory for the Asians—announced to the world that Japan had arrived as a major power. The formal annexation of occupied Korea was a major result of the war, and the Japanese nationalists felt cheated that they had not obtained still more reparation from the beaten Russians. They would have their chance a few years later, when the Bolshevik revolution and civil war made Russia temporarily helpless. After nominally participating on the Allied side in World War I, Japan attempted to seize eastern Siberia as its reward from the Soviets. Pressured mainly by the United States, the Japanese reluctantly agreed to evacuate in 1922 but kept their eyes firmly on the huge border province of Manchuria as a possible field for imperial expansion.

Between the World Wars

The foundation of civil government in Japan was aided substantially by the fact that economic prosperity for the upper and middle classes continued without setback for the entire reign of the first Meiji emperor (1868–1912). World War I armament production then gave the entire economy a boost but also created severe inflation, which

caused serious rioting in 1918. The 1920s and 1930s saw a strengthening of the army in politics, a factor that Japan had not previously experienced. Career officers often resented their diminished position in Japanese life compared to what the samurai had once had. Considering themselves to be the samurai descendants and the most devoted and reliable exponents of all that was good in Japanese culture, the officers came to hold parliamentary politicians in contempt.

In the early and most difficult years of the Great Depression, the officers' ambitions were particularly attracted to resource-rich Manchuria. In 1931, they in effect rebelled against the Tokyo civil government and seized the province from the weak hands of China. From this point onward, Japan's army was engaged in an undeclared war against China and also against its own government in Tokyo. The Chinese war became an open struggle only after 1937, but the war against the civil government was already won in 1932. From that year, the military was in effective command of Japan's domestic and foreign policies. Any civilians who opposed the aggressive and self-confident generals and admirals were soon silenced.

In 1936, Japan, whose military shared the usual contempt for Marxism among army men, joined the Hitler-sponsored Anti-Comintern Pact. By 1937, Japan was formally at war with Chiang Kai-shek's government and had close to 1 million men in China. The alliance with Hitler (and Mussolini) was supposedly strengthened by the signing of the 1940 Tripartite (three-sided) Pact, but the Japanese resented not being informed of Hitler's decision to go to war against the West in 1939. When Germany decided to attack Russia in 1941, the Japanese were again not informed, and they decided to remain neutral despite the provisions of the pact and inciting German anger. The Japanese had, in fact, little to do with their supposed ally throughout World War II. The war in the Pacific was almost entirely distinct from the European conflict in timing, motivation, and contestants.

The Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in December 1941 because the Tokyo military command was convinced that war was inevitable if the United States would not go along with Japan's plans for imperialist expansion in Asia. Because the U.S. government showed no signs of changing its expressed resistance after long negotiations, the Tokyo general staff wished to strike first and hoped that greater will-power would overcome greater resources (see Chapter 46).

For about eight months, it seemed that the Japanese might be correct. Then, with the great naval battles of the mid-Pacific in the summer of 1942, the tides of war changed. From that point on, it was apparent to most observers (including many of Japan's leaders) that the best Japan could hope for was a negotiated peace that would leave it the dominant power in the western Pacific. Those hopes steadily diminished and were finally dashed with the explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Although China and Japan managed to maintain their formal independence from the Europeans, the Asians in the southeast of the continent and in the Pacific islands were not so fortunate. In the nineteenth century, all those who had not already become part of a European empire fell under one or another of the great powers, except Thailand, which played off various rivals and thereby retained independence (see Chapter 37).

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the kingdom of Burma, which had been independent for many centuries, fell under British rule through imperialist war and was united with British India. At the same time, the British colonial fiefs in Malaya and especially Singapore (the port at its tip) began to experience a great economic upsurge. The tin mines and rubber plantations that sprang forth in interior Malaya attracted much British capital and Chinese labor. By the end of the century, Singapore was a large city serving shipping from around the industrial world as well as East Asia. The political leadership was entirely British, but the Chinese dominated trade and commerce, and their business acumen enabled them to maintain equality with the resident Europeans in all except political matters.

The French presence centered on **Indochina**—or Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, as they are now called. The French had seized Indochina by stages, starting in the 1850s. They were aided by the same invulnerable naïveté that impeded an effective Chinese response to European aggression: The mandarins simply could not believe that their superior culture was endangered. In 1859, France used a pretext to seize Saigon and, a few years later, Cambodia. Following a brief war with China in 1885, the French then took over all of Vietnam and Laos.

In time, tens of thousands of French came to Indochina to make their careers and/or fortunes as officials, teachers, rubber-plantation owners, and adventurers of all sorts. Like the British in Malaya, the French introduced some beneficial changes into the economy and society, making southern Vietnam, for example, into an enormously fertile rice bowl that exported its product throughout East Asia. They opened village schools, ended the practical slavery of women, forbade the marriages of children, and introduced new cash crops (rubber and coffee). But as happened everywhere else in colonial Asia, these improvements in social and economic possibilities benefited mainly the small minority of alien middlemen (mainly immigrant Chinese) and native landlords, and they were outweighed in nationalist eyes by the humiliations suffered at the hands of the European conquerors and overlords.

In the major maritime colonies of Dutch Indonesia and the Spanish Philippine Islands, the Europeans had a much longer presence, dating to the seventeenth century. The Indonesian islands had been placed under a

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

THE FRENCH VERSION OF THE “WHITE MAN’S BURDEN”

This excerpt is from a report by Jules Ferry, who served as the prime minister of France twice and is remembered as one of France’s foremost apologists and promoters of French imperialism.

The policy of colonial expansion is a political and economic system . . . that can be connected to three sets of ideas: economic ideas; the most far-reaching ideas of civilization; and ideas of a political and patriotic sort.

In the area of economics, I am placing before you . . . the considerations that justify the policy of colonial expansion, as seen from the perspective of a need, felt more and more urgently by the industrialized population of Europe and especially the people of our rich and hardworking country of France: the need for outlets [for exports]. Is this a fantasy? . . . Yes, what our major industries [textiles, etc.], irrevocably steered by the treaties of 1860 into exports, lack more and more are outlets. Why? Because next door Germany is setting up trade barriers; because across the ocean the United States of America have become protectionists, and extreme protectionists at that; because not only are these great markets . . . shrinking, becoming more and more difficult of access, but these great states are beginning to pour into our own markets products not seen there before. This is true not only for our agriculture, which has been so sorely tried . . . and for which competition is no longer limited to the circle of large European states. . . . Gentlemen, we must speak more loudly and more honestly! We must say openly that indeed the higher races have a right over the lower races. . . .

I repeat, that the superior races have a right because they have a duty. They have the duty to civilize the inferior races. . . . When the Spanish soldiers and explorers introduced slavery into Central America, they did not fulfill their duty as men of a higher race. . . . But, in our time, I maintain that European nations acquit themselves with generosity, with grandeur, and with sincerity of this superior civilizing duty.

I say that French colonial policy, the policy of colonial expansion, the policy that has taken us under the Empire [the Second Empire, of Napoleon III, to Saigon, to Indochina [Vietnam]], that has led us to Tunisia, to Madagascar-

Gentlemen, these are considerations that merit the full attention of patriots. The conditions of naval warfare have greatly changed. . . . At present, as you know, a warship, however perfect its design, cannot carry more than two weeks’ supply of coal; and a vessel without coal is a wreck on the high seas, abandoned to the first occupier. Hence the need to have places of supply, shelters, ports for defense and provisioning. . . . And that is why we needed Tunisia; that is why we needed Saigon and Indochina; that is why we need Madagascar. . . . and why we shall never leave them! . . . Gentlemen, in Europe such as it is today, in this competition of the many rivals we see rising up around us, some by military or naval improvements, others by the prodigious development of a constantly growing population. . . . In our time nations are great only through the activity they deploy; it is not by spreading the peaceable light of their institutions . . . that they are great, in the present day.

Source: Jules Ferry, “Speech Before the French Chamber of Deputies, March 28, 1884,” *Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry*, ed. Paul Robiquet (Paris: Armand Colin & Cie., 1897), 1. 5, 199–201, 210–11, 215–18. Translated by Ruth Kleinman in Brooklyn College Core Four Sourcebook.

Scanned by: J. S. Arkenberg, Dept. of History, California State, Fullerton. Prof. Arkenberg has modernized the text. Taken from “The Internet East Asian History Sourcebook,” ed. Paul Halsall.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

How does Ferry link imperialism with economic changes that were occurring in nineteenth-century Europe? What threats does he see to the welfare of his nation?

What military purposes does imperialism serve, according to him?

Compare his ideas about the role of Europe in non-Western parts of the world with those of Britain.

limited (in the geographic sense) Dutch rule in the 1600s, when bold Hollanders had driven out their Portuguese rivals for the rich spice export trade. Since then, little had changed until the mid-nineteenth century. At that juncture, the nature of colonial controls had tightened, and their impact expanded with the introduction of the “culture system” of coerced cropping of specific commodities. Dutch overlords gradually conquered and replaced

native leaders, and a small group controlled large estates that produced coffee and sugar at high profits. Despite efforts to assist them after 1870, the Indonesian peasants suffered as massive population growth turned many of them into landless semi-serfs for Dutch and Chinese landlords.

Alone among the Asian lands taken over by European rule, the Philippines became a nation in which the majority

was Christian. This fact heightened the Filipinos' resentment when Spain continued to deny them political and social rights. The southern half of the Philippine archipelago was never brought under European rule, and here the Muslim faith was paramount among an aggregation of sultanates. A rebellion against the stagnant and faltering Spanish rule broke out in the northern islands in the late 1890s. It was still going on when the Americans became embroiled in war with Spain and captured the islands (1899–1900).

Because the United States was originally no more inclined to give the Filipinos their independence than the Spaniards had been, the rebellion turned against the Americans and persisted for two more years before it was finally extinguished. What had been promoted as a “liberation” became an occupation. Even though American policy became steadily more benevolent and advantageous to the Filipinos and independence was promised in the 1930s, the Philippines had to wait another decade before attaining sovereignty immediately after World War II.

SUMMARY

CHINA AND JAPAN MET THE overwhelming challenge of Western intervention in vastly different ways. Like the ulama and mullahs in the Islamic lands with regard to their traditions, the Chinese mandarins were unwilling to leave the false security that Confucian philosophy and many centuries of assured superiority gave them. They went down a blind alley of hopeless resistance and denial until they were pushed aside by rebellion and revolution at the beginning of the twentieth century. In contrast, the Japanese upper classes soon recognized the advantages to be gained by selectively adopting Western ways and used them to their own highly nationalistic ends during the Meiji Restoration of the late nineteenth century.

China's halfhearted and confused experiment with a democratic republic came to an end in World War II, when the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek regime was unable to rally nationalist support against either the Japanese or Mao's

communists. After two years of civil war, Mao took Chinese fate in his confident hands. Japan's civil government was much more stable and successful than China's until the 1930s, when a restive and ambitious military establishment pushed it aside and put the country on a wartime footing with an invasion of China. Then, in 1941, Japan entered World War II with the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Elsewhere, almost all nations of Southeast Asia were European colonies, and by the early twentieth century, this region was experiencing a buildup of frustrated nationalism among both intellectuals and ordinary folk. This became even truer after the Asians witnessed the humiliation of Russia by Japan in 1905 and the mutual slaughter of Europeans in World War I. In retrospect, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were the high point of European domination of Asia. After World War II, the tide would turn toward a closer balance in East–West relations.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Chiang Kai-shek	Long March of 1934
Chinese Communist Party (CCP)	Mao Zedong
Indochina	Meiji Restoration
Kuomintang	<i>zaibatsu</i>

For Further Reflection

1. Why did the Kuomintang fail to hold on to power in China?
2. Why did Japan succeed in adopting Western technology so easily while China did not? Why did neither country become a democracy?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through: www.cengagebrain.com.

- The purpose of Chiang's Northern Expedition in 1926 was to
 - drive the Japanese out of Manchuria.
 - join forces with Mao Zedong to create a unified government.
 - serve as a counteroffensive against the Japanese occupation of Korea.
 - bring the northern warlords under the control of the Kuomintang.
 - drive Mao Zedong and the CCP out of China.
- The text describes Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang government as a/an
 - dictatorship.
 - republic.
 - oligarchy of warlords.
 - pure democracy.
 - plutocracy of wealthy landlords.
- The main reason for the victory of the Chinese Communist Party over the Kuomintang in 1947 was
 - the brilliant escape from the clutches of Chiang's army during the Long March.
 - the extensive military assistance the Soviets gave Mao and the CCP.
 - the extensive support rendered by the old mandarin elites.
 - Mao's successful appeal to the peasants.
 - Mao's ability to fuse the ideas of Marx and Lenin with traditional Confucian teachings.
- At times the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party cooperated with each other because they
 - shared many of the same leaders
 - shared a common ideology.
 - both admired the achievements of the Bolsheviks in Russia.
 - were both opposed to capitalism.
 - both desired to see China modernized and foreigners evicted.
- Mao Zedong formulated his ideas within the context of
 - the Boxer Rebellion.
 - World War II.
 - the New China Movement.
 - the Opium Wars.
 - the May Fourth Movement.
- One of the main reasons for the success of Mao Zedong's communist forces in China's civil war was
 - the fact that his army was about three times the size of the Nationalist forces.
 - his strength among the country's intellectuals.
 - the lack of a will to fight among Nationalist forces.
 - the resentment among many Chinese toward American support for the Nationalists.
 - the peasants' resentment of Chiang Kai-shek's corruption and inaction.
- The Meiji Restoration in Japan saw
 - the return of the emperor to supreme governing power.
 - a turning away from the West to a renewed isolation.
 - the reinstatement of the samurai and daimyo to power.
 - the adoption of Western techniques and ideas by Japan's rulers.
 - the construction of a new capital city for the shogun at Tokyo.
- The single most important foreign policy success of post-1853 Japan was
 - winning the war against China in 1895.
 - forcing the Boxer rebels to surrender in China in 1901.
 - winning the war against Russia in 1904–1905.
 - signing the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902.
 - the successful construction of a long-range naval fleet.
- Which of the following places was not made into a European colony?
 - Thailand
 - Indonesia
 - Malaya
 - Burma
 - Vietnam
- In the 1800s, the only Southeast Asian nation whose dominant faith was Christianity was
 - Thailand.
 - the Philippines.
 - Indonesia.
 - Cambodia.
 - Malaya.



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46

World War II

THE RISE AND FALL OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The Spanish Civil War

HITLER'S MARCH TO WAR, 1935–1939

The Reoccupation of the Rhineland

Anschluss in Austria

Munich, 1938

The Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact

WORLD WAR II

The European Theater

Phase 1: Axis Blitzkrieg

Phase 2: Allied Counterattack

Phase 3: Allied Victory

The Pacific Theater

Japanese Defeat and Surrender

THE ONSET OF THE COLD WAR

Wartime Alliance and Continuing Mistrust

The Original Issues

FOR THE FIRST FIFTEEN years after the end of World War I, the peace held together. Despite the bitter complaints of the losers, especially the Germans, the Paris treaties were backed up by French diplomacy and the potential application of military force by France and Britain. For a brief period in the late 1920s, the Germans voluntarily adopted a policy of “fulfillment,” adhering to the provisions of the treaties. But with the worldwide economic collapse and the coming of Adolf Hitler to power in the early 1930s, the treaties were unilaterally rejected and an atmosphere of international hostility resumed. The impotence of the League of Nations was quickly evident, and Hitler successfully bluffed his way forward until he felt himself in an invulnerable position to undertake a war of vengeance and conquest.

THE RISE AND FALL OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

When the French saw the U.S. Senate reject Woodrow Wilson’s League of Nations and realized that the British were having second thoughts about continuing their wartime alliance, they hurriedly took independent steps

I have been actuated by love and loyalty to my people in all my thoughts, acts, and life. They gave me the strength to make the most difficult decisions which have ever confronted mortal man.

—Adolf Hitler

1931	Japanese seizure of Manchuria
1935	Ethiopian War
1936–1939	Spanish Civil War
1938	Anschluss of Austria; Munich conference
1939–1945	War in Europe
1941–1945	War in Pacific
1945	Yalta and Potsdam conferences among Allies
1945–1948	Eastern Europe comes under Soviet control; Cold War begins

to protect France from potential German revenge. To this end, France signed a military alliance with Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania—three of Germany's eastern neighbors. This *Little Entente* stated that if Germany attacked any of the signatories, the others would give assistance. Also, France stayed on good terms with fascist Italy throughout the 1920s, and the French consistently argued that the League must take unified action against any potential aggressor nation; an attack on one was an attack against all.

Even before Hitler's seizure of power, however, the Paris-inspired policy of "collective security" against a resurgent Germany was under severe strain. For one thing, the aggressive stirring of international revolutionary hopes by the Bolsheviks meant that Soviet Russia was an outcast (see Chapter 43). For years, it was not invited to join the League of Nations, and even after a reluctant invitation was extended, Russia was not considered a suitable ally by the capitalist democracies. For another, Japan, a member of the League, totally disregarded the League's disapproval of its invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and got away without penalty. The League could only express its moral condemnation.

The League's powerlessness was revealed even more clearly in 1935 in a case that was much closer to European affairs. Hoping to revive his sagging popularity with the Italian people, Benito Mussolini started a blatantly imperialistic war with Ethiopia. The Ethiopians appealed to the League and obtained a vote that clearly branded Italy as an aggressor nation. But neither Paris nor London would take decisive measures, such as banning oil shipments to Italy, which had no oil of its own. In the end, the triumphant invaders were not even threatened in their occupation of Ethiopia. The League of Nations had been shown to have no teeth. Collective security had been struck a hard but not-yet-lethal blow.

The Spanish Civil War

All hope for collective security was finished off by the Spanish Civil War, which broke out in the summer of 1936. Spain in the 1930s was a sharply divided nation. Its liberals had recently forced out an ineffectual monarch and declared a republic, but the public remained divided among every variety of leftist group, moderate democrats, and fascists. Like most of the Spanish upper classes, many army commanders were afraid that Spain might soon come under a communist government if current trends were not checked. To prevent such a takeover, they entered into a military revolt, supported by the Catholic Church, much of the peasantry, and most of the middle classes.

Despite open support for the rebel forces from both Mussolini and Hitler, the Western democracies refused to take sides and declared an embargo on shipments of arms and matériel to both contestants. In the circumstances, this was the same as assisting the rebels led by

General Francisco Franco against the legitimate Spanish government.

Josef Stalin decided early on that the Spanish conflict was a golden opportunity. It might allow the Soviet Union to gain popularity among the many Western antifascists who as yet could not sympathize with communism. The Comintern orchestrated an international campaign to assist the outnumbered and outgunned Spanish Loyalists in the name of a **Popular Front** against fascism. For two years, the Soviets abandoned their previous vicious propaganda against the democratic socialists in all countries. In some instances, Popular Front tactics were quite successful. Much Soviet military aid was sent to Spain, and some tens of thousands of volunteers from all over the world (including the United States) went to fight with the Loyalists.

Hitler's and Mussolini's arms and advisers were more numerous and more effective in the long run, however. In the spring of 1939, the Loyalists surrendered, and Franco established himself as the military dictator of his country for the next generation. Although friendly to the fascist dictators, he stubbornly defended his freedom of action and never allowed himself to be their tool. Like Sweden, Switzerland, and Portugal, Spain sat out World War II as a neutral party.

HITLER'S MARCH TO WAR, 1935–1939

Since 1922, the fascist Mussolini had made no effort to conceal his contempt for the Western democracies, but Germany, much more than Italy, represented the real danger to the Paris treaties. Even before gaining power, Hitler had sworn to overturn the Versailles Treaty, and he proceeded to take Germany out of the League of Nations almost immediately—in 1933.

Did Hitler intend a major war from the outset of his dictatorship? This question is still much debated. Historians generally agree that he realized that the program of German hegemony described in *Mein Kampf* could only be made reality through war, because it entailed a major expansion of German territory eastward into Slavic lands (Poland and Russia). But he seems to have had no concrete plans for war until about 1936, when he instructed the General Staff to prepare them.

In 1935, Hitler had formally renounced the provisions of the Versailles Treaty that limited German armaments. This move had symbolic rather than practical importance, because the treaty limitations had been ignored even during the Weimar era. A few months later, he started conscription for a much larger army and the creation of a large *Luftwaffe* (air force). Neither France nor Britain reacted beyond a few words of diplomatic dismay and disapproval.

The Reoccupation of the Rhineland

In 1936, Hitler sent a small force into the Rhineland, the area of Germany west of the Rhine on the French borders. Under both the Versailles and Locarno agreements, the Rhineland was supposed to be permanently demilitarized. To the French, stationing German troops there was a direct threat to France's security, but in the moment of decision, France said that it did not want to act alone, and Britain said it would not support France in an offensive action. What the British and French did not know was that the German army was more frightened of the consequences of the Rhineland adventure than they were. The General Staff strongly opposed the action, advising Hitler not to try this ploy because the army was as yet in no condition to resist Allied attacks. Hitler insisted on proceeding with his bluff and scored a great psychic and diplomatic triumph over his own generals as well as the French. From this point, the quite erroneous legend of Hitler as the master strategist was born.

From 1936 on, Germany was rapidly rearming, while France and Britain were paralyzed by defeatism or pacifism among both the general public and the government officials. In Britain, where the English Channel still gave a false feeling of security, many members of the Conservative government leaned toward appeasement of *der Führer* and were ready to abandon France. Much of the party leadership was more fearful of a Bolshevik revolution than of a fascist or Nazi society. Some hoped that a Hitler-like figure would rise in Britain and put "order" back into the depression-wracked country. The French, for their part, put all of their hopes into the huge line of defensive fortifications—the so-called Maginot Line, built during the 1920s along their eastern borders—and their allies in Eastern Europe.

Also in 1936, Hitler and Mussolini reached a close understanding, the Rome-Berlin **Axis Pact**, which made them allies in case of war. This agreement eliminated any hopes the French might have had that Mussolini would side with France and against Germany.

Anschluss in Austria

In 1938, the pace of events picked up. Hitler, an Austrian by birth, had always intended to bring about the "natural union" of his birthplace with Germany. The *Anschluss* ("joining") was explicitly forbidden by the

Versailles Treaty, but by this time, that was a dead letter. In Austria, the Nazis had strong support. Most Austrians were German by blood, and they regarded the enforced separation from the Reich as an act of vengeance by the Allies. An earlier attempt at a Nazi coup in 1934 had failed because of Mussolini's resistance. Now, in 1938, Mussolini was Hitler's ally, and the *Anschluss* could go forward. It was completed in March by a bloodless occupation of the small country on Germany's southern borders, and Nazi rule was thus extended to another 7 million people.

Next to fall was the Successor State of Czechoslovakia, a country created by the Versailles Treaty that Hitler had always hated. Linked militarily with France, it contained within its borders 3.5 million Germans, the Sudetenlander minority who were strongly pro-Hitler. Under the direction of Berlin, the Sudeten Germans agitated against the democratic, pro-Western government in Prague. Concessions were made, but the Germans always demanded more. After the *Anschluss* in Austria, it appeared to be only a matter of time before the Germans acted. The attitude of the British government was key. If Britain supported Czech armed resistance, the French promised to honor their Little Entente treaty obligation and move against Germany.

Munich, 1938

In September 1938, Hitler brought British prime minister Neville Chamberlain and French premier Edouard Daladier to a conference at Munich, where Mussolini joined them. After several days of threats and negotiations, Hitler succeeded in extracting the **Munich Agreements** from the democratic leaders. The Czechs were sacrificed entirely, although Hitler had to wait a few months before taking the final slice. Chamberlain returned to Britain waving a piece of paper that he claimed guaranteed "peace in our time." One year later, Britain and Germany were at war.

Almost before the ink was dry on the Munich Agreements, Hitler started pressuring Poland about its treatment of its German minority. These Germans lived in solid blocs on the borders with Germany and in the so-called Free City of Danzig (Gdansk) in the Polish Corridor to the sea between Germany and its province of East Prussia (see Map 46.1).



WINSTON CHURCHILL. Statesman, soldier, historian, journalist, and artist, Churchill was an extraordinary man in extraordinary times. After the failure of the policy of appeasement, Churchill was elected as Prime Minister. His strong leadership and the close working relationship he formed with President Franklin Roosevelt provided a crucial spark that enabled Britain to defeat German invasion plans.

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MAP 46.1 World War II in Europe

In contrast to World War I (1914–1918), World War II was decided militarily as much or more on the Eastern fronts as in the West. Until the war's end, the largest part of Nazi forces was deployed in Russia and occupied Eastern Europe. Civilian and military casualties far outstripped those of World War I, again mainly

in the East, where slave labor was extensively recruited and the extermination camps were located.

MAP QUESTIONS

In addition to the obvious need to defeat Hitler, what other strategic objective do you think Stalin had in mind in his race with the British and the Americans to Berlin?

Prodded by British public opinion and the speeches of Winston Churchill in Parliament, Chamberlain now at last moved firmly. In March 1939, he signed a pact with Poland, guaranteeing British (and French) aid if Germany attacked. Hitler did not take this threat seriously, because he knew that the Allies could aid Poland only by attacking Germany in the west and that the French, having put their military in an entirely defensive orientation behind the Maginot Line, were not prepared to go on the offensive. Of more concern to Hitler was the attitude of the other nearby great power, the Soviet Union.

The Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact

At this point, the only convincing threat to Hitler's war plans was the possibility of having to face the Soviet Union in the east and the Allies in the west simultaneously—the two-front war that had proved disastrous in 1914–1918. But even at this stage, neither Chamberlain nor Daladier nor their conservative advisers could bring themselves to ask the communist Stalin to enter an alliance. In fact, the Russians were equally as suspicious of the West's motives as Paris and London were of Moscow. Stalin had not

forgotten that the Soviet Union had been excluded from the postwar arrangements and treaties. Nor had he overlooked the fact that when the chips were down, Britain and France had sacrificed their ally Czechoslovakia rather than coordinate action with the Soviet Union, as Stalin had offered to do through Czech intermediaries.

Even so, it was a terrific shock to communists and to all antifascists everywhere to hear, on August 23, 1939, that Stalin and Hitler had signed a **Nonaggression Pact**. By its terms, the Soviet Union agreed to remain neutral in a war involving Germany. In return, Hitler agreed that the Russians could occupy the three small Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), eastern Poland, and a slice of Romania. These areas had once belonged to imperial Russia and were still claimed by the Soviets. Both sides affirmed their “friendship.” Hitler no longer had to worry about what Russia might do if he attacked Poland, and the Allies came to the Poles’ aid as they had promised. The Nonaggression Pact made war certain.

For communists all over the world, the pact represented a 180-degree turn in the party line, and they were entirely unprepared. Hitler was now the head of a friendly government. The Popular Front against fascism died overnight. Many members of the Communist Party outside the Soviet Union dropped out, unable to swallow this latest subordination of truth and others’ national interests to the momentary advantage of the Soviets. But Stalin had gained some time. The Soviet Union did not enter World War II for almost two more years. Whether or not he used the time well to prepare for war is a topic of debate to the present day.

WORLD WAR II

World War II can be divided into three major chronological periods and two geographic areas, or theaters. Chronologically, the first phase of the conflict saw the German and later the Japanese victories and expansion from 1939 to late 1942. The second phase was the Allied counter-attack from late 1942 through 1943, which checked and contained both enemies. The third phase was the steady Allied advance in 1944 and 1945, bringing final victory in August 1945.

The European Theater

Geographically, the European theater (including North Africa) was the focus of Allied efforts until the German surrender in May 1945. Then, the emphasis shifted to the Pacific, but the anti-Japanese campaign was unexpectedly shortened by the atomic bombs and Japan’s ensuing surrender. The United States, alone among the belligerents, played an important role on both fronts. The Pacific theater was fundamentally a conflict between Japan and the United States. The Soviet Union was drawn into the European war in mid-1941 but maintained neutrality with Germany’s

ally Japan until the final three weeks. (We will consider the Pacific war as an adjunct of the European theater, as indeed it was for all combatants except Japan and China.)

Phase 1: Axis Blitzkrieg

The German *blitzkrieg* (“lightning war”) machine smashed into Poland on September 1, 1939 (see Map 46.1). Britain and France retaliated by declaring war on Germany two days later. Italy remained neutral for the time being (the Axis Pact did not demand immediate assistance to the other partner), and so did Germany’s other ally, Japan, and the United States, Spain, the Scandinavian countries, and the Balkan countries. The Soviet Union remained neutral as well, but it moved quickly to occupy the promised segments of Eastern Europe in accord with the Nonaggression Pact.

Poland fell almost at once to the well-trained, well-armed Germans despite brave resistance. Soviet forces occupied the eastern half of the country. For several months, all was quiet. Then, in the spring of 1940, Hitler struck. France fell to the German tanks (now assisted by the Italians) within a few weeks. Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Norway had been overwhelmed before France. By July, Britain stood alone against a Nazi regime that controlled Europe from the Russian border to the Pyrenees.

For the next several months, the *Luftwaffe* attempted to bomb England into submission—as many experts feared would be possible with the huge new planes and their large bomb loads. But the Battle of Britain, fought entirely in the air, ended with a clear victory for the defenders. The Channel was still under British control, and Hitler’s plans for an invasion—like those of Napoleon a century and a half earlier—had to be abandoned. Just before the fall of France, Churchill had replaced Chamberlain as head of the British government, and he personified the “British bulldog” that never would give up. His magnificent speeches and leadership rallied the British people, cemented the growing Anglo-American sympathies, and played a key role in the Allies’ eventual victory.

The high point of the war for the Nazis came in 1941, when attacks on Yugoslavia (April), Greece (May), and the Soviet Union (June) were all successful. The Germans gained huge new territories and turned all of Eastern Europe into either a Nazi satellite (Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary) or an occupied land (the Ukraine, Poland, and western Russia).

Operation Barbarossa, the code name for the attack on Russia, got off to a tremendous start, because Stalin’s government was caught entirely by surprise despite repeated warnings from spies and Allied sources. In the first two days alone, some 2,000 Russian planes were destroyed on the ground, and a half-million men were taken prisoner by the end of the first month. The Red Army, which was still recovering from a massive purge of its officers during the Great Purge of the 1930s, looked as though it had been all

IMAGES OF HISTORY

IDENTIFYING JEWS

Beginning in 1934, the Nazis began issuing special identity cards to Jews. Later, all German Jews and Jews of occupied Europe were required to wear a yellow Star of David sewn to their clothing.

Star of David patch printed with "Juif" (Jew), c. 1942.



Private Collection/Archives Charmet/The Bridgeman Art Library

German Identity cards for Jews, 1939.



Paris, France/Archives Charmet/The Bridgeman Art Library

but knocked out of the war (see Chapter 43). At this critical point, Hitler overruled his generals and insisted on diverting many of his forces southward, toward the grain and oil of Ukraine and the Black Sea area, rather than heading straight for Moscow. As a consequence, the Germans were struck by the numbing cold of an early winter before they could take the capital, and Stalin was given precious time to rally and reinforce. For all practical purposes, the Germans had already lost their chance for a quick, decisive victory on the Eastern front in the fall of 1941.

Phase 2: Allied Counterattack

In December 1941, the attack on Pearl Harbor brought the United States into the war against Japan and its allies, Germany and Italy. In many ways, the U.S. entry into World War II and its later decisive role were similar to what had occurred in World War I. As the oppressive nature of the German occupation regime in Europe became known to the American public, opinion began running strongly in support of London and against Berlin. Thus, the attack on Pearl Harbor only accelerated a process that was already

under way toward the entry of the United States into the conflict.

Although the American peacetime military was very small and poorly equipped, U.S. industrial resources were immense and played the same important role they had in 1917–1918. Neither Japan nor Germany had the wherewithal to hold out indefinitely against this power. In an economic sense, the outcome of the war was decided as early as December 1941, but the Allies' eventual victory was far from clear at the time. The Germans had been checked in Russia but not defeated. Their Italian ally was not much help but did contribute to the takeover of North Africa and the Balkans and the blockade of the British forces in Egypt. German submarines threatened Britain's supply lines from the United States for the next two years and were defeated (by the convoy system) only after heavy losses.

In the summer of 1942, the Russians were again pushed back hundreds of miles by superior German armor and aircraft. Stalin then ordered a "not one step backward" defense of the strategic city of **Stalingrad** on the Volga. Historians agree that the ensuing battle in the fall and



AMERICAN WAR POSTERS, 1944. As was the case in the War of 1914–1918, World War II was a “total war,” fought on the home fronts as much as on the battlefields.

winter of 1942 was the turning point of the war in Europe. The Nazis lost an entire army, which was surrounded and captured, and from this point on, they were defending more than attacking. At the same time, the Western Allies were at last counterattacking. By the summer of 1943, the Germans and Italians had been driven from Africa, and the Allies landed in southern Italy. After a few months, Nazi puppet Mussolini fell and was discredited, but his German allies rescued him and restored him to power in northern Italy. Despite these political maneuvers, Italy capitulated in September.

Phase 3: Allied Victory

In Europe, the tide had turned decisively in 1943. An Allied army landed in the south of France and started pushing northward. In the Balkans, the German occupiers were under heavy attack by partisans (guerrillas) supplied by the Allies. By late 1944, Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania had been cleared of Axis forces, but the main theater of the war in Europe was on the Russian front, where the Germans had the bulk of their forces. Here, too,

the Nazis were forced steadily back, and by the fall of 1944, they were again on German soil. Poland, Hungary, and Romania had all been freed of the occupiers. The Red Army became entrenched in those countries while it pursued the retreating Germans.

The human losses on the Eastern front were immense. The Nazis had treated the occupied areas with great brutality, taking millions for slave labor in German factories and mines. Millions more starved to death. The large Jewish populations of Poland, Hungary, and Romania, as well as the western Soviet Union were systematically exterminated in the gas chambers of Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, Maidanek, and the other death camps set up by the SS.

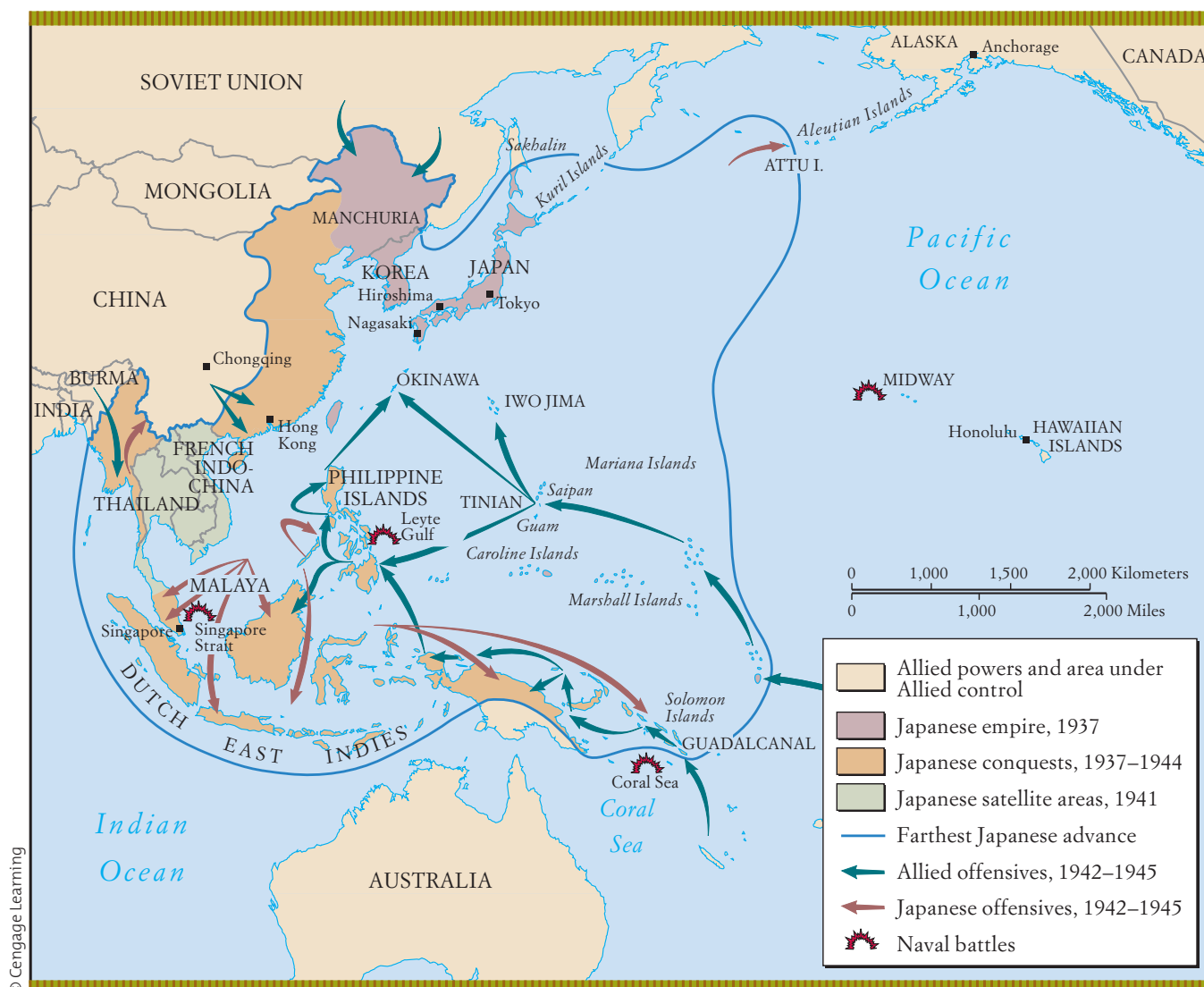
Stalin’s repeated calls for a **Second Front** in the West were finally answered by the June 1944 invasion across the English Channel by British, American, and Canadian forces; the invasion began on June 6, or **D-day**. For the next several months, fighting raged in northern France and Belgium without a decision, but by the winter of 1944–1945, Allied troops were on Germany’s western border. The next spring, the fighting was carried deep into Germany from both east and west.

On May 1, 1945, a half-mad Hitler committed suicide in the smoking ruins of his Berlin bunker as the Russians entered the city. Several of his closest associates chose the same death, but others fled and were hunted down for trial at Nuremberg as war criminals. Germany’s formal surrender—unconditionally this time—took place on May 8. In accordance with previous agreements, the Russians occupied eastern Germany, including East Berlin. The British and Americans controlled the western part of the country.

The Pacific Theater

In the Pacific theater, naval battles in 1942 checked what had been a rapid Japanese advance (see Map 46.2). All of Southeast Asia and many Pacific islands had fallen to the flag of the Rising Sun, and the Japanese were threatening Australia and India by the middle of that year. But by the end of 1942, it was clear that the United States was recovering from Pearl Harbor. The **Battle of the Coral Sea** had nullified the Japanese threat to Australia, and British India proved ready to defend itself rather than passively submit, as Tokyo had hoped.

Even with the bulk of the U.S. war effort going toward Europe and the Russians remaining neutral, the Japanese did not have the raw materials or the manpower to keep up with the demands of prolonged conflict over so wide an area. (The Japanese high command knew this. They had counted heavily on the attack on Pearl Harbor to “knock out” American power in the Pacific or at least to make the United States amenable to a negotiated peace that would leave Japan in control of the western Pacific.) The turning point came at the **Battle of Midway Island**. There, an American force succeeded in ambushing the Japanese Pacific fleet, destroying four of their aircraft carriers,



MAP 46.2 World War II in Asia and the Pacific

The failure of the Japanese to deal the U.S. Navy a lethal blow in the first months of the Pacific war meant that the war could not end in victory for them, because it would only be a matter of time until Washington could summon its far greater resources and drive the Japanese back. From 1943 onward, the best Tokyo realists could hope for was a negotiated peace that gave Japan some favored position in China.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

Considering the “terrain” in which the Allies engaged the Japanese, how would their strategy have compared with that employed in Europe? Considering the locations of the Coral Sea and Midway Island, why were Allied victories in these places so important?

which then put the Americans on the offensive for the remainder of the war.

In 1943–1944, the United States rolled back the Japanese, taking one Pacific island chain after another in bloody fighting. The Philippines were liberated from Tokyo’s forces in late 1944 in a campaign led by American commanders General Douglas MacArthur and Admiral Chester Nimitz, the chief architects of the victory in the Pacific. The Japanese homelands were pummeled by constant bombing from these newly captured island bases.

Japanese Defeat and Surrender

The end of the Pacific war came quickly after the Nazi capitulation. During 1944–1945, the Japanese occupation forces had gradually been forced from maritime South-east Asia. Burma and Indochina had been cleared when the Japanese withdrew to return to their homeland. The long war between Japan and China was also now swinging in favor of the communist army under Mao Zedong (see Chapter 45).

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S DECISION TO USE THE ATOMIC BOMB ON JAPAN



Scholars have long debated whether or not President Harry S. Truman was justified in using an atomic weapon on Japanese cities. The following entries from Truman's diary on the weeks leading up to and after his decision suggest that, in making his decision, he took several factors into consideration.

6/17/45 Diary entry:

"I have to decide Japanese strategy—shall we invade Japan proper or shall we bomb and blockade? That is my hardest decision to date. But I'll make it when I have all the facts."

[7/16/45: The first atomic bomb was successfully tested. That night, Truman, who was in Potsdam, Germany, at a conference with Churchill and Stalin, received a brief secret notification that the atomic bomb test had "exceeded expectations." It's likely that Truman's diary reference on 7/17/45 to his "dynamite" refers to the A-bomb news, of which he had not told Stalin, from the 16th.]

7/17/45 Diary entry:

"I told Stalin that I am no diplomat but usually said yes & no to questions after hearing all the argument. It pleased him. I asked him if he had the agenda for the meeting. He said he had and that he had some more questions to present. I told him to fire away. He did and it is dynamite—but I have some dynamite too which I'm not exploding now." "He'll [Stalin and Russia] be in the Jap War on August 15th. Fini Japs when that comes about."

[7/18/45: Truman received another brief message confirming the success of the a-bomb test. Later that day he wrote his wife a letter.]

7/18/45 Letter to Bess Truman:

"... I've gotten what I came for—Stalin goes to war [against Japan] August 15 with no strings on it. He wanted a Chinese settlement [in return for entering the Pacific war, China would give Russia some land and other concessions]—and it is practically made—in a better form than I expected. [Chinese Foreign Minister] Soong did better than I asked him. I'll say that we'll end the war a year sooner now, and think of the kids who won't be killed! That is the important thing."

[7/21/45: On this afternoon, Truman received his first detailed report of the successful atomic bomb test of 7/16/45.]

[8/6/45: An atomic bomb was dropped on the people of Hiroshima.]

8/6/45 Excerpt from public statement by President Truman:

[This was the first time he publicly gave a reason for using the atomic bomb on Japan.]

"The Japanese began the war from the air at Pearl Harbor. They have been repaid many fold.

"If they do not now accept our terms, they may expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth." (Public Papers of the Presidents, Harry S. Truman, 1945, pp. 197, 199.)

8/11/45 Letter to Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches:

"Nobody is more disturbed over the use of Atomic bombs than I am but I was greatly disturbed over the unwarranted attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor and their murder of our prisoners of war. The only language they seem to understand is the one we have been using to bombard them."

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What do these entries suggest as the reasons uppermost in the President's mind in making his decision? In your opinion, was he justified? How did he himself feel about it afterwards?



Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library

JAPANESE SURRENDER. These Japanese officials and senior military officers are shown aboard the battleship *USS Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on September 2, 1945, preparing to surrender.

The closer American and Allied forces got to the Japanese mainland, the stiffer the Japanese resisted and the higher the numbers of casualties both sides suffered. After absorbing huge losses in the assault on Iwo Jima Island, the Americans were preparing for massive casualties in a planned invasion of the Japanese islands. At that point, American president Harry S. Truman ordered that atomic bombs be dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. Within a few days, the Japanese government indicated its readiness to surrender, and the formal act was completed on August 15, 1945. The sole condition was that Emperor Hirohito be allowed to remain on his throne.

Should the atomic bombs have been used? This issue has remained profoundly acrimonious. Critics say that the bombing of the two Japanese cities was admittedly aimed against civilians rather than military targets and cite the huge loss of civilian life in Hiroshima (more than 70,000 of a population of about 200,000). This was entirely unnecessary, they say, because Japan would soon have surrendered to overwhelming Allied forces in any case. Another school of criticism thinks that the real reason for the bombing was that the U.S. government was looking ahead to the postwar era and wished to intimidate the Soviets.

On the other side, the defenders of President Harry S. Truman and the U.S. high command point out that the Japanese had shown fanatical determination to resist and would have stalwartly defended their home islands. Some estimates at the time allegedly thought that more than a million U.S. casualties and countless more Japanese might have been expected before the fighting was over. To avoid such massive casualties, the atomic attack was entirely justified

in their view. In any case, the sight of the enormous mushroom cloud of the atomic explosion would hover like some ghastly phantom over the entire postwar era. The knowledge that humans now had the power to entirely destroy themselves was the most fearsome insight to come out of World War II.

The other balance sheets of the war were almost as terrible. More people died in World War II than in any other disaster in recorded history. The final count will never be known for certain, but it is thought that about 30 million people died as a direct result of hostilities around the world. The Jews of Europe, followed by the Russians and the Germans, suffered the most devastating casualties. In material categories, much of Central and Eastern Europe was reduced to shambles by ground or air war, and many parts of Italy and France also suffered severe damage. Many Japanese and Chinese districts were in bad shape from bombings and (in China) years of ground war. Everywhere, the survivors stood on the edge of an abyss. Starvation, cold, epidemic disease, family disintegration, and psychic disorientation posed distinct threats to human life in much of the world.

THE ONSET OF THE COLD WAR

During the conflict, the Allies had not been able to agree on their postwar aims. Between the Western Allies and the Soviets stood a wall of mistrust that had been veiled temporarily but had by no means been dismantled. As soon as the victory over the Axis powers was secured, the dimensions of this wall were again visible for all to see.

Wartime Alliance and Continuing Mistrust

The so-called Cold War between the Soviet Union and the West began as early as 1945. During the war against the Axis, three Allied summit conferences (Tehran in 1943, Yalta and Potsdam in 1945) had been held. The main concrete results of these meetings were to assure the Soviets of political-military dominion over Eastern Europe after the war, to assign parts of conquered Germany to Allied armies of occupation, and to move Germany's eastern border a hundred miles to the west. Moving Germany's border would allow the Soviet border with Poland to be moved west a similar distance, fulfilling an old demand of the Soviets dating back to 1919.

The immediate trigger for inter-Allied suspicion was the Soviets' clear disregard for their commitments in Eastern Europe and Germany. At the **Yalta conference** in February 1945, the participants had agreed that free elections would be held as soon as wartime conditions

permitted, even though all of these nations fell under what was conceded to be a Soviet “sphere of interest.” Already at the Potsdam conference in July 1945, it was apparent that major problems were arising. From Stalin’s point of view (the only one of the Big Three still in power), the assurance of freedom in any real sense for these nations was an unjustified presumption on the West’s part. Since 1918, the nations of Eastern Europe had consistently been hostile to the Soviet Union and would undoubtedly continue to be so, given the chance. Therefore, the only freedom for them that the Soviets would agree to was the freedom to choose between various types of Soviet overlordship. The Eastern Europeans could install their own native communist party dictatorship or they could accept the Soviet one—in either case, backed up by the Red Army already on the scene.

From the Western point of view (which increasingly meant the U.S. perspective), Stalin’s government was violating the plain meaning of the promises it had made about Eastern Europe and eastern Germany. Also, the tiny communist parties were being falsely portrayed as the voices of the majority of Poles, Hungarians, and others in a like situation by Soviet media; governments composed of party members were being imposed on anticommunist majorities through rigged elections and political terror.

Both sides were correct in these accusations. The almost-inevitable rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union in the contest for postwar leadership was the basic reason for the Cold War. Only those who have a doctrinal commitment either to Marxism or to its capitalist opponents can easily say which side was indeed the more culpable for the fifteen years of extreme tension that followed. The following assertions seem in order now.

Until Stalin’s death in 1953, the Soviets were certainly trying to expand their direct and indirect controls over Europe. The large communist parties of France and Italy (which consistently obtained more than 25 percent of the vote in postwar elections) were regarded as Trojan horses by all other democratic leaders, and rightly so. These parties had shown themselves to be the slavish followers of Moscow’s commands, and if they had obtained power, they would have attempted to turn those democracies into imitations of the Soviet Union. World revolution was still seen as a desirable and attainable goal by some communists—possibly including Stalin. The progress of the Maoist rebellion against the Chinese government in the late 1940s certainly buoyed these hopes, while greatly alarming American opinion.

On the other hand, the U.S. military and some U.S. political leaders were almost paranoid in their fears of communism. They were prone to see Muscovite plots everywhere and to think that all communists shared a monolithic commitment to Moscow’s version of Marx, employing the



Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library

THE BIG THREE AT YALTA, FEBRUARY 1945. This final summit meeting among the three Allied leaders—Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin—came a few months before the German surrender. It was devoted to arranging the Soviet Union’s entry into the Pacific war against Japan and the fate of postwar Eastern Europe.

same goals and methods. Like the most fanatical communists, they could not imagine a world where communists and capitalists might coexist. They viewed the exclusively U.S.-controlled atomic bomb as the ultimate “persuader” for a proper world order.

The Original Issues

During the immediate postwar years, several specific issues concerning Germany and Eastern Europe brought the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—into a permanently hostile stance:

- ◆ *Reparations in Germany.* The Soviet Union claimed, more-or-less accurately, that the Allies soon reneged on their promises to give the Russians a certain amount of West German goods and materials, as reparations for war damage.
- ◆ *“Denazification” of German government and industry.* Again, the Russians were correct in accusing the West of not pursuing the Nazi element vigorously as soon as the Cold War frictions began. By 1949, the

Western powers had dropped denazification altogether, seeing it as an unwelcome diversion from the main issue of strengthening Germany as a barrier to the spread of communism.

- ♦ *The creation of a new currency for the Allied sectors of Germany in 1948.* Without consulting its increasingly difficult Russian occupation “partner,” the West put through a new currency (the deutsche mark), which split the supposed unity of the occupation zones in economic and financial affairs.
- ♦ *The Berlin government and the Berlin blockade in 1948–1949.* The Russians showed no interest in maintaining the agreed-on Allied Control Council (where they could always be outvoted) and made East Berlin and East Germany practically a separate administration as early as 1946. In 1948, Stalin attempted to bluff the Western allies out of Berlin altogether by imposing a blockade on all ground access. The Allies defeated the **Berlin blockade** by airlifting food and vital supplies for eleven months, and Stalin eventually lifted it (see Chapter 47).
- ♦ *The country-by-country Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe between 1945 and 1948.* From the moment the Red Army arrived, terror of every kind was freely applied against anticommunists. For a brief time after the war’s end, the communist parties attempted

service to democratic ideals by forming political coalitions with noncommunists who had not been compromised during the Nazi occupation. Under Moscow’s guidance, these coalitions were turned into “fronts” in which the noncommunists were either powerless or stooges. Protests by Western observers were ignored or denounced. The communists then took the leading positions in all of the provisional governments and used their powers to prepare for “free” elections. The elections were held at some point between 1945 and 1947 and returned a predictable overwhelming majority for the communist parties. Stalinist constitutions were adopted, the “protecting” Red Army was invited to remain for an indefinite period, and the satellite regime was complete.

Many other factors could be mentioned, but the general picture should already be clear: The wartime alliance was only a weak marriage of convenience against Hitler and was bound to collapse as soon as the mutual enemy was gone. After 1946 at the latest, neither side had any real interest in cooperating to establish world peace except on terms it could dictate. For an entire generation, the world and especially Europe would lie in the shadow thrown by the atomic mushroom, with the paralyzing knowledge that a struggle between the two superpowers meant the third, and final, world war.

SUMMARY

WORLD WAR II CAME ABOUT through a series of aggressive steps taken by the fascist and Nazi dictatorships in the later 1930s against the defeatist and indecisive democratic states of Western Europe. Hitler quickly recognized the weakness of his opponents and rode his support by most Germans to a position of seeming invincibility in foreign affairs. The remilitarization of the Rhineland was followed by the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia, and finally the assault against Poland in September 1939, which began the general war.

In the first three years of war, the battles were mainly decided in favor of the Axis powers led by Germany, but the Battle of Stalingrad and the defeat of the Axis in North Africa marked a definite military turning point in the fall of 1942. In a long-range sense, the entry of the United States into the war following the Japanese attack on Hawaii was

the turning point, even though it took a full year for the Americans to make much difference on the fighting fronts.

By late 1944, the writing was clearly on the wall for both the Germans and the Japanese, and attention turned to the postwar settlement with the Soviet ally. Despite some attempts, this settlement had not been spelled out in detail during the war because of the continuing mistrust between East and West. As soon as the fighting had stopped (May 1945 in Europe, August 1945 in the Pacific), the papered-over cracks in the wartime alliance became plain and soon produced a cold war atmosphere. The political fate of Eastern Europe and the administration of defeated Germany were the two focal points of what proved to be a generation of conflict between the West, led by the United States, and the communist world, headed by Soviet Russia.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Anschluss
Axis Pact

Battle of the Coral Sea
Battle of Midway Island

Berlin blockade
D-day
Munich Agreements
Nonaggression Pact
Operation Barbarossa

Popular Front
Second Front
Stalingrad
Yalta conference

For Further Reflection

1. In your opinion, what might have prevented the outbreak of the Second World War? Why did these not occur, or how did they fail to stop the war? Considering this, do you believe that another world war is possible today? How is the present world a more complicated one than in 1939?
2. In what ways was the Second World War a war that, even more than the First, truly involved much of the world? If another world war could occur, what nations most likely would be involved?
3. How do you explain the ability of Russia, after crushing initial defeats, to turn the tables on the Germans and to take the offensive? How do you explain the relative tardiness of the Americans and the British to reinstate Europe and to create the Second Front against Germany and Italy?
4. How did the war in the Pacific differ with the European theater of war?
5. Why did the USA and Russia emerge from World War II as the world's two strongest nations?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. One ostensible reason for the Spanish Civil War was the military's fear of
 - a. the country's new republic.
 - b. a fascist takeover.
 - c. communism.
 - d. Mussolini.
 - e. a return to monarchy.
2. Which of the following was *not* a German-instigated step toward World War II?
 - a. The occupation of the Rhineland
 - b. The invasion of Ethiopia
 - c. The seizure of the Sudetenland
 - d. The Nonaggression Pact of 1939
 - e. The buildup of a military force
3. A chief reason for Britain's prolonged appeasement of Hitler was that
 - a. the British government wanted a counterweight to France on the Continent.
 - b. he was seen by some leaders as an anticommunist bulwark.
 - c. the British government of the late 1930s was strongly pro-German.
 - d. he was seen as a way to tame the Eastern European troublemakers.
 - e. the United States urged Britain to stay out of any dangerous situations.
4. At the Munich conference in 1938,
 - a. Austria was sacrificed to a Nazi invasion.
 - b. Czechoslovakia was abandoned by its Western allies.
 - c. Soviet Russia was invited to join the League of Nations.
 - d. Hitler and Mussolini decided on war.
 - e. Neville Chamberlain first began to understand the true evil of Adolf Hitler.
5. World War II was started by the Nazi invasion of
 - a. France.
 - b. Austria.
 - c. Poland.
 - d. Czechoslovakia.
 - e. Belgium.
6. Which of these did *not* occur during the first phase of World War II?
 - a. The German blitzkrieg against Denmark and Norway
 - b. The D-day invasion of France
 - c. The occupation and neutralization of France by Germany
 - d. The invasion of Russia
 - e. The conquest by Germany of the Balkans

7. Winston Churchill was elected as Britain's Prime Minister
 - a. because of his successful reorganization of Britain's military.
 - b. when the King made him the Lord of the Admiralty.
 - c. after Chamberlain's policy of appeasing Hitler failed to produce a lasting peace.
 - d. because of his successful record as Britain's Air Marshall during World War I.
 - e. when Chamberlain chose him as his successor.
8. The turning point in favor of the Allies in World War II from a military point of view was
 - a. the fall and winter of 1942.
 - b. the fall of 1944.
 - c. the spring and summer of 1940.
 - d. the summer of 1941.
 - e. the summer of 1944.
9. The battle that allowed the Americans to seize the offensive in the Pacific war was the Battle of
 - a. Yalta.
 - b. the Coral Sea.
 - c. the Philippines.
 - d. Midway Island.
 - e. Hiroshima.
10. The focal point of the Yalta conference among the Allied leaders in 1945 was
 - a. the future of Japan.
 - b. the postwar political arrangements in Eastern Europe.
 - c. the details of a peace treaty with Germany.
 - d. the signing of a peace treaty with Italy.
 - e. a plan to liberate the Jews in occupied Poland.



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The Cold World War

CONFLICT IN THE POSTWAR GENERATION

The Division of Europe
Grudging Coexistence
From Cuban Missiles to NATO's Decline

EUROPE'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Factors Promoting Prosperity
European Unity

THE COMMUNIST BLOC, 1947–1980

AS WORLD WAR II ENDED, the two great victorious powers were becoming increasingly suspicious of each other's intentions. Leadership in the Western world was passing to the United States from Britain and France for the indefinite future. In the East, Stalin's Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was the engine of a drive to make the world over according to Marx. The two superpowers would have to find a way to settle their differences peaceably or plunge the world into an atomic conflict that would leave both in smoking ruins. For the two decades after 1945, the question of atomic war overshadowed everything else in world affairs and dictated the terms of all international settlements.

The so-called Cold War became the stage on which the other vast drama of postwar diplomacy was played: the ending, forcible or peaceable, of the colonial system in the non-Western world. The links between the two struggles were many. In those same decades (1945–1965), Europe staged a remarkable recovery from both the material and the spiritual damages of war. Although many had almost written off Europe as a loss, the nations in the noncommunist two-thirds of Europe were exceeding prewar levels of production as early as 1950. In the next thirty years, they succeeded in progressing far down the road to economic unity, and the ancient hopes of political unification looked increasingly attainable.

We are eyeball to eyeball . . .
and I think the other fellow
just blinked.

—U.S. Secretary of State
Dean Rusk, October 1962

1947	Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine
1948–1949	Blockade of Berlin; NATO and Warsaw Pact
1950s	Western European economic recovery; Stalinization of Eastern Europe
1950–1953	Korean War
1957	Treaty of Rome establishes European Economic Community (EEC)
1961	Berlin Wall
1962	Cuban Missile Crisis
1970s	Détente in Cold War
1979	Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

CONFLICT IN THE POSTWAR GENERATION

The hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union had both proximate and remote causes. We briefly reviewed the immediate causes in Chapter 46: the Soviets' insistence on "friendly" regimes along the western borders of their country and the arguments over the treatment of postwar Germany and the defeated Nazis. But these disputes were only specific reflections of the broader,



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THE NUREMBERG TRIAL, 1946. Shortly after the German surrender, the Allies put several leading Nazis on trial for “crimes against humanity.” The months-long trial was presided over by judges from Russia, the United States, Britain, and France. It resulted in convictions and sentences varying from prison terms to death for all but three of the defendants. Hermann Göring, the number-two Nazi (far left, first row), cheated the hangman by taking cyanide.

more remote causes: the friction between two militarily powerful states, each of which had a tradition of strong nationalism and was convinced that its politics and social organization were based on an exclusive truth. The Russian communists (who were at all times the directing force within the Soviet Union) believed that in Stalin’s version of Marxism they had found the ultimate answers to the problem of making humans happy on earth. The Americans thought their forebears had produced, and they themselves had maintained, a political and economic system that reflected the justified aspirations of all right-thinking people everywhere. The war against fascism had briefly brought these two nations into the same political bed. Now that the war was won, their latent ideological antagonism must inevitably make itself apparent. (See the Law and Government box on “The Iron Curtain.”)

The Division of Europe

Both superpowers realized that control of Germany meant control of most of Europe. The focus of conflict soon shifted from the elections and governments of the Eastern European countries (which were clearly within the Russian zone of dominion) to defeated Germany. Germany was originally divided into three and then four occupation zones: Russian, American, British, and French. Already in 1946, arguments over industrial reparations from Germany had broken out. The Russians confiscated everything movable in their zone, shipping it back to the badly wounded USSR, while the Americans, British, and French soon decided that stripping



Popperfoto/Alamy

THE BERLIN AIRLIFT. After Stalin blocked all surface routes into West Berlin, the Allies responded by starting an airlift of supplies from their occupation zones in western Germany into the isolated city. Beginning in June 1948, the airlift continued for eleven months until the Soviets allowed overland access again, tacitly admitting defeat.

Germany of its industrial capacity would only bring on political and social chaos and possibly a communist revolution.

To counter the menace of Soviet expansion and to speed up the still-slow recovery, in the summer of 1947, U.S. secretary of state General George Marshall put forth the **Marshall Plan** for reconstruction of the European economy. It proved to be one of the most successful foreign policy initiatives ever undertaken and was largely responsible for the beginning of the European recovery.

The **Truman Doctrine** was also announced in 1947. Named for the then-president, it committed the United States to defend governments throughout the world when they were threatened by communist-inspired subversion. This policy was a historic departure from the traditional U.S. position of refusing the “entangling alliances” warned against long ago by George Washington. The acceptance of the policy by the U.S. Congress and the public indicated that a decisive change in attitude had taken place since Woodrow Wilson’s League of Nations was rejected in 1919. The United States was now prepared, however reluctantly, to shoulder the burdens of what was soon termed “free world” leadership.

The Soviet blockade of Berlin in 1948 (Chapter 46) was decisive in showing that there was no hope of reviving the wartime alliance and that Stalin was committed to expanding communism into the European heartland. The key to containment of this threat was a West-oriented Germany. Conjured from the three western zones in September 1949, West Germany (*Bundesrepublik Deutschland*) was larger and more powerful than its Russian-created counterpart, the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik*, or East Germany, which came into existence a few weeks later.

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

THE IRON CURTAIN

In the spring of 1946, Winston Churchill, just retired by the voters from his job as British wartime prime minister, visited the United States as a guest of President Harry Truman. In Westminster, Missouri, he gave a speech that caught the attention of the whole world and gave the phrase “Iron Curtain” to the language. His purposes were to alert the U.S. government and public to what was happening in Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe and to assure a united stand against it.

A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansionist and proselytizing tendencies. . . . From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic,* an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. . . . The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to

pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. . . .

I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire are the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. . . . Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor will they be removed by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

How might the situation described by Churchill have been expected? To what extent might the United States and Britain have been complicit in the division of Europe?

*A line drawn between these two cities would enclose to its east the areas of Europe recently taken by the Red Army and made into Soviet satellites.



You can read the entire text of Churchill's speech, “The Sinews of Peace,” as well as Josef Stalin's reply online.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was similarly an outgrowth of the East–West struggle. Created in April 1949, it was Washington's solution to the need for an international military organ dedicated to stopping the spread of communism. It originally counted twelve Western European and North American members—later increased to fifteen—who pledged to come to the aid of one another if attacked. The Soviet answer quickly came with the **Warsaw Pact**, which made the communist governments of Eastern Europe military allies. The pact merely formalized what had been true since the series of Marxist takeovers in 1945–1948.

Not only Germany but now all of Europe was thus divided into two enemy blocs, along with a handful of militarily insignificant neutrals (Austria, Finland, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland). (See Map 47.1.) The situation whereby the Continent was more or less at the military mercy of two non-European powers, Russia and the United States, was a definite novelty in history. In the late 1940s and through the 1950s, it appeared that whatever the Europeans might be able to do about their own

prosperity, they would remain the junior partners of outside powers in military affairs and diplomacy.

Grudging Coexistence

In 1950, the **Korean War** broke out when South Korea, a U.S. satellite, was invaded by North Korea, a Soviet satellite. Within a year, the conflict had become an international war, with the United States providing the leadership in the South and the Chinese (not the Soviets) coming to the aid of their hard-pressed North Korean allies. The fighting ended in deadlock, and a truce was finally signed in 1953 (which still exists).

Josef Stalin also died that year, and with him died the most aggressive phase of the Cold War. His successors, however fanatical their communist belief, were never so given to paranoia as Stalin had been in his later years. After a behind-the-scenes power struggle, Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) emerged as Stalin's successor and chief of the Communist Party and the government. Khrushchev, the son of peasants, was very different from the secretive,





MAP 47.1 Cold War Europe, 1945–1990

The Soviet Union immediately reclaimed those territories in Eastern Europe that had been granted to it by the Nonaggression Pact of 1939 and added half of East Prussia. Yugoslavia was thrust from the Soviet bloc in 1948, and Austria was unexpectedly granted

a neutral status by agreement among the occupying nations in 1955. Germany remained divided until the autumn of 1990.

MAP QUESTIONS

What possible strategic reasons could the Soviets have had for their actions in Eastern Europe?

mysterious Stalin. Although just as convinced that Marxism must inevitably triumph in the whole world, he was generally more open in his dealings with the West and less menacing. He said he believed in peaceful coexistence with the West, and he challenged the West to engage in economic rather than military competition—a challenge that would turn into a bad joke for the Russians later.

However, Khrushchev was not about to give up what World War II had brought to the Soviet Union or to release the Eastern Europeans from their bonds to communism. In 1956, when the Hungarians rose up in revolt against their highly unpopular satellite government, he sent Soviet tanks to restore order and keep Hungary firmly within the

Soviet orbit. The failure of the NATO powers to take any action made it clear that the West had accepted the Soviet-style regimes in Eastern Europe, however much it might denounce their illegality and repression. Since 1949, the Russians possessed their own atomic weaponry, and in the shadow of the mushroom cloud, the *Pax Sovietica* (Soviet peace) was deemed acceptable.

From Cuban Missiles to NATO's Decline

The Cold War was sharpened with the sudden erection of the **Berlin Wall** in 1961 by the East Germans to prevent



BUDAPEST, 1956. To quell a Hungarian bid for greater freedom, the Soviet Union answered with overwhelming force. Many of the Hungarian “freedom fighters” fled to sanctuary in Western Europe or the United States.

the steady outflow of political refugees. The success of this unparalleled division of a city and a nation perhaps inspired Khrushchev to make an unexpected gamble in an attempt to help his Cuban Marxist ally, Fidel Castro, in 1962. Three years earlier, Castro had conquered Cuba with a motley army of insurgents, kicked out the corrupt government, and then declared his allegiance to Marxism. An abortive, U.S.-sponsored invasion at the Bay of Pigs had been a total failure. Fearing another attempt, Castro asked the Russians for military help. Khrushchev decided to install intermediate-range rockets with nuclear warheads, and the project was well under way when it was discovered by U.S. aerial surveillance over Cuba.

After a few days of extreme tension, the Soviets backed down and removed their weapons when presented with an ultimatum by President John F. Kennedy. Kennedy allowed Khrushchev some room for maneuver by making some concessions on U.S. bases in Asia, along with a promise not to attempt another invasion. Both sides could thus claim to have achieved their goals when the missiles were withdrawn.

The world fright over the **Cuban Missile Crisis** stimulated the nuclear powers to make more serious efforts to reduce the level of hostility (see the Law and Government box on this topic). In 1963, they signed the **Nuclear Test Ban**, limiting the testing of atomic weapons in the atmosphere. Under the new leadership of Willy Brandt, the West German government after years of resistance moved to recognize the postwar borders to its east and thus to establish better relations with its communist neighbors and with the Soviet Union. This German *Ostpolitik* (Eastern policy) was a key point in reducing tensions in Europe.

By the mid-1960s, then, the Cold War was less confrontational. The ideology of communist revolution had

become a minor part of the Soviets’ baggage in international affairs; it had been replaced by the predictable, selfish interest of a great power with imperialist motives. The Soviet Union was becoming a conservative state—a stable factor in world politics—despite its revolutionary slogans. The best evidence of this shift was the failure of the Soviets to provide military support for the communist side in the Vietnam conflict during the later 1960s (see Chapter 49).

The progress of *détente* (relaxation) between the Soviet Union and the West was marred but not derailed by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, when that nation attempted to oust its Stalinist overlords through a peaceful revolution. The United States was again not inclined to involve NATO in this “internal matter,” and communist rule was reimposed without bloodshed. Coming in a year when many Western nations experienced explosive internal frictions between government and citizens, the Czechs’ misfortunes were soon forgotten in the West.

The NATO alliance was not so close knit by this time. Under war hero General Charles de Gaulle, France had no sympathy for what it considered the American obsession about the Soviets. The bombastic Khrushchev had been replaced in 1964 by a tight group of *apparatchiks* (Communist Party bureaucrats) headed by Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982), who showed little commitment to any type of revolution or foreign policy gambles. De Gaulle and many others thought Western Europe was no longer seriously threatened by violent communist intervention, and France withdrew its military from NATO command in 1962.

The decline of NATO reflected the shift from foreign policy issues to those of domestic policy that preoccupied European leaders in the 1960s. Originally generated by



VOLKSWAGEN ASSEMBLY LINE. This plant, a frequent target of Allied bombers during World War II, led the way to mass production of cheap automotive transport for millions of European consumers.

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

CUBAN MISSILES IN 1962

In the fall of 1962, the stunning discovery that the Soviets had secretly deployed nuclear-tipped intermediate-range missiles in Castro's Cuba ignited the most dangerous incident in the generation-long Cold War. Aerial photography of the island during September and October gradually confirmed that Russian engineers were building missile launch sites and bringing in a large number of missiles by ship. If fired, the missiles already transported could destroy much of the eastern United States.

Faced with the cruelest dilemma of any postwar presidency, John F. Kennedy had to frame a response that was absolutely firm yet restrained and not provocative. A nuclear war might well have been the price of miscalculation. After the Soviets were quietly put on notice that Washington was aware of what was going on and they had not responded, Kennedy decided it was necessary to “go public” with the news. For some days, the White House continued the agonizing search for the most unambiguous wording, designed to put maximum pressure on Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev while giving him an opportunity to retreat without losing face. On October 22, Kennedy made a televised address to a nervous nation and world:

Good evening, my fellow citizens.

This government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet military build-up on the island of Cuba. Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites are now in preparation on that imprisoned island...

This secret, swift, and extraordinary build-up of communist missiles—in an area well known to have a special and historical relationship with the United States and the nations of the Western hemisphere—in violation of Soviet assurances, and in defiance of American

and hemispheric policy—this sudden, clandestine decision to station strategic weapons for the first time outside Soviet soil is a deliberately provocative and unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted by this country if our courage and our commitments are ever to be trusted again by either friend or foe.

... All ships of any kind bound for Cuba from whatever nation or port will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back.

... It shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

... I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless, and provocative threat to world peace, and to stable relations between the two nations...

After a few horribly tense days, the Russians agreed to dismantle and withdraw their missiles in return for a face-saving pledge on Kennedy's part that the United States would not attempt another invasion of Castro's island. The crisis was over.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What factors might have prompted Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev to arm Cuba this way? Do you think it was a deliberate provocation? How might Khrushchev have viewed the situation?

Source: Elie Abel, *The Cuban Missile Crisis* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1966).



You can read the entire text of Kenney's speech online.



student discontent with the outmoded educational and cultural institutions carried over from the prewar era, protests of every type (the “youth revolt”) soon erupted against the policies and politics of governments and other forms of traditional authority. These protests—often violent—reached a peak in 1968, when European disaffection with NATO support of the U.S. war in Vietnam and with the continuing arms race between the East and West reached tidal-wave proportions. Not only was the defense against a fading Marxism becoming superfluous,

but to European minds, there were far more urgent and profitable areas for their governments to pursue.

EUROPE'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Cast into the shadows by the disasters of the first half of the century, Europe had reemerged by the last quarter of the twentieth century as the most important locale of technical, financial, and commercial power in the world.

The word *renaissance* is not too strong to use in describing the developments in Western Europe since 1945. In that year, the Continent was for the most part an economic ruin, and two external powers were contesting for supremacy over what was left intact. By 1965, the Western European countries had surpassed every measure of prewar prosperity and were rapidly regaining independence of action in politics.

Factors Promoting Prosperity

What had happened to encourage this rebirth? Five factors in particular can be identified:

1. *Marshall Plan aid* was remarkably successful in restarting the stalled economies of both the former enemies and the allies. For five years (1947–1951), Austria, West Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and others benefited from this fund of U.S. dollars available for loan. The conditions imposed by supervisory agencies ensured a new spirit of collaboration not only between governments but also between governments and employers for the benefit of the general public.
2. *Social reforms* were enacted immediately after the war to provide benefits for ordinary citizens that they had long sought. Pensions for all, universal medical insurance, family allowances, paid vacations, paid schooling, and other changes all gave the working classes a new sense of being part of the process. Now they felt they had a stake in the success of their countries.
3. *Effective national planning* provided intelligent direction for the economy without eliminating individual enterprise and its profit reward. The “mixed economy”—with some industries and financial institutions directly controlled by the government, some totally private, and many in between—came to be the rule from Scandinavia to Portugal.
4. *A large, willing labor pool* in most countries allowed employers and entrepreneurs to expand at will when they saw opportunities. The unions, which had generally opposed employers as a matter of principle in the prewar era, now cooperated because socially conscious politicians protected and expanded their rights to a point where they now had an important voice in management.
5. *Free trade was made general.* The tariff, quota, and license barriers of the 1930s were gradually junked among the NATO countries; the various national currencies were made easily convertible and transferable; and international investment—much from the United States—was simplified and directly encouraged.

For these reasons, the growth of the Western European economies was little short of sensational after the immediate postwar years. West Germany led the way in these “economic miracles” of the 1950s, but France, Italy, and the Benelux nations (Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) were close behind. Only Britain did not do well because of an overly tradition-bound mentality and the breakup of the Commonwealth trading bloc that had long given British industry a false sense of security from competition. The average rate of growth in Western European gross national product during 1948–1972 was approximately 4.5 percent per annum—an unbelievable achievement over a full quarter century. Some nations did much better, and no recessions or business crises occurred.

The United States promoted much of this economic development by pouring in new capital first through the Marshall Plan and then much more through private investment by U.S. companies. By the 1960s, many Europeans were becoming concerned that their economies were being tied too closely to the United States or that Europe had become a kind of voluntary satellite to the colossus across the Atlantic.

In retrospect, it is clear that the early 1960s represented the apex of American economic influence and political power in Europe. Subsequently, the intervention in Vietnam combined with the erosion of the dollar’s value to weaken U.S. moral and financial prestige. President Richard M. Nixon’s reluctant decision to allow the dollar to find its own level in the international gold market (1971) immediately demonstrated that the U.S. currency had become overvalued, and the Swiss franc and the German mark began to rise steadily against it. This financial event dramatized the more general economic changes that had been taking place under the surface, bringing Europe collectively back into a status of balance with the United States (and far overshadowing the Soviet Union).

European Unity

As the economies of the various Western European states recovered and then boomed in the 1950s, the old dream of supranational union quickly took on new life. For a couple of generations, some Europeans had looked to the day when the nations would give way to some kind of federation (with or without a powerful central organ). Now at the end of a gruesome war that had been caused, at least in part, by German and French enmity, these visionaries saw their best opportunity ever. With the strong backing of the United States—a successful federation—they would turn Europe into a new and peaceable political organism.

The main actors in this movement were the leaders of the Christian Democratic parties in Italy, France,

Belgium, and West Germany. These middle-of-the-road Catholic parties had become the leading political forces in their countries immediately after the war. Their leaders in the early 1950s were gifted men such as Alcide de Gasperi in Italy, Konrad Adenauer in West Germany, and Robert Schuman in France. They shared a consensus on future politics for the Continent. They believed that inter-European wars were an absolute disaster and must be avoided through political controls over each nation by some type of international group. Being realists, they thought that the best way to form this political association was to create economic ties among the potential members that would grow so strong and all-embracing that an individual government could not logically consider waging war against its partners. First would come the economic bonds, then the social, and eventually the political ones.

In chronological order, the most important steps in this process of unifying Western Europe (communist Europe was for obvious reasons a hostile bystander until the 1990s) were the following:

- ◆ 1947: The founding of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). The OEEC was the supervisory arm of the Marshall Plan aid to Europe.
- ◆ 1951: The founding of the European Coal and Steel Community. France, West Germany, the Benelux nations, and Italy agreed to subordinate their individual needs in coal and steel to a supranational council. The system worked splendidly, and the six countries formed the nucleus of the Common Market of Europe.
- ◆ 1957: The **Treaty of Rome**, the founding charter of the **European Economic Community (EEC)**. The EEC has been the fundamental organ for European unity for the last fifty years, and the current European Union evolved from it. The EEC is responsible for the Common Market, which now embraces most of Europe's countries in a single, nondiscriminatory trading system. The EEC was meant to become the vehicle by which Europe would be drawn into social as well as economic integration. It has largely achieved these aims for its original twelve members and has now expanded to twenty-seven.
- ◆ 1992: The **Maastricht Treaty**. This treaty gave extensive powers to the European Parliament (created in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome) and facilitated economic and financial intercourse among the member states.

The name of the organization (headquartered in Brussels) that supervises these affairs is now simply the European Union (EU). By 1998, labor, money, credit, raw materials and manufactures, communications, and personal travel flowed across the national boundaries of fifteen European states with few, if any, restrictions. In 2002,

a single, unified currency, the euro, went into effect for most EU members. All European states, except traditionally neutral Switzerland, have joined or are candidates to join the EU. Several of the former communist states have applied for membership. Ten countries joined on May 1, 2004: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Even without those states awaiting membership and the former Soviet Union, the EU now contains the largest, richest single market in the world—more than 400 million consumers.

THE COMMUNIST BLOC, 1947–1980

Eastern Europe (that is, Poland, Hungary, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Romania, former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania), where the communists took over after World War II, developed very differently. Here, the orthodox Marxist program was put into effect, following the lead of the Soviet Union. For several years, the development of heavy industry and transportation was the number-one priority. Labor and capital were placed into heavy industry at the expense of agriculture and all consumer goods.

This Stalinist phase lasted from the late 1940s to the mid-1950s. As in the Soviet Union, it resulted in a huge increase in industrial capacities and the partial industrialization of previously backward peasant economies. Urban areas in particular grew by leaps and bounds as the abundant excess labor of the rural areas was siphoned off by the demand for workers in new industries. As in Soviet central Asia a generation earlier, whole new towns sprouted out of the fields, built around the new steel plant or the new chemical complex. Agriculture was collectivized and then relegated to permanent stepchild status in the budget.

After Stalin's death in 1953, somewhat more attention was paid to consumer needs, although the standard of living in communist Europe lagged far behind that in Western Europe at all times. Khrushchev, Stalin's successor, summed up the period between 1955 and 1970 when he called it "goulash communism"—communism that would put some meat in the pot. By the early 1960s, it was possible for people with professions or skills—and perhaps with good Communist Party connections—to live fairly comfortably and to hope for a still-better future for their children.

Salaries and wages were very low by Western standards, but medical care and education at all levels were free, and rents and food prices were low. In this way, the communist governments more or less satisfied a large proportion of their subjects economically, especially those who had been on the lower end of the social ladder in precommunist days.

In the 1970s, however, in one communist-ruled country after another, the economic advance halted and went into reverse as far as most consumers were concerned. The Marxist “command economy,” which was always struggling with major defects, now showed increasing signs of breaking down altogether. Workers’ discontents radically increased, and the governments’ attempts to placate them with concessions backfired. As periodicals and television reception from the West were legalized and Western tourism increased, Eastern Europeans had a better opportunity to see how miserably they fared in contrast to their Western counterparts.

The “technology gap” was growing more rapidly than ever before, to the huge disadvantage of the communists, not only in international economics but also at home. The average man in Warsaw, Budapest, or Moscow recognized how far behind his society was and how hopeless its

chances of catching up. And the average working woman was rapidly tiring of the dubious benefits that communism had given her: a double task inside and outside the home, lower pay than males and “glass ceilings” in her work, declining health care, and other handicaps in both public and private life. In the face of this rising wave of discontent, the rigid old men who were in charge of the Communist Party and government in all of the Eastern European communist lands were paralyzed. They simply did not know what to do, short of abandoning the system to which they had devoted their lives and that had treated them, at least, quite well. As the 1970s became the 1980s, all of the European communist countries drifted and stagnated at the top, while the steam was building up below. And, of course, the safety valve of protest—democratic politics and free elections—did not exist. We take up subsequent developments in Chapter 53.

SUMMARY

THE FIELD OF RUINS THAT was Europe in 1945 gave birth to new economic and political life in a surprisingly short time. With U.S. aid, but mainly by their own determination and energy, the Western Europeans came back strongly and created a stable, prosperous economy by the 1960s. Progress in economic unity gave great encouragement to hopes of an eventual sociopolitical integration of the European heartland.

During the same two postwar decades, the Cold War waxed and waned in accord with U.S. and Soviet initiatives and gambles such as the Berlin blockade. So long as Josef Stalin lived, it seemed impossible to find an accommodation that would take the world out from under the atomic mushroom cloud. His successor, Nikita Khrushchev,

proved more flexible, despite erecting the Berlin Wall in 1961 and the missile adventure in Cuba in 1962. Peaceful coexistence became the slogan of the day, leading to a considerable relaxation in East–West relations by the mid-1960s.

Internally, the Eastern European communist states went through a Stalinist phase of heavy industrial development that transformed these peasant economies into modern, urban-based ones. But the industrial development was not matched by an increase in living standards, and the previous gap between East and West in this respect grew steadily larger in the 1970s. By the early 1980s, the slowdown in the chase for prosperity was noticeable everywhere in the Soviet bloc, and discontent was rising.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Berlin Wall
Cuban Missile Crisis
détente
European Economic Community (EEC)
Korean War
Maastricht Treaty

Marshall Plan
NATO
Nuclear Test Ban
Ostpolitik
Treaty of Rome
Truman Doctrine
Warsaw Pact

For Further Reflection

1. Aside from his suspicions about the Western Allies, how do you explain Stalin's reluctance to allow Eastern Europeans their freedom in the years after World War II? Was he motivated by ideology? Was he motivated by strategic or by military concerns?
2. How did the Soviets enforce their control over the Warsaw Pact nations?
3. Why were President Truman and General Marshall right in their fears that Europe was in danger of electing communist governments in those early years of the Cold War? Why was the Marshall Plan a good strategy to prevent that from happening?
4. Is it likely that the European nations would have recovered without the American aid?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. The most dangerous phase of the Cold War's early period (1946–1950) was
 - a. the Soviet attempt to blockade access to West Berlin.
 - b. the Soviet decision to assist North Korea's invasion of South Korea.
 - c. the arguments over proper operation of the military government in Berlin.
 - d. the Western Allies' attempt to get a democratic government in Poland.
 - e. the Soviet construction of the Berlin Wall.
2. Khrushchev emerged as successor to Stalin in the Soviet Union
 - a. from the public election held in 1954.
 - b. after much backstage maneuvering.
 - c. on a platform of anti-Stalinism and more democracy in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
 - d. because of his wide popular appeal to Russians.
 - e. because there was no one who could provide a viable alternative to him.
3. Khrushchev may have been inspired to place nuclear missiles in Cuba by
 - a. Fidel Castro's imposition of a communist government there.
 - b. the success of the Berlin blockade.
 - c. the failed Bay of Pigs invasion.
 - d. his admiration for Castro.
 - e. the success of the Berlin Wall.
4. What is the correct chronology of these events?
 - a. Berlin Wall erection, Berlin blockade, Cuban Missile Crisis, Korean War
 - b. Berlin blockade, Korean War, Berlin Wall erection, Cuban Missile Crisis
 - c. Korean War, Berlin blockade, Berlin Wall erection, Cuban Missile Crisis
 - d. Korean War, Cuban Missile Crisis, Berlin blockade, Berlin Wall erection
 - e. Berlin blockade, Cuban Missile Crisis, Berlin Wall erection, Korean War
5. General Charles de Gaulle was
 - a. the United States' most dedicated ally in NATO.
 - b. the founder of the Free French movement in World War II.
 - c. the leader of a coup against the civil government in the 1960s.
 - d. the supreme commander of French forces during the early months of World War II.
 - e. the president of France for three decades.
6. The economic "miracle" of West Germany during the 1950s was founded on
 - a. a mixed state and private economy.
 - b. free-market capitalism with few restrictions.
 - c. the decision to create a model welfare state.
 - d. extensive imports from Britain and the United States.
 - e. a tremendous amount of financial donations from the United States and neighboring Western European countries.
7. Early postwar leadership in Western Europe was generally held by
 - a. socialist parties that severed ties with the communists.
 - b. coalitions of communists and socialists.
 - c. moderate conservatives in the Christian Democratic parties.
 - d. strong conservatives rejecting all aspects of socialism.
 - e. strong coalitions between conservatives and labor groups.
8. The Common Market in Europe was originated by
 - a. the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.
 - b. the wartime Alliance of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union.
 - c. the NATO treaty in 1949.
 - d. the Treaty of Rome in 1957.
 - e. the union of Europe's steel and coal companies.

9. During the early years of communism in Eastern Europe, the economic emphasis was on
 - a. consumer goods.
 - b. a military buildup.
 - c. the development of transportation networks and heavy industry.
 - d. teaching the citizenry about the virtues of communism.
 - e. the development of countermeasures to the Marshall Plan.
10. Which description of communist Europe's economic progress is most correct?
 - a. Much industrial progress from 1945 to 1955, then tapering off to stagnation in the 1970s
 - b. Poor results until Stalin's death, then rapid improvement until the 1970s
 - c. Gradual change from agrarian to industrial economy during the 1950s and 1960s, with a switch to consumer products successfully undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s
 - d. A continuous disaster of poor planning and lack of expertise
 - e. Moderate economic success in countries such as Yugoslavia and East Germany



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Decolonization of the Nonwestern World

DECOLONIZATION'S CAUSES

DISMANTLING OF WESTERN COLONIES

PROBLEMS OF THE NONWESTERN WORLD

The Population of the Earth

Misapplied Technology

The moment the slave resolves that he will no longer be a slave, his fetters fall. Freedom and slavery are mental states.

—*Mohandas Gandhi*

THE FIFTY YEARS AFTER World War II saw the end of the colonial empires that had been built up since 1500 by the European powers. In the Western colonies, the end came soon after the war. In 1945, many hundreds of millions of Asians, Africans, Polynesians, and others were governed by Europeans from distant capitals. By the end of the 1970s, practically none were.

In the late 1980s, the last of the colonial powers, the Soviet Union, confessed its inability to coerce continued obedience from its Eastern European and Asian satellites and released them from imposed communist rule. A short time later, the collapse of the Soviet Union allowed the emergence of several new independent states from its ruins (see Chapter 53).

Decolonization, or the “retreat from empire,” as it has frequently been called, was a major turning point in world history. Europe (with North America and Japan) continues to exercise great power over non-Europeans, but today this influence is subtler; it is basically economic rather than political and military in nature. Until America’s military intervention in Iraq in 2003, it was inconceivable that a Western country would attempt to install an openly colonial regime in any Nonwestern land, if only for fear of the penalties it would suffer from its own neighbors. Since the collapse of the Soviet system in the early 1990s, the same can be said of the Russians. For most of the world, colonialism as an overt political relationship is “history.”

1945–1975	End of Western colonies
1946–1947	Philippines, India, Pakistan become independent
1949	Indonesia attains independence
1954	French rule ends in Indochina
1957	Ghana becomes first sub-Saharan colony to attain independence
1960s	Most British, French, Belgian colonies become independent
1970s	Portuguese driven from African colonies
1989–1991	Soviet empire collapses
1994	Majority democratic rule in South Africa

DECOLONIZATION'S CAUSES

What brought about this unexpectedly rapid end to a story that dated back to sixteenth-century Western expansion? The movement toward decolonization had several major causes. In certain instances, such as India, Vietnam, and the Philippines, the rise to independent, sovereign status was the culmination of a generation or more of struggle—sometimes with gun in hand. In other cases, such as French-speaking West and Central Africa, Libya, and Iraq, independence came as a more-or-less sudden “gift” from the home country, sometimes to populations that were only partly ready

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

VIETNAM'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1946

Ho Chi Minh remained in Vietnam throughout World War II, organizing and leading the Viet Minh guerrillas against the Japanese occupiers. Ho and his people expected to be treated as allies by the French after the war, but instead they were told they must return to colonial status. In September 1945, the Viet Minh leadership made this reply, which draws cleverly on the history of both France and the United States to justify itself. Note that Ho by no means had the “entire Vietnamese people” behind him at this juncture and was hoping to bluff the French and embarrass the Americans with this Vietnamese Declaration of Independence. That independence was in fact achieved only after thirty years of near-continuous fighting.

“All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.” This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: all the peoples of the earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live, to be happy, and to be free.

The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and Citizen also states: “All men are born free and with equal rights, and must always remain free and have equal rights.”

Those are undeniable truths.

Nevertheless, for more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow citizens. They have acted contrary to the ideals of humanity and justice....

They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots; they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood....



HO CHI MINH. The Vietnamese leader of the long war against France and then the United States, “Uncle” Ho was an outstanding representative of the large group of Nonwestern nationalists determined to lead their peoples into independence by any means possible after World War II.

Archives de Gaulle, Paris, France/Graudon/The Bridgeman Art Library

In the field of economics, they have fleeced us to the backbone, impoverished our people, and devastated our land....

In the Autumn of 1940 when the Japanese Fascists violated Indochina's territory to establish new bases in their fight against the Allies, the French imperialists went down on bended knee and handed over our country to them. Thus, from that date our people were subjected to the double yoke of the French and the Japanese. Their sufferings and miseries increased....

After the Japanese had surrendered to the Allies, our whole people rose to regain our national sovereignty and to found the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The truth is that we have wrested our independence from the Japanese, and not from the French. The French had fled, the Japanese have capitulated. Our people have broken the Chains which for nearly a century have fettered them and have won independence for the Fatherland.

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government, representing the entire Vietnamese people, declare that from now on we break off all relations of a colonial character with France; we repeal all the international obligations that France has so far subscribed to on behalf of Vietnam, and we abolish all the special rights that the French have unlawfully acquired in our Fatherland.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

To what extent do you think Ho's use of the French and American ideals was sincere? Do you think he was justified in his criticisms of France? Why?

Source: *Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh*, vol. 3 (Hanoi: 1960–1962).



You can read the entire Declaration online.



for the event. Whatever the individual circumstances, all of the independence-seeking colonies profited from some general developments that had occurred during the immediate postwar years:

Rising nationalism in Asia and Africa. National pride and a burning resentment of Western dominion were in all cases the driving forces of decolonization. European rule had sown the seed of its own dissolution in the colonies by creating a small but vitally important intelligentsia among subject peoples. Frequently the products of European missionary schools, these individuals had sometimes obtained higher education in the colonial mother country. There they had learned not only academic subjects but also to reject the inferior status they suffered under colonial rule at home. They also absorbed Western nationalism and Western techniques of political organization (both legal and illegal). (The value of imitating Western models was quickly learned; see the Law and Government box on “Vietnam’s Declaration of Independence.”) In a few cases, such as Vietnamese **Ho Chi Minh** (1890–1969) in France, the intelligentsia encountered and adopted Marxism as a path to successful revolution. The Asian militants’ efforts to build a popular following were aided by the repeated humiliations Japan inflicted on European/American armies and navies early in World War II, which revealed that the colonial powers were not invincible.

Loss of European moral authority. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most Europeans looked on their colonies with the sense that in ruling them they were doing the right thing—that is, meeting their duties as carriers of the “white man’s burden.” By the 1950s, the conviction that they were destined to rule others had been much weakened by the experiences of the two world wars and by the postwar spirit of egalitarian democracy. The façade of moral and cultural superiority that lay behind the largely mythical “white man’s burden” was stripped away by the contradictions and hypocrisies of colonial

rule. Moreover, having suffered from two highly destructive “civil” wars (World Wars I and II), Europeans’ self-assurance about their own fitness to govern foreign peoples had evaporated.

Temporary prostration of Europe. After the war, until about 1960, Europe’s six overseas colonial powers (Belgium, Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Portugal) were absorbed with repairing the damage caused by the war and/or reforming the low-tech economies, social antagonisms, and obsolete educational systems they had carried over from the 1930s. The public had no interest in supervising “difficult” colonials or pouring badly needed capital and labor into colonial projects that, like many previous ones, might never work out. The postwar elections of socialist-leaning governments in Europe, such as that of Britain’s Labour Party, also introduced a new spirit that was more critical of imperial responsibilities, especially in light of the difficulties being faced by their populations in recovering from the effects of the wars.

Opposition to the continuation of colonies in both Allied war aims and U.S. policy. The stated aims of the United Nations, founded at the end of World War II by the Western powers, were clearly anticolonial, and the United States, which played such a major role in postwar Europe, had always felt uneasy about holding colonies, even its own. (It acknowledged Philippine independence as early as 1946.) In August 1941, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill met to establish a vision for the post–World War II world. They negotiated the **Atlantic Charter**, which included eight basic freedoms; prominent among these was the right of self-determination for all peoples and nations. This charter proved to be an important step toward the formation of the United Nations, and the right of self-determination became a cornerstone of the United Nations Charter.

In light of these facts, the Western countries’ release of their colonies between 1946 and 1974 becomes more understandable, especially when one considers the tremendous costs visited on the colonial powers when and where they tried to stop the march toward independence in Southeast Asia and parts of Africa. By the 1970s, only the Soviet Union was still an important colonial country, holding Eastern Europeans as unwilling satellites and suppliers.



Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library

ROOSEVELT AND CHURCHILL AT THE ATLANTIC CHARTER CONFERENCE, 1941.

President Franklin Roosevelt opposed colonialism. In August 1941, he and Winston Churchill held a conference aboard the HMS *Prince of Wales*, where they signed the Atlantic Charter, which stipulated that all nations had the right of self-determination.

DISMANTLING OF WESTERN COLONIES

How did decolonization proceed? Britain led the way by making good on the Labour Party's wartime promise to release India from the British Commonwealth. For many years, British Conservative governments had steadfastly opposed the peaceable but unrelenting movement for independence led by the Hindu Congress Party and its founder, **Mohandas Gandhi** (1869–1948). Gandhi's magnificent ability to reveal the moral inconsistencies in the British position made him an unbeatable opponent, however, and the Labour Party had been gradually won over to his point of view.

In 1945, Labour won the first postwar election, and negotiations with Gandhi and his associate Jawaharlal Nehru were begun. It soon became clear that the Hindu leaders could not speak for the large Muslim minority, which demanded separate statehood. The British government, immersed in severe postwar problems at home, tried in vain to resolve this dilemma. In 1947, independence was granted to India on a ready-or-not basis.

The immediate result was a bloody civil war, fought by Hindus and Muslims over the corpse, so to speak, of Gandhi, who had been assassinated by a fanatic. From this war came two new states, India and Pakistan (and eventually Bangladesh, the former East Pakistan), which remain hostile to this day and engage in mutual misunderstandings. (Frequent border disputes also erupt, such as the current antagonisms over Kashmir that brought both nations to the brink of possible nuclear war in 2003.) It was a shaky beginning to the decolonization movement.

Elsewhere, however, the British generally managed things more adroitly. Burma and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) gained their independence peaceably by mutual agreement in the late 1940s. **Ghana** (Gold Coast) became the first colony in sub-Saharan Africa to be granted self-government. It was then recognized as a sovereign member of the voluntary association called the *British Commonwealth* in 1957. Almost the entire list of British colonies, from Malaysia to Belize (British Honduras) in Central America, quickly followed. By the mid-1960s, even such minor holdings as the islands of the South Pacific (Fiji, the Solomon Islands) and the Bahamas were granted either self-government under the Crown or full independence.

In France, the attitude of the public and the government toward retaining the colonial empire underwent a sharp shift around 1960. This reversal was generated by France's defeats in its colonial wars in Vietnam (1945–1954) and Algeria (1958–1961). Both of these proved lost causes that led to many thousands of French casualties and much discontent at home. In 1958, war hero General Charles de Gaulle became president of France and almost immediately began to change course on the colonial question. Within four years, most of the former possessions had

been granted independence and membership in a French version of the British Commonwealth.

The members of this community remain closely linked with France in economics and culture but go their individual ways in international affairs. With some bitter exceptions, the French were successful, as were the British, in retaining a position of privilege and influence in their former colonies. Despite strong nationalism among the former subjects, the ties generated by common languages and education often survived the political scissions.

The Belgians, Dutch, and Portuguese, on the other hand, were all forced from their Asian and African possessions by a combination of uprisings and international pressure exerted in the United Nations. These small European countries had relatively more prestige and wealth invested in their colonies and gave them up only reluctantly. The Belgians were compelled to grant self-rule in the huge African Congo by threatened rebellion in 1961. The Dutch let go of their Indonesian empire only after prolonged and vain fighting against the nationalists in the late 1940s. The Portuguese gave up their outposts in Africa also under severe pressure from guerrilla wars, and after a military *coup* deposed Portugal's longstanding fascist government in 1974.

PROBLEMS OF THE NONWESTERN WORLD

Until the mid-twentieth century, the writing of history in the United States or any other Western country was largely concerned with the acts of a relatively small minority of the world's peoples: namely, the inhabitants of Europe and North America. But the largest part of the world's population has always been located primarily in Asia and Africa. The majority live in the Nonwestern World (formerly known as the *Third World*)—that is, of neither the American nor the Soviet side of the Cold War—of poor and predominately rural countries such as Egypt, Togo, and Bolivia. In these countries, the *per capita* cash income is perhaps one-twentieth of the West's, and this material poverty is reflected by a basically different set of cultural values and fewer opportunities in a world that is still dominated by Western capitalism.

In fact, three-fourths of the more than 6 billion people inhabiting the world in 2007 lived in the poorer countries. This majority in numbers has not yet been translated into economic opportunity, but with the global village beckoning in the twenty-first century, we in the West had better prepare to encounter and assist these people if we intend to live in peace. What is a Nonwestern society? The rapid economic and social development of some Nonwestern nations in recent years makes it imperative to distinguish among countries that used to be lumped together under that term. Thus, the following description applies only to the least-developed nations of the world, some of which are in the Americas but most of which are located in Asia and Africa.

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

MOHANDAS GANDHI (1869–1948)

Mohandas Gandhi's masterful and charismatic leadership united both Indian elites and the poor masses in their resistance to British rule. His followers, or "peace soldiers" called him *Bapu* (Father) and *Mahatma* (Great Soul). Gandhi was from a privileged family in Gujarat, India. After obtaining a law degree in London, he first worked in South Africa on behalf of the persecuted Indian community. There, inspired by Thoreau's writings and by Hindu and Christian concepts, he developed the program of peaceful resistance to oppression that he later used successfully in India. Gandhi described one strategy, civil disobedience, in these words: "[It] involves self-sacrifice. . . . When we do not like certain laws, we do not break the heads of lawgivers but we suffer [arrest, beatings] and do not submit to the laws." The key was to peacefully provoke arrest; the ensuing mass arrests and abuses revealed British brutality while inspiring support for independence. An excellent example of civil disobedience is Gandhi's 1930 Salt March to protest the British monopoly and tax on salt from the Indian coast. Gandhi and his closest followers walked 240 miles in 24 days, from his inland

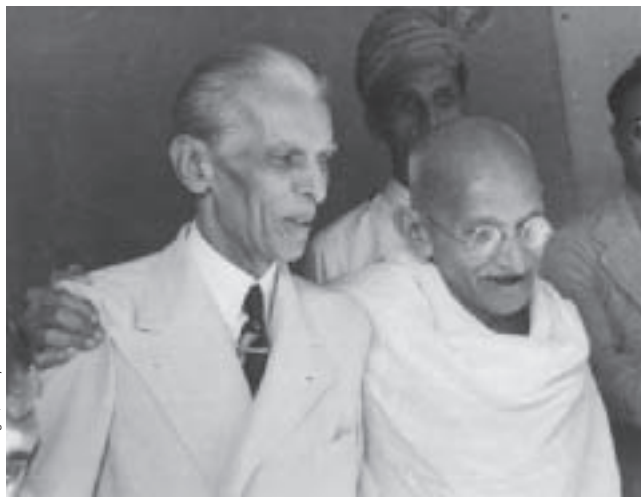
home to the seacoast salt fields. Along the way, Gandhi spoke to large crowds, and thousands of people joined the march. Once at the sea, Gandhi picked up a lump of natural salt, cueing his followers to break the salt laws. During the following week, Gandhi and some 60,000 of his "peace soldiers" were arrested. The Salt March forced the British to negotiate with Gandhi, and it united the nation behind the independence movement. The following passage is from Gandhi's speech on the eve of the Salt March.

From what I have seen and heard during the last fortnight, I am inclined to believe that the stream of civil resisters will flow unbroken [to the sea]. But let there be not a semblance of breach of peace even after all of us have been arrested. We have resolved to utilize all our resources in the pursuit of an exclusively nonviolent struggle. Let no one commit a wrong in anger. This is my hope and prayer. . . . These [salt] laws can be violated in three ways [by manufacturing, possessing, or trading in contraband salt]. . . .

I have faith in the righteousness of our cause and the purity of our weapons. . . . A [peace soldier], whether free or incarcerated, is ever victorious. He is vanquished only when he forsakes truth and nonviolence and turns a deaf ear to the inner voice . . . God bless you all and keep off all obstacles in the path of the struggle that begins tomorrow.

Gandhi always promoted the unity of Indian Muslims and Hindus, and opposed the partition of India. He was an early critic of Western modernity and technological progress, which he deemed ruinous to Indian traditional values. Inevitably, independent India chose the path to Westernization that Gandhi had rejected. Since his assassination, Gandhi's philosophy has had less influence within India than beyond its borders.

(From Gandhi's works published by Navajivan Trust. See: <http://www.mkgandhi.org/main.htm>)



Dinodia Images/Alamy

MOHANDAS GANDHI AND MOHAMED ALI JINNAH. Gandhi (right) and Jinnah (left) were united in the cause of throwing off British rule. Jinnah and his Muslim followers, however, split with Gandhi and India once their goal was achieved, and Jinnah went on to found Pakistan as the homeland for Muslims of largely Indian descent.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

What similarities do you see between Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr.? What other examples of civil disobedience do you know of? What are some advantages and disadvantages to nonviolent resistance?

Economically speaking, it is a society in which poverty frequently is the rule and the production of basic raw materials still makes up a high proportion of the gross national product. Unskilled labor is predominant in both town and country; for most, there remain few opportunities for higher education and economic advancement; and the industrial and larger commercial enterprises are commonly controlled by foreign capital and remain dependent on world markets. Policies imposed on these subject peoples during the colonial era encouraged the production of commodities and raw materials (and labor during the era of the slave trade; see Chapters 36 and 37) for Europe's and America's factories but also discouraged the development of local forms of manufacturing. Many Nonwestern nations, although now free of colonial rule, remain underdeveloped as a result of high tariffs that Western nations continue to impose on finished products from poor Nonwestern nations. Such disadvantageous and discriminatory practices are usually called **neocolonialism**.

Politically speaking, a Nonwestern society is one in which a small elite, often derived from the bureaucracy of the colonial era, controls access to power and wealth. Again, their roots go back to the privileged few of the colonial era who were favored by their former colonial masters with Western-style educations. (Perhaps the most egregious hypocrisy of colonialism was the claim to a "civilizing" role in Africa, even though no effort was made to extend education to the overwhelming majority of subject peoples.) One political party or the army controls public life, often with dictatorial power. Large landholders are dominant in the countryside, overshadowing or intimidating the far-more-numerous and disadvantaged small farmers and landless laborers.

Socially speaking, it is a society in which the overpopulation problem is severe and is worsening each year. Males still exercise control over females within the family and have far more rights and prestige outside it. Education is highly desired and prestigious but is often still beyond the means of too many people and ill designed for the present tasks. The clan or the extended family is far more important than in developed countries. Upward mobility is still possible but is becoming more difficult to achieve as the gap between the rich and the poor widens and as opportunities for the many become ever more meager. An unhealthy imbalance between burgeoning town and stagnant country life is steadily more apparent.

Internationally speaking, a Nonwestern country is one that in most ways is still dependent on the more developed countries—sometimes as much so as when it was a colony. Once it achieved independence in the days of the Cold War, both the West and the former Soviet bloc treated it basically as a pawn in their foreign policy designs. Since the Cold War ended, its weak bargaining powers have almost always been reduced even further.

Since the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the discrediting of Marxist economics (see Chapter 53), the tension

between the rival ideologies of communism and capitalism can no longer be turned to third-party advantage in the competition for political and economic power. Attitudes of cultural superiority and even racism continue to bedevil the thoughts and behaviors of many Westerners toward non-Europeans. In the post–Cold War world, the needs of even some of the poorest and most helpless African, Asian, and Latin peoples remain tragically ignored.

For some nations, the standard of living has actually declined since they attained independence. Africa is a particularly tragic case. The famines and banditry afflicting much of the **Sahel** (Somalia, Ethiopia, Dar Fur in the Sudan), Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Uganda, and the eastern Congo in recent years are manifestations of this decline. So are the dictatorships that continue to be the rule in many African governments. Where dictators are absent, it is often only because social antagonisms (Somalia, Rwanda), religious warfare (Sudan), or a combination of these (Democratic Republic of Congo) have prevented a single individual or party from seizing power. Almost everywhere, the root causes of these evils are a population that is too large for the available resources, continuing Western policies, misapplied technology, and an unequal distribution of power and wealth. (For more information about Africa, see also Chapter 50.)

The Population of the Earth

A book appeared in the 1970s with the arresting title *The Population Bomb*. Written by a respected biologist, Paul Ehrlich, at an American university, it warned that a time was rapidly approaching when the earth would face massive, prolonged famine. The rate of population growth in the less-developed countries, it said, threatened to overwhelm the earth's capacity to grow food.

Professor Ehrlich's prognosis of early famine proved erroneous. The Green Revolution, plus a series of good crop years around the globe, actually increased the ratio of available food to mouths, but many believe that Ehrlich's basic argument is still valid: Inevitably, starvation will come. They point to the examples of the African Sahel, Bangladesh since independence, and many of the Andean populations in South America, to assert that the number of consumers is exceeding the available resources. It is just a matter of time, they argue, until the well fed will be using lethal weapons to hold off the starving hordes.

Other observers, however, argue that Ehrlich and similar doomsayers are not taking the so-called **demographic transition** into account. This transition occurs when parents stop viewing many children as a familial and economic necessity and instead produce a smaller number of better-cared-for children. Historically, this has occurred when a society becomes industrialized and urbanized. Children then become less economically necessary to the family, and a lower mortality rate means that most will live to maturity. Hence, parents no longer need to have

many children to ensure that some will survive to care for them in their old age. Because the three continents where the large majority of nonindustrial peoples live (Africa, Asia, and South America) are rapidly developing urban and industrialized societies, it was hoped that birthrates would drop substantially within a generation, but this has not happened.

In Latin America, parts of Asia, and much of Africa, birthrates have remained at levels that are double or triple Western rates. The “gap” between the present-day medical and technological capacities to preserve and prolong life and the cultural demands to have children early and frequently so that some will survive into adulthood has not closed as swiftly as was hoped. Efforts to lower the birthrate by artificial means have worked in some places (China, for instance) but failed in most others. Yet, some means of controlling the hugely increasing demands of the world’s population on every type of natural resource (including privacy, quietude, and undisturbed contemplation) must be found soon, presumably. The human inhabitants of Spaceship Earth are increasing in geometric fashion. The earth’s first half-billion inhabitants took perhaps 50,000 years to appear, and the second half billion appeared over 500 years (1300–1800), but nearly 2 billion people out of the 2009 total of 6.54 billion came aboard in a period of eighteen years! Most of this proportion lives in the less-developed countries, where the rate of natural increase—births over deaths without counting migration—is two to four times that of the industrial world.

Misapplied Technology

The developed countries’ postwar attempts to assist the former colonies and the Latin American states sometimes compounded the difficulties those nations were already experiencing. In nations with a superabundance of labor, where the economy could not supply more than a few months’ paid labor for many citizens, the World Bank and other international agencies frequently promoted industrial projects that actually lessened job opportunities. Instead of encouraging the continued use of shovels and baskets or other straightforward but economically productive means of moving earth, for example, well-

meaning agencies shipped in bulldozers and large dump trucks to construct a new dam or mine. In agriculture, modern heavy equipment was substituted for plows or hoes, sometimes with devastating consequences for thin topsoils and delicate biosystems. Moreover, the small farmers and other laborers thus thrust out of work only contributed to the problems of the poverty-stricken villages or the overcrowded city slums.

The Aswan Dam project in Egypt is a good example. Built with Soviet aid in the 1950s, the huge dam and the lake it created radically altered the ecology of the Lower Nile River. Although the lake (despite tremendous loss from evaporation) supplied tens of thousands of acres with water for irrigation, downstream from the dam, the changes were entirely for the worse. A variety of snail that had previously not lived in the Lower Nile waters began to flourish there, causing a massive outbreak of epidemic disease. The schools of Mediterranean fish that had previously been fed from the flooding Nile delta disappeared; with them went the food supply of many Egyptians and the livelihood of many more who had netted the fish and sold them. The new upstream lands now under irrigation from Lake Nasser could not make up the deficit for the hungry Egyptian peasants, because almost all of these lands were devoted to cotton or other industrial crops for export.

All told, the efforts of the Nonwestern nations to achieve industrial and/or agrarian development in the thirty years following World War II were unsuccessful in raising living standards for the masses of people. Some groups did prosper and some regions did much better than others—notably the western rim of the Pacific Ocean—but in much of Africa and Latin America, the few rich got richer, the many poor stayed poor, and those in between did not multiply as hoped. The uneven distribution of wealth is best displayed by some comparative figures. In the industrialized Western nations, the personal income of the uppermost 10 percent of society is about five times the income of the bottom 10 percent. In comparatively well-off Mexico, the disparity in income has grown over the past decades, until the upper 10 percent were receiving twenty-seven times as much as the bottom 10 percent by the 1990s.

SUMMARY

DECOLONIZATION CAME IN THE FIRST quarter century after World War II, as the colonial powers realized that economic exhaustion and anticolonial sentiment made it impossible to retain their former possessions in Asia and Africa. Beginning with the difficult and bloody sever-

ance of India and Pakistan from the British Empire, the colonial structures were dismantled or toppled by armed revolts between 1947 and 1974. While the British gave their remaining subjects uncontested self-government and then sovereignty in the 1960s, the French were at first

less pliant. First in Vietnam and then in North Africa, they engaged in extended warfare that eventually resulted in defeat and withdrawal. Only then, under de Gaulle, did they achieve a workable postcolonial relationship. The Dutch, the Belgians, and the Portuguese mirrored the mistakes of the French, and nationalist rebellions in the 1940s and 1950s defeated each in its turn. In the Soviet instance, the attempt to retain satellites persisted into the 1980s.

The Nonwestern World that emerged from the postcolonial settlements was a hodgepodge of different states and societies, but to some degree all suffered from generic handicaps in dealing with the “First World” West and the “Second World” communist states. Poor management in the distribution of national wealth, misapplication of technological assets, and the overwhelming growth of population were three of the worst problems.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter’s key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can’t recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Atlantic Charter
decolonization
demographic transition
Mohandas Gandhi
Ghana

Ho Chi Minh
neocolonialism
Sahel

For Further Reflection

1. What role, if any, did the United States play in the decolonization of Europe’s overseas colonies?
2. Why do you suppose that the European colonizers were more willing to give up their control of some colonies than they were of others? Please provide examples to support your answer.
3. How have the former colonial powers continued to dominate their former colonies? Which Europeans powers, in particular, seem to have been guilty of neocolonialism?
4. How did the Cold War aggravate the problems of neocolonialism?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book’s website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. Which was not a strong motivation for the rapid decolonization after World War II?
 - a. U.S. opposition to continued colonial holdings
 - b. The war-caused weakness of most colonial powers’ economies
 - c. The weakening of Europeans’ confidence in their ability to rule others well
 - d. The communists’ accusations of Western imperialism
 - e. Newly elected socialist governments in Europe that favored their own development over colonial responsibilities
2. Which of the following African countries fought a long war against a colonial power and eventually won its independence?
 - a. Nigeria
 - b. Egypt
 - c. Algeria
 - d. South Africa
 - e. The former Belgian Congo
3. The decolonization process generally went ahead with the least violence in
 - a. Southeast Asia.
 - b. French North Africa.
 - c. the Middle East.
 - d. Portuguese Africa.
 - e. British Africa.
4. The last surviving major colonial power was
 - a. Portugal.
 - b. China.
 - c. the United States.
 - d. France.
 - e. Belgium.
5. What proportion of the world’s population currently lives in the less-developed countries?
 - a. One-half
 - b. Two-thirds
 - c. Three-fourths
 - d. Four-fifths
 - e. One-eighth

6. One of the prominent identifying factors for a Non-western society is
 - a. a prospering rural and agrarian economy.
 - b. the problem of overpopulation.
 - c. a reluctance to accept foreign aid.
 - d. equal status for young males and females.
 - e. a steady drain of population into the cities.
7. Which of the following was not a factor in the West's lessening attention to the problems of the Nonwestern World in recent years?
 - a. The collapse of the communist hopes of revolution
 - b. The diversion of foreign aid to the former communist lands of Europe
 - c. The inability of Nonwestern nations to collaborate effectively in international negotiations
 - d. The slowing rate of population growth in most ex-colonial countries
 - e. The effects of continuing attitudes of racial and cultural superiority among some Western leaders
8. "Demographic transition" means
 - a. a change from a youthful to an elderly population.
 - b. a change from an excess of males to an excess of females in a given population.
 - c. the evolution of a bigger, stronger average size in human bodies.
 - d. the change from high birthrates to lower ones as a population modernizes.
 - e. a change from the rule by one tribe to that of another.
9. Political and economic inequality in many Nonwestern nations has its roots in
 - a. colonial policies.
 - b. racial discrimination.
 - c. religious strife.
 - d. ethnic rivalries.
 - e. constitutions that favor military or dictatorial rule.
10. Nonwestern nations suffer from underdevelopment due to
 - a. Western nations' high tariffs on Nonwestern goods.
 - b. colonial policies that discouraged industrialization.
 - c. low priority given to aid to Nonwestern nations.
 - d. a, b, and c
 - e. a and b only



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The New Asia

MAO'S CHINA, 1949–1976

RECENT CHINA

POSTWAR JAPAN TO 1952

INDEPENDENT JAPAN

Economic Progress

SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

India

Pakistan and Bangladesh

Southeast Asia Since World War II

The War in Vietnam

Progress and the Promise of Future Prosperity

THE TWO LEADING ASIAN powers had both suffered greatly during the war and were temporarily restricted in their international roles while recovering. China and Japan continued to take sharply differing paths to establishing modern societies. China chose the path of revolution and became the world's largest Marxist state. Japan adapted Western ideas and technology to fit its own culture and became for a time the world's exemplary economic success.

Whereas World War I had brought relatively minor change to these areas, World War II proved to be the wellspring of major transformations. Many areas in eastern and southern Asia had been Western colonies and were intent on gaining full independence as soon as the war was concluded. The U.S.-held Philippines were the first to succeed, followed by India and the European possessions in Southeast Asia and the Pacific islands. By the end of the twentieth century, several newly independent states had attained international significance by taking full advantage of a rapidly changing global economy.

MAO'S CHINA, 1949–1976

A triumphant Mao Zedong proclaimed the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the fall of 1949. China entered into a formal alliance with the Soviet Union a few months later. Government and all social institutions were reorganized on Soviet communist lines, and for the first ten years, the Soviets were both its helpers and its mentors.

A revolution is not a dinner party.

—Mao Zedong

1945–1952	U.S. occupation of Japan
1949–1976	Mao Zedong leads China
1950–1953	Korean War
1950–1990	Japanese economic success
1955–1973	U.S. involvement in Vietnam War
1958–1959	Great leap forward in China
1966–1976	Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China
1975	Vietnam reunified under communist government
1976–1997	China under Deng Xiaoping
1984	Assassination of Indira Gandhi
1989	Tiananmen Square massacre
1990–present	Japanese economic recession
2002	China admitted to the World Trade Organization

The conquest of the world's largest population had essentially been the work of one man—Chairman Mao (of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee)—with the help of some brilliant assistants, especially Zhou Enlai. Although Mao had profited from some Soviet arms and economic support and guidance since the 1930s, in its fundamentals Chinese communism was his creation. No one else, not even Stalin, had played much of a role besides him in Chinese eyes. This was to be a critical factor in the years to come.

Mao was convinced that in an agrarian society such as China's (about 90 percent of the population were peasants), the correct path to socialism could only lie through a revolutionary peasantry. Thus, at all times during his rule, keeping the peasants with him was his chief concern. What the urbanites thought and did was of secondary importance. Mao's long and fruitful contacts with the rural folk also seem to have made him increasingly distrustful of intellectuals—an untraditional attitude for a Chinese leader and one that would have horrendous effects in the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s.

In its first three years (1949–1952), the regime instituted the basic policies it would employ to ensure political and social control indefinitely. In the countryside, land was expropriated from the landlords, and many—perhaps millions—of them were killed or imprisoned. The land was first redistributed to the peasants and then in 1955–1957 collectivized as the Soviets had done in their Five-Year Plan. Although millions more than in Russia were killed or allowed to starve in the great famines of 1960–1962, the peasants did not resist as fiercely as in the Soviet Union. Why not? In part, because of the ancient Chinese tradition of regarding the central government as the legitimate source of authority and in part because so many desperately poor peasants ardently supported the new arrangements.

The new social organ called the *commune* was made the basis of rural production and of government, with disastrous effects for both the agricultural and the industrial economies. The communes were so large (about 25,000 persons) and their responsibilities so unclear that they could not function. As a result of poor planning and low incentives, food production barely matched the rapidly increasing population, even in good years. When bad harvests came after 1960, mass famine was inevitable. To keep the industrial plant functioning at all, grain was mercilessly confiscated from the communes, and the peasants starved just as they had in Russia earlier under war communism and during the Five-Year Plans. Eventually, the communes were abolished, and smaller units were created that resembled the traditional villages except that land and work were collectivized.

The Chinese pursued industrial expansion in the same fashion as the Soviets had earlier, emphasizing heavy industry at the expense of consumer goods. A Stalinist Five-Year Plan instituted in 1953 produced substantial results in metals, coal, and other basic goods for industry, but Mao had become impatient with Soviet models and

plans. In 1958, he personally introduced the **Great Leap Forward**. This attempt at overnight mass industrialization was an enormously costly failure (the infamous “backyard steelmaking,” for example). It accelerated the growing gap between the Chinese and their Russian mentors, especially between Mao and Nikita Khrushchev.

The Russians criticized Mao for foolishly attempting the impossible and also for allowing himself to be made into the sort of Great Father in China that Stalin had been in Russia. In 1956, Khrushchev had just finished revealing Stalin's true nature to a shocked communist world, and he had no intention of allowing Mao to step up onto the vacant pedestal. On his side, a confident Mao made it clear that while he was no great admirer of Stalin or any other foreigner, he believed that true revolutions demanded a nearly supernatural leader, with whom the ignorant masses might identify—something that Khrushchev never pretended to be or was capable of being.

Furthermore, Mao told the Russians that they had been diverted from the authentic revolutionary path by their fears of losing what they had in a war with capitalism and that he intended to take their place as spokesman of the oppressed masses. By 1960, the barely concealed **Sino-Soviet conflict** was splitting the communist ranks. The rift became fully public at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis, when the Maoists derided the Soviets' fear of U.S. “paper tigers,” while Moscow denounced Beijing's readiness to plunge the world into atomic war.

Mao had long been convinced that the Soviet revolution had been suffocated by bureaucratization, and he was determined that China would not share this fate. In 1965, he suddenly called for the **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution**. This extraordinary upheaval was meant to—and did—turn Chinese society on its head for many years. Like Stalin's “second revolution” of 1929, Mao's plan went far beyond political rearrangement. He wished to create a truly new relationship among party, people, and the exercise of revolutionary power. The attack was aimed primarily at the intellectuals, particularly those in the CCP's cadres of officials.

To achieve his main end, Mao was prepared to undertake what seemed an impossible task: to rid the Chinese people of their reverence for tradition. He called on the youthful **Red Guards**—mainly students—to make war on the older generation and its “empty formalisms.” Mao was a profoundly skeptical spirit who distrusted all systems, even those he had created. He wished to introduce the permanent, self-perpetuating revolution that he thought the Russians had given up in return for peace and a pseudo-Marxist society.

For the next three or four years, China experienced barely controlled, officially inspired anarchy. Professors were publicly humiliated, learned doctors were made to scrub the floors in their hospitals, scholars were abused for having foreign language books in their libraries, and Communist Party secretaries were accused of sabotage.

Factional fighting in the party was allowed and encouraged, sometimes in the streets. The economy, only now recovering from the Great Leap Forward's mistakes, again suffered severe damage. Managers and skilled personnel were sent as outcasts to the villages to "learn the revolution's lessons" as barnyard sweepers or potato diggers. For a time, the only qualification for getting a responsible post was to have memorized the *Thought of Chairman Mao*, immortalized in the "**little red book**" that tens of millions of Chinese waved daily like an amulet against unknown evils. In 1969, the anarchy had become so bad that Mao had to call off the Red Guards and put the army in charge of everyday affairs. (For a sampling of the *Thought of Chairman Mao*, see the Law and Government box.)

The tensions between China and the Soviet Union had erupted in the **Amur River War**, as troops stationed on both sides of the frontier sporadically fired on each other. The military chiefs told Mao they could not guarantee what might happen if Russia attacked while the unrest continued. Still, until Mao's death in 1976, the spirit of the Cultural Revolution lived on, especially among the millions of radical, barely literate youth who thought the demolition of the Communist Party's apparatus and the government's disarray presented a once-in-a-lifetime chance for them to get ahead.

Within weeks of Mao's death, the inevitable reaction set in. The Cultural Revolution was first partially and then entirely condemned as a mistake. A collective leadership of party officials moved cautiously but steadily to put Mao's contributions into perspective. In 1980, his

portraits, formerly everywhere, were silently removed from all public places. The era of the godlike chairman and his omnipresent little red book was definitely over.

RECENT CHINA

Under **Deng Xiaoping** (dung shau-ping; 1904–1997), an elderly but vigorous pragmatist, the Chinese Communist Party groped its way forward into the vacuum left by Mao's demise. A prisoner of the Cultural Revolution, Deng was determined to return China to "normal" socialism. He got rid of his enemies, put his supporters in key positions, and allowed greater freedom of expression. His most important achievement was to allow free-market incentives to gradually replace China's old economy, which had been tightly controlled under a system of state ownership. In Deng's words, China would remain socialist in spirit, regardless of the semi-capitalist economic system it seemed to be adopting. During the 1980s and 1990s, prosperity gradually spread into China's hinterlands from the thriving coastal cities of Hong Kong and Shanghai. Deng, who had long been associated with the moderate wing of the party, was particularly interested in establishing better relations with foreign capitalists who might help China recover from Mao's mistakes.

Recent years have seen the dramatic rise of China as an important economic power. Since the 1990s, the economic numbers it has produced have been reminiscent of

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

CHAIRMAN MAO'S THOUGHT

The founder and master of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Zedong, had a peculiarly un-Chinese contempt for the traditional scholar-official (mandarin) class. His feelings were frequently expressed in his many speeches and writings during his long tenure of the party chairmanship:

Intellectuals and Workers (1942)

I began life as a student and at school acquired the ways of a student. . . . At that time I felt that the intellectuals were the only clean people in the world, while in comparison workers and peasants were dirty. . . . But after I became a revolutionary and lived with the workers and the peasants and with soldiers of the revolutionary army, I gradually came to know them well, and they came gradually to know me well, too. . . . I came to feel that, compared with the workers and the peasants, the unremolded intellectuals were not clean, and that, in

the last analysis, the workers and peasants were the cleanest people, and even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared with cow dung, they were really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

To what do you attribute Mao's attitudes towards intellectuals? What did this "thought" by the man who became the unchallenged leader of China for many years portend about the place of intellectuals in Mao's China?

Source: *A Revolution Is Not a Dinner Party*, ed. R. Solomon and D. Huey (New York: Anchor, 1975), 149f.



You can read more quotations from Chairman Mao online.



what Japan's were in earlier decades. Over the two decades from 1984 to 2008, its gross domestic product (GDP) increased at an annual average of nearly 9 percent, making it the fastest-growing economy among the major nations of the world. While once having been among the poorest of nations, its GDP has climbed to being ranked the world's sixth highest. Yet this has generated its own set of problems for China's leaders: Like other fast-growing countries throughout history, there are vast disparities in the levels of income among Chinese, particularly between its urban dwellers and its rural peasants. Civil servants and many professional people (teachers and physicians, for example) also chafe from being grossly underpaid in relation to those who work in the private sector. Corruption among officials at the middle and upper levels

of government has become a persistent vexation as these differences cause resentment and people seek additional income by whatever means they have.

Spurred by President Richard M. Nixon's surprise visit to Beijing in 1972, the China-U.S. relationship had grown somewhat warmer since the ending of the U.S. presence in Vietnam. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979) increased Chinese interest in coming to a better understanding with the other superpower. Hence, in the 1980s, with U.S. encouragement, considerable progress was made in opening the country to foreigners and democratizing the secretive Communist Party and its iron controls over the political life of the populace. But in 1989, the rapid spread of freedom of thought and expression among university students again frightened the leaders, and when student demonstrators erected a "Goddess of Democracy" statue in Beijing, the leaders reasserted Party control in the infamous **massacre in Tienanmen Square**. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of young people died fleeing the guns of their own army.

Since that time, Deng's most recent successor, Hu Jintao, and China's government have been walking a fine line between diplomatic isolation and a partial acceptance of Western demands for relaxation of its repressive political measures. Relations with the United States especially have remained ambivalent. Simmering resentment over American military alliances with Japan, South Korea, and the nations of Southeast Asia in what it considers its own "sphere of influence" has sometimes made China hypersensitive to any perceived slights. A particular sore spot has been Taiwan, an island about one hundred miles from the mainland, to which China has laid claim since 1947. American trade, military assistance, and support



Jeff Widener/AP Photo

THE GODDESS OF DEMOCRACY. Chinese university students modeled this plaster creation after the Statue of Liberty and used it as their rallying point in Tienanmen Square before the massacre of May 1989. Mao's huge portrait looks on disappointingly.



Jeff Widener/AP Photo

CHINESE YOUTH DEFIES TANKS. The never-identified youth stood alone to stop the tanks heading to Tienanmen Square in May 1989. After a brief hesitation, the vehicles rolled around him and continued to another destination.

for democratic elections on Taiwan have further complicated relations between the two nations. Tensions were worsened in April 2001, when a U.S. Navy EP-3 Aries II reconnaissance plane collided with a Chinese F-8 fighter plane, forcing the navy plane to land at a Chinese base on Hainan Island. Despite this incident, both sides realized the importance of maintaining cooperative relations. The United States supported China's application to become a member of the World Trade Organization, and in 2002 it became a full-fledged member, further opening its 1.25 billion people (now 1.35 billion) to the regulations and advantages of the world marketplace.

Following the al-Qaida attacks on New York's World Trade Center and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., in September 2001, both nations also found common ground in fighting worldwide terrorist attacks by extremist Muslims and those who give them aid. China's spectacular industrial expansion has forced its leaders to launch an aggressive international search for raw materials. They have ignored world opinion and continued to turn a blind eye to the actions of international pariahs such as Iran and the Sudan in exchange for their reserves of oil. The United Nations' inability to curb Iran's nuclear ambitions or Sudan's genocidal actions has been due to the reluctance of China (and Russia) to impose sufficiently strong sanctions on regimes such as these.

However, North Korea's unexpected test of a low-grade nuclear weapon in 2006 stirred world condemnation and severely embarrassed its patrons in Beijing. Since then, China has allied itself with the United States, Japan, and Russia in exerting pressure on Korea to halt its development of nuclear bombs. Nevertheless, these efforts have had no lasting success, as Korea's "Dear Leader," Kim Jong Il, has continued to order the stockpiling of atomic weapons (albeit crude) and the testing of ballistic missiles with ever-increasing range.

POSTWAR JAPAN TO 1952

The defeat and occupation of the Japanese islands by a foreign force (for the first time in history) was a tremendous shock, but it soon proved to be a constructive shock, unleashing a great deal of new energy and innovative thinking. Despite heavy war damage and loss of life, both military and civilian, Japan's economy rebounded with unexpected speed and then proceeded to shoot far ahead of anything it had achieved before.

The government of occupied Japan was an American-supervised affair under General Douglas MacArthur. Unlike the situation in occupied Germany after its defeat, a native civilian government was allowed to function, but it was limited to carrying out the directives of MacArthur's staff. The Japanese accepted all of MacArthur's many reform decrees in politics and social matters almost without criticism. Spiritually and materially exhausted by

war and defeat, they were in a mood of self-questioning, which was unusual for this proudly nationalist and confident nation. They seemed ready to accept a new basis for their social and political organization, and their willingness to change made the American occupation a great success.

In the first two years of his regime, MacArthur's office initiated radical changes in the traditional Japanese system, culminating in an entirely new constitution that established a government similar to that of the British. The parliament (Diet) was declared the most important branch of government, with sovereignty residing in the Japanese people. The emperor remained (and remains) in place, but only as a symbol. Japan "forever renounces war as a sovereign right of the nation," maintaining only a small Self-Defense Force.

The war in Korea (1950–1953) was key in elevating the United States from conqueror to protector. The active support given to the North Korean communist army by Mao's China after 1951 made the U.S. armed forces in South Korea and elsewhere in the western Pacific an indispensable guardian for disarmed Japan. Japanese of all persuasions generally recognized the need for U.S. military protection, even though some were disturbed by the U.S.-instigated transformations in their social relations and political culture.

INDEPENDENT JAPAN

In 1952, the occupation ended and Japan again became a sovereign state. It signed a treaty of alliance with the United States that extended the U.S. nuclear umbrella over Japan in any future war. In return, the United States was guaranteed the right to have naval and military bases on Japanese soil for the indefinite future. Although minimally opposed at the time, this treaty caused tensions later, when the socialist and communist parties denounced the treaty as a tool of U.S. imperialism. By then, however, it was clear that Japanese politics tended toward the conservative and that an anti-U.S. position had little appeal. A homogeneous people who value tradition and group approval, the Japanese have never shown much interest in social experimentation or political radicalism.

For the first few years, the Liberal Party was the leading force in independent postwar politics. The Liberals merged with their closest rivals in 1955 and became the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). For almost forty years, the LDP formed every Japanese government. Despite the name, it was a conservative party, dominated by the big business interests that have always worked closely with government in Japan. The LDP finally went down to defeat in 1993, when it was the culprit in a series of political corruption scandals that rocked the country and the business establishment. Always more an aggregation of financial and economic interests than a political unit,

the LDP split into factions and lost out to a coalition of opponents. In most recent years, the LDP's factions have become almost-separate parties, fighting one another in the Diet and allowing socialists and other groups to effectively contest the national leadership. Japan has become a fully democratic state, with governments that reflect both the strengths and weaknesses of that condition.

Economic Progress

The economic success of postwar Japan was admired throughout the world and was even considered as a possible model by the older industrialized states of the West. What explains this success? A combination of external and internal factors contributed to Japan's prosperity from the 1950s through the 1980s.

Externally, Japan benefited from several developments. When the United States assumed the burden of Japan's defense, the budgetary expenditures that would have gone into nonproductive weaponry, housing, and pensions for the military were saved and could be invested in the civilian economy. The Korean War stimulated Japanese industry in many different ways. Also, Japan is entirely dependent on imported oil, and oil was cheap during the initial postwar decades. International credit institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund were eager to lend money for investment and the acquisition of technology. Japan soon showed itself to be a willing student and a highly reliable credit risk.

Internally, Japan had the world's highest personal savings rate, and the banks reinvested the savings in new industry. The Japanese labor force was disciplined and skilled and had been well educated in one of the world's most effective primary and secondary school systems. The Japanese population rose throughout the postwar era, providing a large labor pool as well as a growing internal market. Under strong government urging, labor continued to work with employers rather than take an adversarial position. Unions were rewarded with extensive powers in the workplace.

Most of all, in the opinion of many, Japan's postwar surge was the result of the consistent support of business by the government, which made large sums available for ongoing research and development and aggressively promoted business interests in its diplomacy. Business and manufacturing combines (called *zaibatsu*), which had originally been broken up by the Americans, were allowed to reconstitute themselves in a slightly different fashion and with even more political and financial clout. New industrial giants such as Sony and Honda were the product of bold entrepreneurs. Industry and government directed a major effort toward expanding foreign trade, and Japanese trade with almost every noncommunist country rose without interruption during the postwar decades. Japanese goods—including electronic products, automobiles, watches, and cameras—conquered the

consumer markets of the globe. The “Made in Japan” label, which had been synonymous with cheap imitations in the prewar era, became a symbol of advanced design and the world's best quality.

All of these factors combined to give Japan the highest rate of growth in GDP (about 10 percent per annum) in the world during the quarter century between 1950 and 1975. Since then, the rate of growth has slowed because of several factors: Other Asian countries began to compete effectively in the global markets; unsound credit extension saddled banks with enormous loan defaults; and widespread corruption in government–business relations weakened Japan's capacities and self-confidence. In the 1990s, the country slipped into a recession that is not yet overcome, although it showed the first stirrings of a recovery in 2006.

In recent years, Japan has taken a more active role in world affairs, especially in those of Asia. With China showing an obvious desire to assume a position of leadership, Japan's change of attitude can be seen as the natural response of a long-time rival. From the 1890s through World War II, Japan was an occupier and aggressor toward its neighbors, so it is natural that China considers itself as having turned the tables and is reluctant to share with an old enemy its new standing as a world power. To date, this competition has remained peaceful—even cooperative. Each country is the other's second-biggest trading partner, but there remain unsettled disputes over oil rights in the East China Sea. The Chinese still suffer painful memories of incidents like the “Rape of Nanjing” and the sexual enslavement of Chinese women in World War II (see Chapter 45), facts that many Japanese remain disinclined to acknowledge. Moreover, China is already—while Japan is capable of being—a nuclear power. Also, each nation has an active and sophisticated space program.

SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

The Indian subcontinent emerged from the colonial era divided between antagonistic Hindu and Muslim segments. This eventually yielded the major separate states of India, which is predominantly Hindu, and Pakistan and Bangladesh, which are mostly Muslim.

India

Today India's social and economic problems are severe, but its adherence to constitutional and political means to devise solutions is an inspiration to democrats throughout the world. Shortly after India gained its independence, Mohandas Gandhi's assassination left the Hindu masses in confusion and sorrow but did not interfere with the erection of the new India. As leader of the majority Congress

Party, Gandhi's close associate and designated heir, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), sprang into the breach. Unlike Gandhi, Nehru believed that Western-style industrialization was absolutely necessary to avoid social chaos in India, and he set the country firmly on that path during his fifteen years at the government's head. He also believed that India could best live with neighboring Muslim Pakistan by showing it a strong hand. In practice, this policy meant that India and Pakistan were on a quasi-war footing for the next three decades, largely over the ownership of the rich border province of **Kashmir**, where Muslims predominated but India ruled.

Nehru led India toward a moderate democratic socialism that owed little to Marx and much to the British Labour Party. A mix of state ownership and free enterprise was worked out that has been relatively successful. For many tens of millions of Indians, living standards have risen in the past half century, but for perhaps 60 percent of the total of 1 billion, there has been discouragingly little change from the poverty of pre-independence days. The most acute challenge to Indian prosperity, as in so many other developing nations, remains the high rate of population growth. Various governmental campaigns for fewer births have not been successful in the traditionalist villages where most Indians live.

In 1966, Nehru's daughter Indira Gandhi (no relation to the Mahatma) became the first female prime minister of an Asian state and continued her father's vision of a modern, industrial India. Her increasingly dictatorial style created conflicts with many Congress Party leaders, however, and she was turned out of office in the 1975 general election, only to return in 1980. These peaceable electoral transitions were evidence of the maturity that India—the world's largest democracy—had achieved in its government only a generation after colonial subordination. It was an impressive and heartening performance.

The picture of stability and political consensus has been rudely marred in recent years by increased ethnic and religious friction. Above all, this has been fueled by the rise of religious intolerance among Hindus and Muslims. Hindu nationalists have attacked and destroyed mosques on one hand, while on the other, the Kashmir problem has become the focus of Muslim terrorist attacks and exchanges of gunfire between soldiers of the Indian and Pakistani armies. During an especially tense period in 2002, both nations threatened nuclear war. Fortunately, the situation has cooled down, and in 2003 and 2004, these two nations were content to satisfy their rivalries on the soccer field. In the northwest, the Sikh minority is demanding autonomy for their Punjabi province. Its denial by the government of Indira Gandhi was the trigger for her assassination by Sikh extremists in 1984. In the far south, Tamils and Sinhalese are fighting one another in a long-drawn-out, nasty, but little-publicized guerrilla war. Outraged by what he thought was the government's favoritism of the Sinhalese, a Tamil fanatic killed Indira Gandhi's son and successor,



Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

INDIRA GANDHI. The first Asian female prime minister proved herself an adept politician. However, the intense maneuvering required to unite the many factions of the Congress Party became too much for her patience, and her increasingly authoritarian stance caused the defeat of her party in national elections in 1975. She returned to power a few years later and was assassinated in 1984 by Sikh fanatics.

Rajiv Gandhi, in 1991, and in the last several years, recurrent riots between militant Hindus and the Muslim minority have sharpened interfaith mistrust.

Given these deep-seated animosities, it is all the more remarkable that Indian democratic government has held together almost without lapse. The Congress Party (formerly the Indian National Congress: see Chapter 37), which formerly held the allegiance of a large majority, has found itself in increasing electoral difficulty as nationalist parties and regional groups have become prominent. From 1998 to 2004, the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was in power, after which the Congress Party retook control of Parliament and the Prime Ministry. India maintains the third-largest military force in the world, and so far it has not meddled in politics, nor have

any civilian adventurers attempted to gain power by using the military.

In recent years, India has seen economic expansion on a stupendous scale. Between 1997 and 2007, its GDP grew at an average of 7.8 percent a year. India has shown considerable foresight in the investments it has made in high-quality technical and professional training for its best minds. This has begun to bear fruit as more and more companies in the West have “outsourced” many jobs in information technology and other skilled areas to well-trained Indians willing to work at a fraction of the wages and benefits required for American and European employees. India, however, faces two hurdles to its continued expansion: difficulties its technical institutes face in keeping up with the demand for highly trained graduates and an electrical grid that is vulnerable to frequent shutdowns.

Pakistan and Bangladesh

When the British withdrew from the subcontinent in 1947, the large Muslim minority demanded separate and sovereign status in a state of its own. The widespread distribution of the Muslim population made it impossible to create this state as a single unit, so West and East Pakistan came into existence. All Muslims not already within their borders were encouraged to migrate to those areas. Together, the two Pakistans included about one-fourth of the former British colony’s population but considerably less than one-fourth of its human and material resources. These new states suffered from severe handicaps: Their economies were undeveloped, and they had no infrastructure and few potential leaders. Under the leadership of the devout Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the two Pakistans were committed from the outset to the supremacy of Islam in public life. This religious emphasis contributed to Pakistan’s alienation from, and suspicions of, Nehru’s determinedly secular India.

The geographically widely separated states soon discovered that they had nothing in common except Islam, and that was simply not enough to hold them together. With India’s assistance, East Pakistan became the independent nation of Bangladesh in 1971. As measured by gross national product per capita, the overpopulated and flood-prone Bangladesh is among the poorest countries in the world. Pakistan is not much farther up the ladder, despite a generation of rival Chinese and American foreign aid programs. Even before the 2001 Afghani conflict, the burden of caring for 3 to 4 million Afghani refugees from the lengthy civil war in that country added to Pakistan’s difficulties. Since the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan in 2002, the difficulties the ruling military government under General Musharaf and his successor, Asif Ali Zardari, have faced in trying to exert control over the mountainous northern parts that border on Afghanistan have complicated Pakistan’s long-standing alliance with the United States. Almost impossible to control, with its warlike and

fiercely independent tribespeople, this part of the country has been a hotbed of Islamic extremism. Under the control of fundamentalist shaykhs, its religious training institutes (*madrasas*) have been breeding grounds that spawned the notorious **Taliban** (literally, “students”), whom the Americans expelled from Afghanistan in 2002. Many believe that Osama bin Laden has continued to escape capture by American and Pakistani forces largely because these tribesmen support his cause and provide shelter to him and his followers (see Chapter 52).

Southeast Asia Since World War II

Stark contrasts are found in the postwar history of mainland and offshore Southeast Asia. During the middle decades of this century, some areas of the region may have experienced more violence than any other place on earth, while others developed peaceably. Since the expulsion of the Japanese invaders in World War II, insurgents of one stripe or another have challenged the governments of Southeast Asia in several guerrilla campaigns (see Map 49.1). In former French Indochina (that is, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam), these insurgencies produced communist governments after long struggles. In Malaya (Malaysia) and the Philippines, leftist guerrillas brought unsuccessful challenges in the later 1940s, while in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), the campaign for national independence was triumphant. Both Thailand and Burma (Myanmar) withstood significant minority rebellions, but these uprisings were more tribal than revolutionary in nature.

The War in Vietnam

The lengthy war in Vietnam began as a nationalist rebellion against the French colonial overlord in the immediate postwar years. Under the Marxist-nationalist Ho Chi Minh, the Viet Minh guerrillas were at last able to drive the French army from the field and install a communist regime in the northern half of the country in 1954. At this point, the U.S. government under President Dwight D. Eisenhower took over the French role in the south, installed an American-funded puppet, and agreed to hold free elections for a national Vietnamese government. But the Americans became convinced that Ho would successfully manipulate any elections, and as a result, none were ever held. In the ensuing Kennedy administration in the early 1960s, the decision was made to “save” the client government in Saigon from a communist takeover by countering increasing guerrilla activity in the south with U.S. ground and air power. Then President Lyndon B. Johnson, who found that he had inherited a small-scale war, determined to bring it to a successful conclusion. He believed that he could do so without crippling the simultaneous War on Poverty in the United States or his effective support for civil rights for African Americans.



MAP 49.1 Postwar Conflicts in East Asia

The Cold War was sporadically a “hot” one in East Asia. Communism made major gains in the thirty years after the conclusion of World War II but was checked in South Korea and the Philippines. In the 1990s, it suffered from the general decline in Marxism’s prestige throughout the world.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

How many conflicts have there been, according to this map? Where? Can you locate where future conflicts might arise?

He was wrong on both counts. By 1968, half a million U.S. troops were on the ground in Vietnam. The entire nation was debating the wisdom and the morality of engaging in this faraway, bloody, and apparently unending conflict that appeared on television screens nightly. The War on Poverty had been curtailed by both budgetary and political constraints. The campaign for civil rights had run into African American resentments, and there was a sharp decline of white liberal support for a president who continued to slog through the morass of Vietnam.

Johnson in effect resigned the presidency by deciding not to seek reelection in 1968, and his Republican successor, Richard M. Nixon, eventually opted to withdraw U.S. forces in the early 1970s under cover of a supposed “Vietnamization” of the conflict. A patched-together peace was signed with North Vietnam’s government in 1973 after a year of negotiations, and the South Vietnamese took

over their own defense. By 1975, the corrupt and demoralized Saigon authorities had fallen to their communist opponents, and North and South Vietnam were reunited on standard communist political and economic principles.

Until recently, both West and East relegated the country to a diplomatic limbo. The failure of the Soviets to assist their fellow communists in Vietnam fully brought to light the change in the Cold War and the conclusive nature of the break between the Soviet Union and China. In contrast to 1962, when Khrushchev was willing to gamble in Cuba, the Soviet government under Leonid Brezhnev preferred to forgo a foothold in South Asia and a propaganda advantage in the Third World rather than risk a war where Soviet security was not at stake. For its part, China was an active supplier of the guerrillas but carefully avoided placing its full resources behind the North Vietnamese. After the communist reunification, frictions between

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION

The U.S. Constitution stipulates that only the Congress can declare war on an enemy nation. However, Congress passed the “Gulf of Tonkin Resolution” in 1964, following an incident in which a North Vietnamese gunboat allegedly attacked an American naval vessel. No declaration of war was ever voted on, and based on the “Gulf of Tonkin Resolution,” Congress authorized the presidents (Johnson and Nixon) to engage in what, in effect, became a war.

Joint Resolution of U.S. Congress: Public Law 88-408, August 7, 1964, Approved on August 10, 1964

To promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.

Whereas naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace; and

Whereas these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom; and

Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military or political ambitions in that area, but desires only that these peoples should be left in peace to work out their own destinies in their own way: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

Sec. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the South-east Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

Sec. 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Congress passed the “Resolution,” based on information provided by the president and the executive branch. In the years since then, historians have discovered that the attack never happened. What does this suggest about the need for Congress to require more and better intelligence before giving such extensive war-making powers to the president?

From The Department of State Bulletin (August 24, 1964), 268.

the supposed allies reached the point where the Chinese briefly invaded Vietnam and withdrew only after giving a lesson to the recalcitrants in Hanoi. Relations between the two countries continue to be strained as Vietnam’s commitment to Marxism weakens and the fear of a recurring Chinese dominance is reawakened. In most recent times, the still-communist regime in Hanoi has sought ties with all sources of potential aid for its lagging economy, and thus seems to be following the same path in its economic policies as its large neighbor to the north.

Important though the Vietnam conflict was in international affairs, its most striking consequences were probably within the United States. Many Americans now over age fifty-five formed their views of government, the duty of citizens, and public affairs in general as a result of some type of personal involvement with the issues of the Vietnam War. The 1960s’ upheavals generated by war protest movements and resistance to what many saw as a wrong-headed and arrogant Washington were second only to the black civil rights movement as a milestone in



IMAGES OF HISTORY

REMEMBERING VIETNAM

> **A VETERAN OF THE VIETNAM WAR.** A veteran searches for names among the 58,226 American dead whose names are engraved on the wall.



© Nathan Berni/CORBIS

^ **GI “DOG TAGS.”** Identity card worn by Vietnam-era soldiers. This set was left at the National Vietnam War Memorial.



© Steve Raymer/CORBIS

the domestic affairs of the United States in the second half of the twentieth century. With the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, these issues continue to resonate among those Americans who experienced the 1960s. To many of this generation, events appear to have repeated themselves in both Iraq and Afghanistan.

Progress and the Promise of Future Prosperity

Other nations of Southeast Asia have been much more successful than unfortunate Vietnam in escaping from poverty and technological backwardness. Although handicapped by rapid population growth and a still-heavy dependence on agriculture and exports of raw materials in a high-tech world, they are overcoming these obstacles to prosperity.

The “**four little tigers**” of the Pacific Rim—South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong—have followed the course plotted by the Japanese. Until recently, they maintained superior growth rates in the drive to establish an electronically driven, information-based economy. They are being joined by Malaysia, and just behind these five are Thailand and Indonesia. Throughout the western Pacific, fomenting rapid economic growth based on a modified free market has become the first priority for government, whether Marxist or capitalist in formal ideology. From a backwater status in the early part of this century, industrialized East Asia and Southeast Asia have become a vital part of a mutually dependent global interchange.

With relatively abundant resources, high literacy rates, stable village agriculture, and few border conflicts, much of Southeast Asia stands a good chance of making the



Tibor Bogner/Alamy

GINZA SHOPPING DISTRICT. Postwar Japan has undergone another of its rapid adaptations to Western influences—this time to the global marketplace introduced to the country by the American occupation regime. Here, the Ginza shopping district in downtown Tokyo reflects the new consumer economy of the 1970s.

difficult transition from a premodern to a modern economy and society within another generation. (The financial misalignments and speculative bubbles that burst in 1998 in several nations put a severe but probably short-lived ripple in this picture of progress.) The major long-term danger is still excessive population growth and the pressures it puts on the social fabric, but this threat is not as acute as elsewhere and is partly countered by steady growth in industrial development, which has drained off the excess rural population in constructive fashion.

The most successful exemplars are Hong Kong and Singapore, two city-states with entrepreneurial business as their driving force. Both have found profitable niches in the evolving global interchange of goods and services. (How well Hong Kong can retain this special position after its reannexation to mainland China in 1997 is an open question. Recent efforts by the Chinese government to blunt demands by pro-democracy demonstrators for universal suffrage have created a political standoff that remains unresolved as of 2010.)

Next come South Korea, Taiwan, and Malaysia, where skilled and politically ruthless leaders encouraged the growth of modern economies. The authoritarian rule that was the norm between 1950 and 1980 is now being replaced by more open and truly democratic arrangements, as the prosperity created for the rich under earlier generation filters down and widens choices and horizons. Indonesia, Cambodia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam come next on the ladder of prosperity, while the isolated Burma (Myanmar) remains on the bottom rung under the thumb of a brutal military dictatorship.

SUMMARY

IN THE SECOND HALF OF the twentieth century, East Asia saw two world powers arise: communist China and capitalist Japan. Taking sharply divergent paths since they contested one another for predominance in World War II, both nations have come to play important roles in world affairs. In China, this role has primarily been military and political. In the case of Japan, it has been entirely economic and commercial up to the present.

As founder of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Zedong had tremendous influence after his victory in the

civil war in the 1940s. His break with his Soviet mentors ten years later divided communism into hostile camps. It also allowed Mao to follow his own path into a communism that focused on the peasants and the necessity of continual revolution. After his death in 1976, his successors soon rejected this path, and the present leaders are experimenting with an unstable mix of socialism in politics and capitalism in the economy. The radical change in the generation of leaders that lies just ahead puts a large question mark over the entire situation.

In Japan, the economy and society were modernized and Westernized under the American occupation. The American-sponsored constitution allowed a new political culture to take shape that found a wide and positive response in a nation ready to accept change. A sustained partnership between government and business encouraged an unprecedented surge in productivity that was undisturbed by social or political discontents until very recently. Now one of the world's great economic powerhouses, Japan stands on the verge of having to make a decision about its role in international politics and diplomacy.

The Indian subcontinent emerged from the colonial era divided between antagonistic Hindu and Muslim segments. India has shown admirable maturity in retaining

democratic politics despite the heavy pressures exerted by ethnic and religious frictions among its several peoples and inadequate, though substantial, economic development. Pakistan faces intimidating problems generated by retarded civic development and by the commitment to hostility with neighboring India.

In Southeast Asia, the picture has brightened in recent years after more than thirty years of violence and wars. Worst of these was the Vietnam conflict, which also had serious internal repercussions on the United States. Several of the former colonies of Southeast Asia are making a successful transition to the high-tech global economy and have excellent prospects for the future.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Amur River War	little red book
Deng Xiaoping	massacre in Tienanmen Square
four little tigers	Red Guards
Great Leap Forward	Sino-Soviet conflict
Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution	Taliban
Kashmir	

For Further Reflection

1. Name at least four world ideologies that have exercised the greatest influence over Asia since World War II. Which of these predate the modern era? Which have developed in the past five centuries?
2. Why have both capitalism and communism failed to entirely win over Asian nations? Why and how has communism had to make compromises to survive as the official state ideology of China and Vietnam?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. China's attempt to make itself industrially independent of outside aid during the 1950s is called the
 - a. Self-Strengthening movement.
 - b. Red Guard challenge.
 - c. China First movement.
 - d. Great Five-Year Plan.
 - e. Great Leap Forward.
2. What major change in international affairs became fully apparent in the early 1960s?
 - a. China and the United States joined forces against the Soviet Union.
 - b. China and Japan became allies.
 - c. China and the Soviet Union became allies for the first time.
 - d. China and the Soviet Union became hostile toward each other.
 - e. China and Japan renewed their hostilities toward each other.
3. Mao started the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution because he
 - a. believed that China was in danger of imminent attack.
 - b. thought that it was the proper time to introduce political democracy.
 - c. believed that all revolutions should be constantly renewed.
 - d. wanted to forestall the Soviets' move toward coexistence.
 - e. thought he could thereby control the peasants.
4. Which of the following statements is not true of post-war Japan?
 - a. It developed the world's highest rate of personal savings.

- b. It developed the world's highest sustained growth in gross national product.
 - c. It came to enjoy the world's most favorable balance of trade.
 - d. It had the world's highest rate of personal consumption.
 - e. It became able to fully support the dietary needs of its people.
5. Japan's postwar political scene has been mainly controlled by the
- a. Socialist Party.
 - b. Liberal Democratic Party.
 - c. emperor through his political allies.
 - d. labor unions.
 - e. democratically elected Diet.
6. Since independence from Great Britain, except for a brief period from 1998 to 2004, India has been governed by the
- a. Bharatiya Janata Party.
 - b. Indian National Congress
 - c. Sinhalese
 - d. Tamil Tiger Party
 - e. Congress Party.
7. Since attaining independence, India has
- a. been a military dictatorship.
 - b. maintained a large degree of democracy.
 - c. been steadily at war with one or another of its neighbors.
 - d. become a single-party, quasi-fascist society.
 - e. established itself as one of the most autocratic nations in the world.
8. During the Vietnam War, the Soviet Union
- a. tried to aid the insurgents in every way possible.
 - b. consistently tried to bring peace by acting as middleman.
 - c. took a bystander's role rather than assisting the insurgents.
 - d. healed the conflict with China to assist Ho Chi Minh.
 - e. chose to support Cambodia but not Vietnam.
9. Since the 1990s, China's relationship with the United States can best be described as
- a. wary.
 - b. open-handed and warm.
 - c. frequently hostile.
 - d. largely conditioned by internal politics.
 - e. resentful.
10. Pakistan's and India's relations with each other have been colored primarily by
- a. fundamental differences in their ruling philosophy.
 - b. religious differences.
 - c. rival imperialist ambitions in the region.
 - d. rivalries and personality conflicts between their leaders.
 - e. their growing strength in nuclear weapons.



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Africa's Decolonization and Independence

DECOLONIZATION: THE RUN-UP TO INDEPENDENCE

THE IMMEDIATE POST-INDEPENDENCE YEARS

THE AFRICAN ECONOMY

THE POPULATION BOMB

PROSPECTS AT THE START OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The African woman does not need to be liberated. She has been liberated for many thousands of years.

—Leopold S. Senghor, former president of Senegal

MANY OF THE FACTORS that powered Africa's decolonization were linked to global trends. Calls for self-determination, the founding of the United Nations, American opposition to colonialism, the international labor movement, and successful independence movements in Asia provided a backdrop to events in Africa. At the same time, Africa had its own internal dynamics that helped set in motion the rapid changes following World War II and led to independence: the injustices of colonial rule; white racism; the development of African nationalism; a new set of leaders who had benefited from Western-style educations; and, not least of all, the yearning for freedom. Conditions within individual colonies helped determine the speed and ease with which freedom was achieved and would help shape their future.

After the initial euphoria of independence, many African nations found themselves faced with a host of problems: maintaining national unity, stability, prosperity, and even survival in the face of pandemics and natural disasters. Continual interference by foreign powers during the Cold War years only added to the difficulties many nations faced. The results of independence so far have been mixed, at best. Millions have died needlessly from famine, civil wars, and political terror. Millions of others have been reduced to misery as refugees. Nevertheless, the last eighteen years have produced reasons for guarded hope: the freeing of the last "colony," South Africa; the generosity most Africans have shown toward their former colonizers and occupiers; the spirit of reconciliation that has arisen in areas worst affected by ethnic conflict; a gradual winding down of civil wars; somewhat better leadership; movements toward democracy; and even a return to prosperity in some nations.

1960–1965	Decolonization of most of Africa
1963	Organization of African Unity founded
1973	OPEC oil boycott, collapse of commodity prices
1970s–1990s	Trend toward dictatorship and one-party states; Cold War interventions by U.S., USSR, China
1970s–1980s	Dependence on world markets spreads poverty; droughts, overpopulation, and AIDS wrack the continent
1994	South Africa achieves majority rule; entire continent free of colonialism
1990–Present	More stable, open governments appear in several states; Islamism gains in the northern tier

DECOLONIZATION: THE RUN-UP TO INDEPENDENCE

In 1950, few people would have guessed that hardly a decade later more than half of Africa's colonies would become independent nations. Decolonization proceeded rapidly (and unexpectedly peacefully, for the most part) between 1950 and 1965 (see Map 50.1). About thirty-five states derived from the former European colonies emerged in that decade and a half. Since then, independence has been obtained through armed action in the Portuguese colonies in 1975, in the British settler colony of Rhodesia in 1980, in Eritrea in 1993, and finally in South Africa in 1994.

Many factors influenced this process. First, there were those that were external to the continent:

- ◆ With the signing of the Atlantic Charter in 1941, Britain and the United States pledged themselves to the principle of self-determination (Chapter 48).
- ◆ The United Nations was pledged to the principle of self-determination and an end to colonialism and acted to end it whenever and wherever it could.
- ◆ The appearance of nationalist movements in Asia pressured colonial powers to allow self-determination

there and in Africa. India's independence in 1947, the successes of the Nationalists in reasserting control over China, and the forced decolonization of French colonies in Syria, Lebanon, and Indochina helped spur Africans to demand their own independence.

- ◆ The international labor movement helped to organize African protests for fair treatment and wages that occasionally resulted in strikes. The successes of the latter fueled African militancy and a realization that European colonialism could be defeated.
- ◆ **Pan-Africanism** was a movement that actually began in the United States and the Caribbean islands in the early twentieth century, but by World War II it had become more international in scope, with Africans and African Americans reaching across the Atlantic and providing mutually supportive ideas associated with “blackness” and Negritude. Occasional Pan-African Congresses reinforced this sense of racial unity and strength and helped raise many future African leaders' political “awareness.” (See the Society and Economy box.)

African nationalism originated during the years prior to World War II among the small numbers of educated



MAP 50.1 Africa Becomes Independent

Independence came with a rush for most African states in the years 1955–1965. A few were not prepared for it and lacked a cadre of officials adequately trained for national leadership, while many others have struggled with the systems of law and government bequeathed to them by their former colonial overlords.

MAP QUESTIONS

Why did many of the nations in Central and southern Africa achieve independence so much later than others?

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY



PAN-AFRICANISM

Under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972), the British colony of Gold Coast achieved independence in 1957 and assumed the new name of Ghana, after the ancient African kingdom. Until he was deposed in 1966, he was a major proponent of Pan-Africanism and a spokesman for modern Africa. The following speech, delivered in 1961, provides a good example of his thinking.

For centuries, Europeans dominated the African continent. The white man arrogated to himself the right to rule and to be obeyed by the non-white; his mission, he claimed, was to “civilise” Africa. Under this cloak, the Europeans robbed the continent of vast riches and inflicted unimaginable suffering on the African people.

All this makes a sad story, but now we must be prepared to bury the past with its unpleasant memories and look to the future. All we ask of the former colonial powers is their goodwill and co-operation to remedy past mistakes and injustices and to grant independence to the colonies in Africa . . .

....

Never before have a people had within their grasp so great an opportunity for developing a continent endowed with so much wealth. Individually, the independent states of Africa, some of them potentially rich, others poor, can do little for their people. Together, by mutual help, they can achieve much. But the economic development of the continent must be planned and pursued as a whole. A loose confederation designed only for economic co-operation would not provide the necessary unity of purpose. Only a strong political union can bring about full and effective development of our natural resources for the benefit of our people.

....

Critics of African unity often refer to the wide differences in culture, language and ideas in various parts of Africa. This is true, but the essential fact remains that we are all Africans, and have a common interest in the independence of Africa. The difficulties presented by questions of language, culture and different political systems are not insuperable. If the need for political union is agreed by us all, then the will to create it is born; and where there's a will there's a way.

....

We have to prove that greatness is not to be measured in stockpiles of atom bombs. I believe strongly and sincerely that with the deep-rooted wisdom and dignity, the innate respect for human lives, the intense humanity that is our heritage, the African race, united under one federal government, will emerge not as just another world bloc to flaunt its wealth and strength, but as a Great Power whose greatness is indestructible because it is built not on fear, envy and suspicion, nor won at the expense of others, but founded on hope, trust, friendship and directed to the good of all mankind.

....

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Whom does Nkrumah blame for Africa's disunity and poverty? Specifically, what does he propose as a solution to these problems?

On what does Nkrumah believe Africa's (then) newly emerging nations could unite? What obstacles stood in the way of his dream of a united Africa? What organization came out of his visions for Africa's future?

From Kwame Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1961), xi–xiv.

Africans—usually employed as teachers, clerks, lawyers, and clergymen—whose primary focus was on African modernization. For the most part, they still believed that Africa's future lay with what the Europeans could bring to Africa, rather than what Africans could do for themselves. They were aware of some of the injustices of colonialism—the racist “colour bar,” forced labor and other forms of exploitation, unequal opportunities for Africans, and sometimes actual physical abuses—but they confined their protests to peaceful forms of expression: delegations, letters to newspapers, and petitions for the

most part. In most respects, it was as ineffective as it was elitist.

Following the Second World War, new leaders emerged. They came from varied backgrounds, but most were union leaders, soldiers who had fought in the war, and university students returning home from America and Europe. Like the generation before them, they shared the vision of a better Africa, but above all an “Africa for Africans.” They were more politically active than their predecessors, skillful at organizing and channeling the sense of grievance many ordinary laborers and farmers had accumulated over half a

century of colonial rule. By the 1950s, some colonies experienced for the first time the phenomenon of mass nationalism and the successful organization of national political parties under this new generation of leaders such as Leopold Senghor (sehn-GOHR) of Senegal, Nnamdi Azikiwe (ah-ZEE-kih-way) of Nigeria, Kwame Nkrumah (ng-KROO-mah) of the Gold Coast, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Julius Nyerere (nyeh-REH-ray) of Tanganyika, Kenneth Kaunda (kah-OON-dah) of Northern Rhodesia, and many others.

Until about the middle of the 1950s, all of the colonial powers resisted African demands for representation in their governments or outright independence. By the second half of that decade, though, Britain and France began to reconsider their positions. A combination of factors—including the international events already listed and the distaste many of their own citizens had developed in the years following the war about their lingering imperialism—moved the two biggest colonial powers to contemplate granting some degree of autonomy if not outright independence to their possessions. Once this decision had been made, the only questions that remained were how and when this transfer of power should be affected.

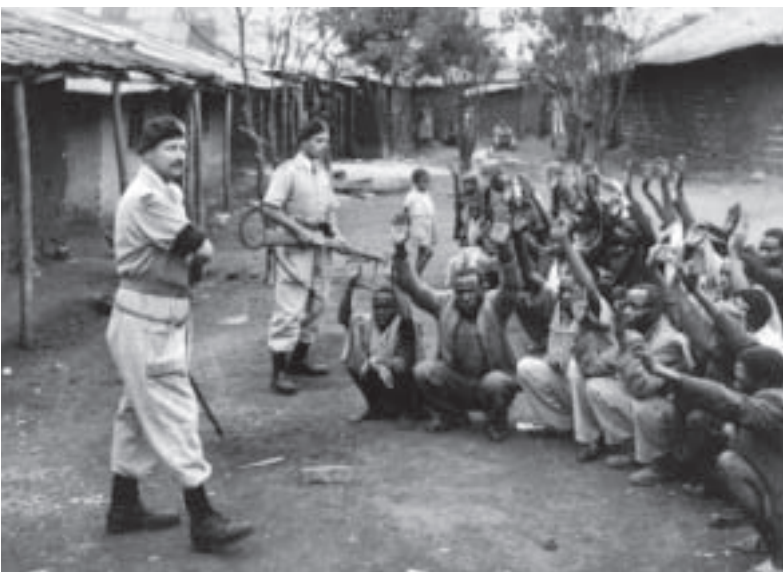
Thereafter, the courses that the individual African colonies followed in achieving their independence went in two different directions. For most, it was accomplished in an orderly way and with a minimum of violence. **Kwame Nkrumah** (1909–1972) led the way in the Gold Coast. In 1957, the Gold Coast became the first African nation to win its freedom, and it immediately took the name *Ghana*. In 1958, the French President, Charles de Gaulle, allowed the colonies of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa to vote on a referendum that granted them self-rule within the framework of

the French Empire. All but Guinea voted to refuse the offer. Two years later, largely because of the successful refusal to compromise taken by Guinea's Sekou Touré, France granted independence to all of its African possessions. The year 1960 was a “miraculous year” for Africa because more than half of the continent became independent. More new states followed in the next four years (see Map 50.1).

For some colonies, however, the transition to independence was delayed and violent. Why? These were the **white settler colonies**: Algeria, Kenya, (Southern) Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola, Southwest Africa, and South Africa. What distinguished them from the rest of Africa was the presence in each of a significant minority of Europeans who had immigrated after both world wars, hoping to improve their lives. For most, this was accomplished. The way of life they enjoyed in the colonies was substantially better than they could have had in their home countries: large houses surrounded by verandahs and gardens; big, productive farms to leave their descendants; plenty of cheap African labor to work as servants and as laborers; and most significantly, colonial governments that favored their interests over those of the indigenous Africans. In Kenya, Africans who had been denied the use of their own lands in the colony's central highlands in favor of white settlers took up arms in 1952 to fight back. They called themselves the “Land and Freedom Army,” but the whites knew them by another name—the “Mau Mau.” These rebels directed their attacks primarily against other Africans they saw as collaborators. A few (thirty-two) white farmers were also attacked and killed, panicking the settlers and the colonial government. Many suspected “Mau Mau” were rounded up and put into camps where they were brutalized.

However, when word of the camps leaked back to Britain, many were outraged. Soon there was a major change of heart, and the government in Whitehall decided that the only reasonable course was to grant the colony its freedom. Kenya became independent in 1963 under its first president, Jomo Kenyatta.

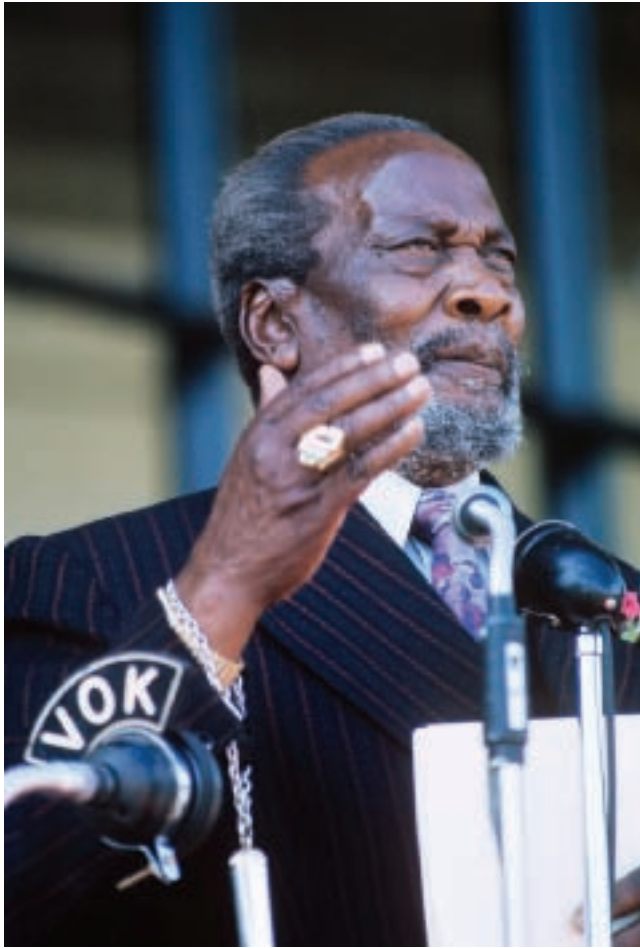
The course followed in the other white settler colonies was much the same: years of conflict between the settlers (Rhodesia and South Africa) or between colonial government forces (Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, and Southwest Africa) and rebel armies determined to throw off minority rule and colonial subjugation. One by one, however, these colonies won their freedom. South Africa held out the longest—until the Afrikaner-supported government of F. W. de Klerk allowed the African majority the right to vote in 1994. Nelson Mandela was then elected the country's first president.



FIGHTING “MAU MAU.” The so-called Mau Mau rebellion was actually an uprising of the Kikuyu people of central Kenya, seeking a return of lands taken from them by the colonial government of Kenya to give to white settlers. This picture, c. 1954, shows British soldiers and police rounding up suspected rebels.

THE IMMEDIATE POST-INDEPENDENCE YEARS

Aside from resurrecting some African names from the precolonial era (Mali, Ghana, and Benin, among others), the new states showed remarkably little inclination to try



Marion Kaplan/Alamy

JOMO KENYATTA. Born into Kenya's Kikuyu people, Kenyatta traveled to Britain in the 1930s and became an outspoken advocate for African rights in Britain's colonies. Following World War II, he returned to Kenya and was arrested for his alleged participation in the "Mau Mau" rebellion. From Kenya's independence in 1963 until his death in 1978, Kenyatta served as Kenya's first president.

to wipe out the two generations of European presence. The various kingdoms and empires that had been established as recently as the mid-nineteenth century by African rulers were not reestablished, nor was a serious effort made to do so. Instead, the colonial borders were maintained without change. Where they were challenged by secession—as in the Congo, Nigeria, and Ethiopia—they were defended (not always successfully) by armed force. It soon became clear that, despite the severe obstacles to true national unity that the colonial-era borders imposed, the new leaders were determined to keep them. If they acceded to a neighboring state's dismantling, they saw that they were inviting the same misfortune in their own.

The first years of independence saw a wave of optimism about Africa's prospects—specifically about the intentions and abilities of African leaders to maintain the democratic parliamentary governments they had inherited. In most

of the newly independent sub-Saharan states, leadership was drawn almost entirely from among Africans who were Christian converts and who had been educated in Europe or America. Some, such as Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, and others, had resided for many years abroad. These men were thoroughly familiar with Western forms of government and liberal values.

By the 1970s, however, democratic multiparty systems inherited from the departing colonial powers were replaced by an all-embracing (and completely artificial) "people's union" or "national assembly" single party. Once again, it was Ghana that led the way. The Western-educated Nkrumah was a popularly elected president in 1957. In 1960, he pushed through a new constitution that effectively made him the sole authority, and he banned the opposing politicians and made Ghana a one-party state in 1964. He reigned over it as a dictator until he was deposed in 1966 by an army rebellion. In other parts of the continent, similar moves came much later, and sometimes for understandably better reasons.

First, like Eastern Europe, pre-independence Africa had no tradition of Western-style political institutions and customs associated with parliamentary give and take. In the colonial era, only the British and the French had attempted to prepare their colonies for self-government along such lines, and the process had barely begun before World War II. When the war ended, the combination of circumstances mentioned in Chapter 48 brought the government of the colonies into a semblance of parliamentary politics with a rush. In most, the "Westminster model" based on British precedents was adopted under European inspiration. But this type of government, based on the interplay of a majority party and a loyal opposition whose voice must be permitted to be heard, was alien to Africa.

On the contrary, Africa had a strongly rooted tradition of personal leadership and loyalty to a lineage or kin group. However, in precolonial Africa, the process by which political decisions had been made in most communities was not only by and large universally participatory, but inclined towards seeking community *consensus* rather than political *opposition* and a simple "rule of the majority." The case that many post-independence leaders made, therefore, was that the multiparty systems they inherited were alien and unworkable in Africa.

In addition, foreign interests sometimes promoted the removal of a democratically elected regime and its replacement by a group, civil or military, which favored the foreigners. This pattern was most visible in nations that were caught up in the Cold War struggles among Russia, China, and the West for control of various parts of the continent. Ethiopia, Somalia, Angola, and Mozambique are examples.

The breakdown of democratic parliamentary government often resulted in the establishment of a military dictatorship. The first in sub-Saharan Africa appeared in Ghana in 1966, but such dictatorships were soon endemic from Nigeria to Somalia and from Algeria to Angola. Some of the generals have come into power with a vision

of what they wished to accomplish, but too many have simply wanted power and its accompanying opportunities to get rich. Worst of all have been those who combine the worst features of African regionalism and European terror: the repulsive Jean-Bedel Bokassa in the Central African Republic, Idi Amin in Uganda, Joseph Mobutu (Sese Seko) in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), and more recently, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Charles Taylor of Liberia, and Omar al-Bashir of Sudan.

Yet some signs indicate that a better day is dawning. Some of the vicious repressors have been forced out. Popular protests against several of the one-party dictatorships have been increasing, and since the 1990s, they have succeeded in winning the right to establish legal opposition. Only the passage of time will reveal whether this is a trend throughout the continent or only a brief remission in the pattern of authoritarian government.

THE AFRICAN ECONOMY

Post-independence economies in Africa were naturally the outgrowths of colonial-era policies. In the interwar years, all of the European powers had encouraged the rise of **monoeconomies**—that is to say, based narrowly on producing single crops such as cacao, rubber, coffee, and palm oil or on one or two minerals such as copper or bauxite for export to the developed world. Whatever their specific characteristics, these operations were owned

and developed by Westerners, but the laborers who were sometimes forced to work on the plantations or in the mines were African.

Domestic manufactures were relatively scarce because the home countries, which exported goods to the colonies, discouraged them. African enterprises tended to turn out substitutes for imports. For example, a factory might make simple consumable goods like soap and beverages that would otherwise be imported but virtually never manufactured consumer goods that required assembly lines and advanced technology.

The final epoch of the colonial era had changed African economics in several ways. Migratory labor, for example, became more prominent all over the continent. Some went to a new area because of money wages or the demands of coerced labor in lieu of taxes. The cash economy introduced along the new railway and river steamship routes made it necessary for people who had never seen cash before to earn it—if they wished to buy the new goods introduced by the Europeans. The emphasis on export crops in most colonies meant that gradually many Africans who had previously produced all of their own food from their gardens and by gathering now had to purchase it, as they would any other commodity.

With the coming of World War II, the international market for raw materials of all kinds quickly expanded, prices rose, and African producers enjoyed a long period of prosperity that continued into the mid-1970s. This prosperity was a major reason why Africans and non-Africans alike were optimistic about the prospects for the new states in the years leading up to and following independence. For over a decade, Africa continued to enjoy the fruits of this prosperity. GNPs continued to rise modestly, jobs were to be had, store shelves were full, and many towns and villages took particular pride in their newly built schools. Every newly independent nation soon had its own university. Most tellingly, many of Africa's new leaders remained popular, because it appeared to many that they had delivered on the promises they had made to improve people's lives.

This prosperity, however, was a house built on sand. The 1970s saw reversals and mistakes made that still have not been remedied. The immediate cause was the OPEC-generated oil shock. Suddenly, supplies were tight, and almost overnight the price of oil doubled, tripled, then quadrupled, sending shockwaves through world economies. The Western nations quickly raised interest rates to head off inflation, and their economies contracted. Demand dropped for the raw materials on which Africa's fragile economies depended. Prices quickly followed, and with the cost of oil suddenly so high, African states found themselves slipping rapidly backward.

Except for Nigeria and Angola, very few oil wells existed south of the Sahara, and the quadrupling of oil prices in 1973 hit the developing industries and the general citizenry hard. Inflation quickly got out of hand. The governments attempted to meet the crisis by redoubling



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BOYS AND MERCEDES-BENZ. The delight on the boys' faces as they admire the car is only a partial counterbalance to the reminder of the vast differences in lifestyle between the "Wabenzi" (the Mercedes-Benz people) and the other Africans.

their exports in effect running harder just to stay in place. By the end of the decade, several formerly self-sufficient countries were having to grow more cash crops and found themselves having to import part of their food. Nigeria, for example, chose to use a good chunk of its increased oil revenues to pay a subsidy to importers of food, thus keeping food prices low for consumers but putting local farmers out of business. When the oil bubble burst in the 1980s, Nigeria faced sharply reduced revenues from petroleum and far fewer farms to feed its increased population.

The true dimensions of the problem became visible only in the 1980s. Several events coincided to bring this about: the diminishing domestic food stocks; the prolonged drought in Ethiopia, Somalia, and the Sudan; civil wars in the Sudan, Chad, Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia; and the sharp reduction in foreign aid flowing into Africa from international bodies and Cold War opponents. The injurious effects of all of these problems were magnified by the continuing rapid increase in population, which was only partly offset by the equally rapid spread of AIDS in several countries.

Since the 1980s, the record has continued to worsen. The small farmers and herdsman who make up a majority in every country in tropical Africa have suffered most from the overpowering changes since the price collapse of the mid-seventies. Farm output has barely increased in most countries, while fertility rates and population growth are the highest in the world. One-quarter of sub-Saharan Africans live in what the **World Bank** calls “chronic food insecurity”—that is, they are hungry.

The abandonment of traditional diets and work patterns in the villages has driven many men to seek work in the exploding cities. Increasingly, labor is flowing from the countryside to the towns, which almost never have adequate employment opportunities. Unable to find regular employment, people are driven into the streets, as in India or Latin America, where they live by hawking bric-a-brac, cooked food, Coca-Cola, or plastic toys to passersby who are as poor as themselves. Previously, theft was almost unknown in African society, but it has now become common, as has street violence in the cities. Hunger and deprivation are the reasons.

THE POPULATION BOMB

The economic and social problems enumerated here are largely the result of one overwhelmingly important fact: Africa is producing too many people for the means available to satisfy their rising expectations. As yet, no African country has made a serious effort to control its surplus population. Several governments still maintain that there is no overpopulation problem, only a resource availability problem, but this position cannot be sustained in the face of any serious investigation of the facts of African ecology.

Only about 10 percent of African surface soil is suitable for any type of crop cultivation. Much of the farming is carried out on marginal land that is subject to repeated droughts, which come in long cycles. Africa only has 8 million hectares (each hectare equals 2.47 acres) of irrigated land, versus Asia's 135 million. Just as in the Amazon basin, the tropical rain forest—one of Africa's most valuable resources—is being rapidly diminished. Once the big trees (mahogany, above all) are cut down, the nutrient-poor land they have shaded becomes useless for agriculture and is poor even for pasturage. But the lumber has immediate export value, and that has been a sufficient inducement for governments desperate for revenues and private owners greedy for cash.

The concentration on export crops and timber has seriously disrupted the African ecological balance, and the explosive growth of population has increased the pressures. Nomadic herders in the Sahel, for example, have had to increase their flocks of camels, goats, and cattle because in a drought cycle—such as was experienced in the 1970s and early 1980s—the animals cannot prosper and grow sufficient meat for human consumption. But these increased numbers put even more stress on the vegetation they browse on, magnifying the effects of the drought. As a result, in this area, the Sahara is rapidly expanding southward as the natural vegetation is eliminated.

The popular image of Africa as a vast expanse of jungles and plains filled with lions and elephants is wildly distorted and always has been. But a great deal of big game is left in Africa in certain regions, and the tourist money that it attracts is a major generator of income for some African nations (Kenya, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania lead the list). As the population has grown in those countries, however, large regions where lions previously roamed have had to be opened to human habitation. The upshot, predictably, is a conflict between human and animal uses of the land, which, again predictably, the animals always lose. That in turn harms the tourist trade, reducing the money available to the governments to assist the excess population in the struggle to stay alive.

The current surge in African population numbers has produced several vicious circles of this sort. The “population bomb” that the ecologists in the 1970s feared would threaten the livability of the entire planet proved to be exaggerated, *except* in tropical Africa where, in some senses, it has exploded. Recall the dire predictions of Paul Ehrlich and his associates cited in Chapter 48. A prime reason why they have not come true—thus far, at least—was the **Green Revolution** in agriculture. Through a combination of fertilizers and new hybrids, yields of corn, rice, and wheat were greatly increased in much of Asia and Latin America. But this outcome did not occur in Africa, where yields have remained low throughout the post-independence period and probably cannot be raised much over current levels.

PROSPECTS AT THE START OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

What will the twenty-first century hold in store for Africa? If one were to listen to the daily news bulletins as the sole source of information, it would be easy to predict a future of chaos, famine, and brutality. These have been a depressingly large part of Africa's fate in the recent past and are presumably what will happen for the indefinite future. This view can be supported by nearly infinite social data. The continent has most of the world's poorest people. In recent studies, it was found that the *per capita* GNP for Mali was \$1,129. It was \$468 for Madagascar, \$1,353 for Tanzania, and \$391 for Niger. In the same year (2008), it was estimated that U.S. per capita GNP was \$47,440. Life expectancies for males and females were 41.2 and 44.3 years in Angola; 41.7 and 42.4 in Mozambique; and 39.8 and 39.4 in Swaziland (perhaps the world's lowest). For the United States, they were 75.7 and 79.9.

Sierra Leone had one physician for every 35,133 residents in 2008. The infant mortality rate in sub-Saharan Africa averages about 100 per 1,000. In the United States, it is about 7 per 1,000. The adult literacy rate in many countries of Africa is below 50 percent overall and far lower among village dwellers. Higher education (postsecondary) is still a rarity, and most higher degrees are issued for the traditional specialties such as law, the humanities, foreign literature, and education. Relatively few students are interested in the applied sciences, engineering, or health specialties, which are precisely the disciplines most needed in their countries. These curricula lack prestige unless they can be studied at a foreign university, a dream that is open to few Africans.

One of the more gloomy and recalcitrant situations is the huge menace of the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) epidemic, which started in Africa and has hit that continent much harder than any other part of the world. According to reliable estimates, in parts of tropical Africa, about 30 percent of the population is infected with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), and already far more people have died from the disease in Africa than in the rest of the world combined. Until recently, official countermeasures to fight the disease have been weak and ineffective. Strapped by scarce funding and an absence of basic public health facilities, most African governments are relying on the international health authorities

WANGARI MAATHAI: AFRICAN WOMAN AND NOBEL LAUREATE.

In 1977, Kenyan Wangari Maathai founded the Green Belt Movement, a grassroots environmental organization whose mission is to help prevent soil erosion by planting new trees. A member of Kenya's Parliament, she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2004 for "her contribution to sustainable development, democracy and peace."



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TWO AFRICAN PRESIDENTS. After years of civil war and brutal misgovernment under Charles Taylor, Nigerian soldiers restored order. In 2006, Liberians elected Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf as Africa's first woman head of state. Here she is shown at her inauguration, accompanied by President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria.



William Campbell/Peter Arnold, Inc./Alamy

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY NELSON MANDELA

The rise of Nelson Mandela to the presidency of the Republic of South Africa must be one of the more amazing events of recent African history. Imprisoned for twenty-five years as a subversive by the white South African government, Mandela remained the rallying point for all those who believed that the day of apartheid must finally pass.

Raised the son and heir of a thoroughly traditional African chief, Mandela broke with his family and culture to gain a legal education in the city. As a thirty-six-year-old black lawyer, he entered the still-subterranean world of African politics and rapidly rose to prominence before his career was cut off by imprisonment.

For his mainly black followers in the African National Congress, Mandela's convincing majority in the first universal balloting ever permitted in South Africa was an event of great elation and a satisfying end to an "extraordinary human disaster." But the white and Coloured minorities were naturally nervous about what the future might hold. Would Mandela allow his more-passionate black adherents to take revenge for their long exclusion from power and from human dignity? Would he remember the humiliations he had suffered both before and during his long imprisonment at the hands of the dominant Afrikaner whites? Or would he attempt to calm the waters stirred by a sometimes-bloody electoral campaign and look into the future rather than at the past? His inaugural address of May 10, 1994, was eagerly awaited.

Today, all of us by our presence here . . . confer glory and hope to newborn liberty. Out of the experience of an extraordinary human disaster which lasted too long must be born a society of which all humanity will be proud.

Our daily deeds as South Africans must produce an actual South African reality that will reinforce humanity's belief in justice, strengthen its confidence in nobility of the human soul, and sustain all our hopes for a glorious life for all.

The time for the healing of the wounds has come. The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come. The time to build is upon us. . . .

We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people. We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity—a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world. . . .

We dedicate this day to all the heroes and heroines in this country and the rest of the world who sacrificed in so many ways and surrendered their lives so that we could be free. Their dreams have become reality. Freedom is their reward. We understand . . . that there is no easy road to freedom. We know it well that none of us acting alone can achieve success. We must therefore act together as a united people, for national reconciliation, for nation building, for the birth of a new world.

Let there be justice for all. Let there be peace for all. Let there be work, bread, water, and salt for all. Let each know that for each the body, the mind, and the soul have been freed to fulfill themselves. . . .

Let freedom reign! God bless Africa!

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

See what additional information you can find about Mandela's presidency. To what extent and in what ways did it fulfill the high tone of his inaugural address?



You can read the entire inaugural address online.



to find a solution and bring it to Africa. In South Africa, until voted out of office, the government itself became a major obstacle to treatment for its citizens. Believing the widespread presence of the disease in their country to be an embarrassment, the government of President Thabo Mbeki denied that there was a connection between HIV and AIDS, making any therapy program difficult to implement. Fortunately, South Africa is proving to be the exception; drugs are becoming available and more African

governments are actively encouraging programs of public education. With Mbeki forced to resign his office in late 2008, South Africa may soon join their ranks.

In a different arena, the internal and international conflicts afflicting Africa have been frightening. Besides the strengthening challenges of the Islamic fundamentalists in the north, for a while in the 1990s it seemed that Africa's future was one of unending rebellion. As late as 2002, major rebellions were occurring in at least seven countries. Riots

and street demonstrations against the current regimes were taking place in another half dozen. Since then, however, there is solid evidence of a new harmony. (See Nelson Mandela's words in the Law and Government box.) The **Organization of African Unity (OAU)**, founded in the wake of the independence surge in the 1960s as both a sounding board and a peacekeeper for the continent, has shown itself willing to take on the latter role. Peacekeepers from neighboring countries have intervened in the vicious bloodlettings in Liberia, Congo-Kinshasa (the former Belgian Congo), Darfur, and elsewhere. Although the record is not perfect, peace has returned to Liberia, and much of the violence has subsided elsewhere in West Africa. In some cases, civil wars have given way to national elections (see the picture and caption about Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf).

Economically, all of the African states are more or less deeply in debt to the World Bank and a series of private international banks from which they have borrowed large sums in the late 1960s and the 1970s. Because the possibility that these monies will ever be returned has disappeared, lenders now insist on internal economic reform in the guise of so-called **Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)**. It is hoped that SAPs will help restart stalled African economies and allow increased export earnings, but the SAP goals are contingent on painful governmental measures to reduce chronic inflation, reduce social programs on which the poorest people often depend, reduce subsidies to exporters and importers, or put in place other measures that cause a disproportionate share of the suffering to be borne by impoverished citizens. As a result, governments have little incentive to implement the SAPs once a loan is obtained.

With all of these economic and political negatives, is it still possible to look at the first years of African independence as a learning experience that may produce much of value for the continent's peoples? In several instances, a ray of light has entered the political and economic darkness that engulfed Africa during the last thirty years of the twentieth century. Here are some examples:

- ◆ Several of the one-party autocracies established in the 1970s have been forced to surrender power or loosen their grip on it. Malawi, Botswana, Kenya,

and Mozambique, among others, have to some extent democratized their politics, thanks to popular protest or armed rebellion.

- ◆ The end of the Cold War competition for allies has allowed a measure of sanity to creep back into relations between the First and Second Worlds and the African Third World. Fantasts, tyrants, and **kleptocracies** (governments made up of thieves) are no longer supported, on the grounds that "if we don't, they will."
- ◆ International lenders are no longer willing to put up money for grandiose projects, which over the years have too often proven to be ineffective, if not completely wasteful. New projects must now be rationally justified and suited to the real needs of the country. Mini-grants to enterprising individuals and small groups, especially to women, have replaced the big programs of the past. So far, these have produced much better results.
- ◆ After many unhappy experiences, African governments have toned down their exclusive emphasis on cash export crops and have focused more on family farming, hoping to meet the constantly growing domestic food demand.
- ◆ Several African governments and political parties have displayed a change in attitude toward women and their roles in society. Women are receiving active support and being encouraged to make their voices heard not only in politics but also in the working economy and in public affairs generally.

Africa's future as a part of human society is impossible to predict. This rich continent, with its immense variety in both natural phenomena and human activities, may continue to suffer from a welter of civil wars, tyrannical politics, and economic hardship internally and peripheral status internationally. But it could be that the first generation or two of freedom was a period of growing pains and that the twenty-first century will see a recovery from past internal mistakes, followed by a steady rise from neo-colonialism to equality in the world community. "Out of Africa, always something new," said the Roman sage Pliny in 65 CE, and his words remain true today.

SUMMARY

AFRICA'S DECOLONIZATION OCCURRED WITH UNEXPECTED rapidity. Even before World War II, there was an emerging, educated leadership that advocated African improvement and lobbied for better treatment of Africans. After the war, this coalesced around increasing strident—and sometimes violent—protests aimed at achieving Afri-

can equality, opportunity, and participation in their own governments.

Since independence, the second-largest continent has seen some evil days, especially in the 1970s through the mid-1990s. While the 1960s saw generally tolerant leaders in most countries and steady economic growth in Africa's

export-oriented economies, about 1975, things took a turn for the worse. As prices for the exports of African nations declined, poverty spread and growing criticism of governments drove many African leaders to more autocratic methods of governing. Democracy yielded to single-party or outright dictatorial regimes. Where guerrilla wars had been necessary to attain independence, the warrior leaders often imposed themselves on their country in the guise of united fronts or similar vehicles of personal power. In other cases, free elections produced the rule of a dominant ethnic or “tribal” group. In still others, the military reacted to civilian squabbles by brushing them aside. Corruption became endemic and was stimulated by foreign aid and trade arrangements.

In the economy, the new states continued the colonial era's emphasis on cultivating export crops and mining but added a new dependency on international credits for often ill-conceived “prestige” projects. When combined, these factors made Africa vulnerable to conditions no government could control: famine in the wake of droughts, low raw material prices on the world market,

and rising food imports to feed an exploding population. In most African countries, the economy has at best been stalled and has often shown actual losses in GNP over the last fifteen years.

The early years of the first decade of the twenty-first century have seen encouraging signs of a shift toward economic growth and political toleration. Beginning around 1998 and until the worldwide recession began in 2008, the demand for Africa's primary products rose dramatically, prices rose, and Africans began to prosper in ways they had not since the 1960s. As of this writing, Africa's future prosperity hinges on a return to worldwide prosperity and attacking the overpopulation problem. Another hopeful sign has been the willingness shown by the developed nations to forgive many of the debts African governments accumulated over the years. What the future holds in both politics and living conditions is impossible to know, but there is reason for hope, and Africa will need both luck and assistance from the developed world to overcome the tragic decline of the last three decades of the old century.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Green Revolution
kleptocracies
monoeconomies
Kwame Nkrumah
Organization of African Unity (OAU)

Pan-Africanism
Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)
white settler colonies
World Bank

For Further Reflection

1. Why were white settlers concentrated primarily in the eastern and southern parts of the continent?
2. Why did the transition to independence go more smoothly in the colonies that were *not* white settler colonies? Can you name some of these?
3. After years of relatively low levels of violence, how might one account for the rise in genocidal civil wars in Africa in the last two decades?
4. What seem to be the principal legacies that colonialism bestowed on Africa that have endured? Generally speaking, have these been positive or negative?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

1. Which of the following statements about Africa's decolonization is true?
 - a. Belgium did the best job of preparing its colony for independence.
 - b. Colonies in southern Africa were the most resistant to decolonization.
 - c. The Portuguese colonies were among the first to decolonize.
 - d. The British and the French resisted decolonization the most.
 - e. Germany was the last to give independence to its African possessions.

2. The first decade of independence
 - a. were years of relative growth.
 - b. saw the almost-immediate rise of autocratic governments.
 - c. saw the growing influence of the OAU.
 - d. saw many secession movements across the continent.
 - e. were years of wholesale decline.
3. The former colonial powers have
 - a. largely ignored Africa.
 - b. actually increased their presence in their former African colonies.
 - c. largely refrained from interfering in Africa.
 - d. seated and unseated one dictator after another.
 - e. continued to exercise limited control in Africa through neocolonialism.
4. Which of the following statements about African nations is *false*?
 - a. They all have primarily rural populations.
 - b. They have fewer schools since achieving independence.
 - c. They are all aware of their impoverished status in contrast to the West.
 - d. They have almost all experienced a colonial past.
 - e. Most of them in the twenty-first century are experiencing problems related to epidemics.
5. From the 1970s until recently, the general trend of government in Africa has been toward
 - a. one-party dictatorships.
 - b. monarchies.
 - c. socialist states.
 - d. parliamentary democracies.
 - e. democratically elected presidencies.
6. In Africa, since independence, the most common population movement has been from
 - a. the cities to the rural areas.
 - b. the inland cities to the coastal areas.
 - c. the nomadic life to the farm villages.
 - d. the farm villages to the cities.
 - e. the nomadic life to the cities.
7. In terms of the Green Revolution, Africa
 - a. benefited more than other places in increasing its food supply.
 - b. benefited less than elsewhere.
 - c. grew no crops that could have benefited from the revolution.
 - d. experienced practically no effect because of the nomadic lifestyle of many inhabitants.
 - e. chose not to participate in experiments with new food crops.
8. The 1970s event that contributed most to the decline of Africa's economies was the
 - a. rise of dictatorships.
 - b. end of the Cold War.
 - c. OPEC oil embargo.
 - d. American and Soviet intervention in Africa's internal affairs.
 - e. invention of new synthetic fibers and plastics to replace African commodity exports.
9. The last African country to throw off minority (colonial) rule was
 - a. Mozambique.
 - b. Botswana.
 - c. Eritrea.
 - d. South Africa.
 - e. Tanganyika.
10. Which of the following has *not* contributed to African economic missteps since independence?
 - a. Misguided notions of establishing national prestige
 - b. Desire for personal enrichment
 - c. Desire to spread the benefits to maximal numbers of citizens
 - d. Frequent use of bribery
 - e. The misuse and/or theft of much foreign aid money



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Latin America in the Twentieth Century

PERSISTENT DEPENDENCY

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ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

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CURRENT ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

Rich and Poor

Changing Styles in Government

Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.

—John F. Kennedy

IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, the histories of the twenty countries making up Latin America varied sharply in detail but were generally similar. In all cases, the politics and international relationships of the Latin countries were fundamentally influenced by the economic and social problems they faced—problems that were roughly alike from Mexico to Argentina. **II** Militarism, authoritarianism, and corruption (practices inherited from the nineteenth century) were persistent obstacles to stability. All of the countries also had to come to terms with the United States, the dominant power in the Americas with the ability—repeatedly demonstrated—to intervene at will in hemispheric affairs. The Mexican Revolution of 1910–1920 successfully overthrew a U.S.-backed regime and achieved some redistribution of wealth. Mexico's revolution inspired numerous rebellions throughout Latin America, but the next true revolution did not occur until 1959, in Cuba.

The worldwide Depression of the 1930s was a turning point for the Latin Americans in an economic sense, because some of the larger countries attempted to recover from their loss of export markets by developing the neglected domestic markets and adopting economic nationalism. Although not completely successful, they did manage a partial escape from the neocolonialism to which they had formerly acquiesced. Since the end of World War II, other attempts have been made to introduce more-or-less radical changes in both the political and economic structures, but with the exception of a faltering and controversial Marxism in Cuba, these efforts have not been sustained for more than a few years. Deep class divisions have continued, and social problems—especially those generated by population pressure and abject poverty—still await alleviation.

1900–1933	Repeated forceful intervention in Caribbean affairs by the U.S.
1910–1920	Mexican revolution
1930s	Cárdenas presidency in Mexico
1933	President Roosevelt begins Good Neighbor Policy
1940s–1955	Perón in Argentina
1948	Organization of American States founded
1959	Castro seizes control in Cuba
1961	Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba
1970s	Military governments established in most of Latin America
1980s–early 1990s	U.S. intervention in Grenada, Nicaragua, Panama, Haiti
1983–1990	Reestablishment of constitutional governments in most of Continent
1990–1996	Violeta Chamorro (Nicaragua) is first woman elected president in Latin America
1992	Mexico, the U.S., and Canada form the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA)
1994–2002	Economic meltdown in Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil
1999–?	Venezuela's neo-populist president, Hugo Chavez, is pro-Castro, anti-U.S.
2004	Creation of the South American Community of Nations, a ten-nation, free trade association
2006–2007	Twelve Latin American countries elect moderate and democratic presidents

PERSISTENT DEPENDENCY

Because of its economic difficulties, Latin America remained dependent on the United States and Europe throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (many would say until the present). This did not mean merely that Latin America was dependent on outside areas for imports of goods and services it did not produce. In addition, Latin America became increasingly dependent on foreign capital—and therefore foreign political approval—for domestic investment of all types.

Latin America did not lack export markets. On the contrary, throughout the nineteenth century, demand in the Western world was rising for its raw materials: Bolivian tin, Brazilian coffee and rubber, Chilean copper and fertilizer, Mexican silver and oil, and Argentine meat and grain. Instead of providing a general stimulus to the Latin economies, the benefits derived from these exports were limited to a mere handful of wealthy families or to foreigners. The elite families sent the profits abroad, used them for their own extraordinarily wasteful lifestyles, or squandered them on poorly considered schemes. Little was invested in rational, farsighted ways by either the governments or the rich. No attempt was made to strengthen the social fabric by encouraging the poor and the unskilled to become educated and thus qualify themselves to participate in the political process.

In many cases, the real beneficiaries of the exploitation of Latin America's raw materials were the foreign investors who supplied the necessary capital to get production under way: American mining corporations, European coffee plantation owners, and British shipping firms. None of their profits went into the pockets of any of the citizenry, let alone the workers, and to ensure the continuance of this arrangement, corruption in government was endemic.

The rising disparities between the rich handful and the poor majority created an atmosphere of social unrest in much of the continent. At times in the nineteenth century, the disenchanted and the desperate were able to find a popular leader who frightened the wealthy with his threats to install democratic reform (as in Guatemala in the 1830s). In every case, either the ruling group was able to bribe and co-opt the leader or another army-led "revolution" forcibly removed him. In some cases, when the traditional ruling group did not remove the disturber swiftly enough, the United States acted instead, beginning with the Mexican War of the 1840s. Examples of U.S. intervention became more numerous after the Spanish-American War of 1898 and brought the North Americans more directly into the Latin world.

National economic policy throughout modern Latin America has aimed at escaping from the basic pattern of impoverishment: exporting cheap raw materials and importing expensive manufactured goods and technical expertise. A few countries made significant progress in the middle years of the twentieth century, usually

in combination with a radicalization of internal politics. For example, in Argentina in the 1940s, the lower classes enthusiastically supported dictator Juan Perón (pair-OWN) when he attacked both domestic class privileges and Argentina's import dependency on the United States. In the 1930s under President Lázaro Cárdenas (CAR-duh-nuhs), the Mexicans went further; they actually expropriated U.S. oil firms (with compensation) and withstood the wrath of the Giant to the North until a negotiated agreement was reached. The most recent example of a populist caudillo, Venezuela's president Hugo Chávez (CHAH-vehz), is also an anti-imperialist, who denounces the U.S. role in Venezuela's petroleum industry.

In general, however, the economy of the southern continent (and of its Caribbean outliers) continued nearly as much under the control of external forces as it had since colonial days. Until well into the twentieth century, the majority of the South American and all of the Central American states remained agrarian societies. They exported raw materials such as coffee, grain, beef, timber, petroleum, and copper ore. They imported the vital elements of industry and personal consumption such as machinery, steel, automobiles, transformers, and telephone wire. In such an equation, the raw material exporters are always at a disadvantage in the marketplace, because their products can almost always be found elsewhere or be replaced by new technologies.

NEW AND OLD SOCIAL PROBLEMS

By the mid-twentieth century, the Latin American countries were divided into two major groups: the more industrialized and urban societies, which included Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (the ABC countries) and, with reservations, Mexico; and the majority, which remained agrarian and rural. In the first group, the migration of much of the population into the handful of major towns accompanied industrialization, accentuating the accustomed isolation of the countryside from the highly centralized government. The peasants in their adobe villages or the laborers in the mine and ranch country saw the capital city as a distant seat of invisible (and parasitic) powers, rather than as the source of leadership in addressing national problems.

In the cities, the industrial working class was growing rapidly and began to play a new role in national affairs in the 1930s and 1940s, under the guidance of populist politicians. During this time, women organized to secure voting rights, and by mid-century most Latin American countries had universal suffrage. Primary education allowed a few workers to rise in the social scale and even join the thin ranks of an ethnically diverse middle class, but in the nonindustrial majority of countries, the people

at large remained as isolated from the government as they had always been and continued their traditional political passivity. The illiterate mestizo, mulatto, and Amerindian peasants remained in abject conditions, dominated in every sense by the (often absentee) landowners and with no hope of the social and economic mobility that the cities offered to some degree.

The social and political complexion of a given Latin American country depended largely on the number of its immigrants between about 1890 and 1930. In a select group consisting of the ABC countries plus Uruguay and Costa Rica, immigration from Spain and Italy in particular was large enough to establish and maintain a European culture in the cities and extinguish whatever Amerindian culture the countryside may have once possessed. At first glance, these countries seemed to have favorable prospects for extensive and intensive development. With the exception of Brazil, they had little or no history of slavery and its accompanying social distinctions. Race was not a factor. Basic natural resources were generally adequate to abundant, and good farmland was in sufficient supply. In short, these countries seemed to have enough actual and potential wealth to meet their growing populations' needs for a long time to come *if* no human-made obstructions to the exploitation and distribution of that wealth were imposed.

It was precisely such obstructions that caused much of the social tension in Latin America in the twentieth century. In the ABC countries (less so in Uruguay and Costa Rica), the Creole large landholders and their caudillo partners in government prevented the land from being subdivided for the immigrant latecomers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Settling the vast and underdeveloped countryside thus could not relieve social discontent in the cities. Mineral wealth such as Chile's copper or Venezuela's oil remained in a few, mainly foreign, hands. Industry and commerce were almost as tightly controlled as the fertile lands by the lack of available credit. In the absence of a vibrant economy that would act as the rising tide that lifts all ships, these nations attempted to find answers to their problems in political doctrine. After 1920 or so, the proffered solutions ranged from a demagogic nationalist populism to total dependency on foreign (meaning mostly U.S.) interests and investment.

Until recently, Latin America's most intractable social problems were in countries such as Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, where a large Amerindian or mestizo population continued to rival the Iberian culture of the dominant Creoles. As late as the 1940s, the Creoles normally responded to the perceived menace by attempting to exclude the indigenous and mestizo peoples completely from national affairs. Only in recent years has the uppermost class accepted the impossibility of continued political segregation between themselves and the masses.

Now, the ancient chasms between the landowning class and their peon laborers and between the Creole elites and

the masses have been further complicated by the widening gap between urbanites and rural dwellers. In the last forty years or so, the demographic picture has changed markedly everywhere in Latin America. Propelled by high birthrates as well as migration, the cities are growing at an incredible rate. Rural migrants must endure overcrowding, unsanitary makeshift accommodations, and the absence of even elementary public services (schools, police, pure water, and the like). In the meantime, the villages and small towns have become even less important in the affairs of the nation than before. Always a disproportionately urban-based economy, Latin America is becoming a series of huge heads (Mexico City now has an estimated population of 19 million) weakly supported by anemic bodies.

Unemployment, both urban and rural, is endemic and constant. No reliable figures are kept because it is impossible to do so, but perhaps one-third of the adults in the cities work in the informal economy. Income distribution is now as bad as or worse than it has ever been. Even by the standards of the developing world, Latin America has the most skewed distribution of cash income imaginable. A very small group of industrialists, large landowners, and import-export business owners are rewarded handsomely, while a very large number of unskilled urban and agricultural workers have next to nothing. In the middle, the number of professionals, white-collar employees, managers, and small business owners is increasing, but they are usually still too few, too unorganized, and insufficiently independent to play an important role in civic affairs.

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

One result of acute social stratification and continuing economic dependency on foreigners has been the wavelike rise of radical reform movements with strongly nationalist overtones. Interestingly, the leaders of such protests have often been military men. The widespread foreign perception of Latin American military leaders as reactionaries who automatically uphold the status quo has become increasingly erroneous. Depending on the circumstances, they have frequently been at the forefront of economic nationalism, often sacrificing human rights to achieve their production goals.

Seeking to avoid a radical socialism that ran contrary to Latin individualism and would invite the active disapproval of the United States, the reform leaders of the past century were often strongly influenced by the idea of a corporate state in which all sectors of the population would supposedly find adequate representation. The most popular of these broad-based movements appeared in Mexico under leftist President Cárdenas in the 1930s and in Argentina a decade later under rightist Juan Perón. In both cases, the labor union leadership became increasingly

radical, causing backlash against the populist regimes. In Argentina, the military ousted Perón and remained in control for thirty years. In contrast, Mexico's military has been subordinate to the civilian government since 1940.

Mexico Under Cárdenas

The spasmodic and multisourced revolution that took place in Mexico between 1910 and 1920 was, as has been mentioned, the only genuine social and political change in the first half of the twentieth century. The women who fought in the Mexican Revolution later led successful movements for women's equal rights. Out of the revolution finally came a single-party government committed to social equalization and redistribution of both wealth and power. In this mestizo country, where a small number of large landowners had held all power for generations, such goals were unprecedented—and unfulfillable. In the 1920s, the governing party (later termed the Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI), despite much talk, did little to advance social causes. But under the impact of the Depression and the Marxist experiment in Russia, President Cárdenas (governing 1934–1940) tried to give substance to some of the revolution's ideals. He confiscated and redistributed enough land to Amerindians and peasants to destroy the repressive hacienda system in southeastern Mexico. Cárdenas was the first Mexican president to visit the poverty-stricken state of Chiapas, where he met with Mayan villagers to hear their hopes and complaints. When Cárdenas expropriated seventeen U.S., British, and Dutch petroleum firms, the Mexican people celebrated their economic emancipation from foreign interests. However, agricultural and petroleum production declined as a result of his policies. The communist tendencies of the powerful labor unions triggered a reaction to the Cárdenas government, and most presidents since 1940 have been conservative. By insisting on sovereignty in all things, Cárdenas set the nationalistic pattern known as “Mexico for the Mexicans” that most of his successors in office have followed. His efforts to achieve security and a political voice for the lower classes, however, have generally not been followed, and the gap between the haves and the have-nots in Mexico remains vast. In 1992, the Mexican Congress officially ended the land redistribution program and signed the **North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA)** with Canada and the United States. The landless peasants of southern Mexico rebelled against the government's retraction of promises made during the Revolution. However, their rebellion was quelled, and U.S. factories moved to Mexico in the 1990s, offering new jobs to the unemployed. Unfortunately for Mexico, many of these factories have since moved to Asian countries like China, where labor costs are even lower than in Mexico. Critics of NAFTA contend that neoliberalism has led Mexico to a contemporary version of the prerevolutionary dictatorship. To date, Mexico's



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THE REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND: MURAL BY DIEGO RIVERA. Mexican muralists painted the past, present, and future of Mexico on the walls of public buildings as part of the reconstruction funded by postrevolutionary governments of the 1920s and 1930s. The purpose was to make socially committed art accessible to everyone—especially the disadvantaged masses. This mural by Rivera depicts the return of hacienda land to its original owners, the indigenous peoples, during President Cárdenas' presidency. The mural, over 12-by-18 feet in size, is in a building of the Ministry of Education in Mexico City.

national economy is still far from realizing its productive potential.

In the political arena, the PRI had long since become an intricate web of established social powers ranging from labor leaders to intellectuals, all of whom expected—and got—a calculated payoff for their support. Despite undoubted abuses, particularly corruption at the top, the Mexican system has recently allowed an increasing pluralism in politics. The old allocation of political powers solely to a few recognized groups broke down, and scandal plus incompetence has ended the PRI's former grip on high-level affairs. National elections in 2000 brought the leading opposition party to power, with promises yet unfulfilled of major structural reform. In the early twenty-first century, global recession, violent narcotics cartels, and low economic productivity threaten Mexico's stability and thwart the country's prospects for emerging from neocolonial status into a more democratic era.

Argentina Under Perón

In Argentina in the 1940s, Juan Perón and his military and industrialist backers were ardent nationalists who dreamed of making Argentina the dominant power in Latin America—a status for which it seemed destined by its size, natural resources, and human diversity. Colonel Perón was one of a group of officers who threw out the elected government in 1943. He soon made himself its leader, a charismatic caudillo reminiscent of Juan Manuel Rosas, the nineteenth-century dictator (see Chapter 39). Perón's pro-German sympathies guaranteed that the United States would condemn him, which all but ensured his election in 1946 on a vehemently nationalist platform.



Bettmann/Corbis

JUAN AND EVITA PERÓN. This 1951 photo shows the couple acceding to the “demand” of the Argentine people that they run for reelection.

His wife Eva (the “Evita” of song and story) was a product of the slums who knew her people intimately. She was always at his side in public; her personal charisma and undoubtedly sincere concern for the Argentine working classes made her an idol whose popularity among the populace exceeded the colonel’s. In terms of political impact, she was the most important woman in twentieth-century American politics, North or South. Her early death in 1952 was in a sense the beginning of the decline of the movement her husband headed.

Perón (or Evita) understood something that eluded most Latin American reformers: To overcome the apathy of the rural dwellers and the tradition of leaving government in the hands of a few, it was necessary to appeal to people in a way that they could respond to, directly and with passion. Such an appeal must concentrate on their many economic and social discontents, not on their political ideals. Perón played on this theme effectively, organizing huge rallies of the lower classes and making inflammatory speeches against the foreign and domestic “exploiters” while simultaneously, though quietly, assuring the entrepreneurs and big business of government contracts and concessions of unprecedented size. It was a fine balancing act between encouraging the egalitarian desires of the *descamisados* (dehs-cah-mee-SAH-dohs; “shirtless ones”) and reassuring the rich that nothing unbearable was in store. Perón’s new constitution put the federal government in charge of the national financial structure and economy. He nationalized foreign-owned transportation and communications companies, at enormous cost to the nation. The unionized workers and the military sector enjoyed rising wages and lavish fringe benefits, while the agricultural sector languished under state-imposed price controls. Perón’s misguided drive to rapid industrialization drew impoverished peasants to the cities in search of

nonexistent jobs. Meanwhile, after World War II, worldwide demand declined for Argentine grain and meat, the nation’s main source of income. The political and economic ineptitude of **Peronismo** had bankrupted Argentina.

By 1954, however, Perón was confronted by a gradually strengthening democratic opposition. Attempting to keep his popularity among the workers, he allowed the radical socialist wing of the *Peronistas* more prominence, which alienated his industrial and business support. In that year, he also made the mistake of taking on the Catholic Church—which had originally been mildly favorable toward Peronismo—by attacking its conservative higher clergy. In 1955, the military drove Perón into exile.

During the ensuing decades, the military or its puppets again ruled Argentina, brutally crushing any dissenters



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MOTHERS OF THE MISSING: DEMONSTRATION BY ARGENTINA’S MOTHERS OF THE PLAZA OF MAYO. Weekly since 1977, mothers and grandmothers of offspring kidnapped in the 1980s have gathered in Buenos Aires’ main square outside the presidential palace to demand, “Where are they? What have you done to them?” The women wear white headscarves bearing their lost children’s names. Their constant vigil brought international attention to the atrocities committed by the military junta during the “dirty war” waged against the people. Fewer than one hundred of the thousands of kidnapped innocents have been found alive. In Argentina and in Chile, after the fall of the military regimes, the Mothers of the Missing continued to gather, demanding punishment for the perpetrators of these crimes.

and giving way to civil rule only in 1982 after the self-incurred disaster of the brief Falkland Islands War with Britain. Only in the early 1990s did this potentially rich country stabilize politically and find its way—briefly—out of the social conflicts and mismanagement of the economy that mark its history. Like all of Latin America, its economic well-being and social harmony still largely depend on events and processes in which it is essentially a bystander, as the national bankruptcy of the 1990s again demonstrated.

The appeal of nationalism remains strong and will become stronger as the Latin Americans gradually come into contact with the world beyond their neighborhoods by means of international trade arrangements, such as NAFTA and the South American Community of Nations (CSN). It remains to be seen whether globalization will bring tangible benefit to the masses of the poor or just be a modern variant on the neocolonialism of earlier times. The neoliberal tenets of privatization, free trade, and foreign investment may hold more promise for Latin America's rich than for its poor. Free trade pacts do not necessarily lead to fair trade at fair prices for peasants and workers. In any case, those who clamor for political power in the name of "the people" will always find a ready audience in this sadly unbalanced society. What Mexican peasants saw in Cárdenas and Argentine descamisados in Perón was a leader who, whatever his faults, claimed to stand on *their* side of the social and economic barricades, and that was a rarity they appreciated. By the year 2000, Venezuela's caustically anti-U.S. president, Hugo Chávez, was preparing to spearhead a new populist movement in South America. Chávez aims to counteract U.S. domination of the region by allying himself with Cuba's Castro and other socialist neighbors.

THE SHARK AND THE SARDINES

What about the powerful neighbor to the north? During the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, the *Yanquis* repeatedly played a heavy-handed and frankly conservative role in Latin American international affairs. One leader who had experienced firsthand what American influence could do in a small country (Guatemala) called it the relationship of the "shark with the sardines." That may be slightly overstating the case, but there is no doubt that in ways both open and covert, Washington was the court of final appeal in Latin foreign relations and, in some cases, not just foreign relations.

The United States first began to pay close attention to Latin America during the Spanish-American War (1898–1900), which was fought, in part, over the rights of the Cuban people to independence. In the ensuing thirty years, Washington intervened at will in Latin and Caribbean affairs. Incidents ranged from Theodore Roosevelt's creation of Panama as a suitable place to build his desired

canal, to the sending of armed forces against Mexico and Haiti, and the use of the Marines to squelch the rebels of General Sandino—the original *Sandinistas*—in Nicaragua.

After World War I, U.S. capital and finance took the vacated place of that of the Europeans with a rush. The dependence of some of the Central American "**banana republics**" on the plantations of the United Fruit Company was merely the most notorious example of the economic imperialism that was practiced throughout Latin America. Cuba's huge sugarcane farms and mills were 80 percent owned by U.S. investors; U.S. firms using U.S. engineers brought in the big oil strikes in Venezuela; Mexico's original petroleum fields were dependencies of U.S. firms until nationalization; and 20 percent of the land surface of Mexico's border states was owned or leased by foreign investors in the 1920s—to name only a few examples.

But the story of Latin dependency on the United States has another side. Had it not been for Yankee investment and commerce, the countries to the south would have been even less developed economically and would have sunk deeper into their grossly obsolete system of production and consumption. Until World War II, it's largely true that the Caribbean and northern Latin America (with the exception of Cárdenas' Mexico) were U.S. colonies in everything but name. The bigger question remains: What would have been the region's fate in this period in the absence of the United States? Through their own efforts and expertise, they would never have achieved reasonable living standards for even a small segment of their peoples during the first half of the past century (and perhaps not in the second, either). If the U.S. capitalists had not been involved, would Latin Americans have found more benevolent and selfless sources of help outside the Americas? It seems very doubtful.

In Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency (1933–1945), the United States embarked on a **Good Neighbor Policy**, treating the Latins more as sovereign nations than as colonies. For many years, no troops were landed to ensure a "stability" acceptable to the United States, but still no one had any doubt where true sovereignty lay in the Western Hemisphere. With World War II and the coming of the Cold War, Washington became more concerned about the political allegiance of the Latin states. In treaties signed immediately after the war, the United States pledged political and economic assistance to the other Latin American signatories. In 1948, the **Organization of American States (OAS)** was founded under American auspices and served several useful commercial, cultural, and legal purposes besides its primary one of assuring democratic and pro-Western governments in the hemisphere.

But the real catalyst for U.S. activity was the coming of Fidel Castro (fee-DELL CAST-roh) to revolutionary power in Cuba (with a program described in the Law and Government box). Originally the organizer of a hopelessly outnumbered band of idealists, Castro rather surprisingly overturned the corrupt and unpopular Batista government

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

FIDEL CASTRO'S MANIFESTO

Fidel Castro attempted to begin a revolutionary movement in Cuba in 1956, three years before a second attempt was successful. The attack on the Moncada Barracks was a failure, and Castro was captured, but he was given an opportunity by the trial judges to broadcast his appeal to the Cuban people. His summation in his own defense is entitled *History Will Absolve Me*. Cuban revolutionaries regard it as the fundamental statement of Castro's beliefs:

When we speak of the people we do not mean the comfortable ones, the conservative elements of the nation, who welcome any regime of oppression, any dictatorship, any despotism, prostrating themselves before the master of the moment.

... When we speak of struggle, the people means the vast unredeemed masses to whom all make promises and whom all deceive; we mean the people who yearn for a better, more dignified and more just nation...

Seven hundred thousand Cubans without work...

Five hundred thousand farm laborers, inhabiting miserable shacks, who work four months of the year and starve the rest...

Four hundred thousand industrial laborers and stevedores whose retirement funds have been embezzled, whose benefits are being taken away ... whose salaries pass from the hands of the boss to the moneylender...

One hundred thousand small farmers who live and die working on land that is not theirs, looking at it in sadness as Moses looked at the Promised Land, to die without ever owning it...

Thirty thousand teachers and professors who are so devoted, dedicated and necessary to the better destiny

of future generations and who are so badly treated and paid...

Twenty thousand small business men, weighted down by debt ... and harangued by a plague of grafting and venal officials.

Ten thousand young professionals ... who come forth from school with their degrees, anxious to work and full of hope only to find themselves at a dead end with all doors closed...

These are the people, the ones who know misfortune and, therefore, are capable of fighting with limitless courage!

To the people whose desperate roads through life have been paved with the bricks of betrayal and false promises, we were not going to say: "We will eventually give you what you need," but rather—"Here you have it, fight for it with all your might, so that liberty and happiness can be yours!"



FIDEL CASTRO IN HAVANA. The Cuban revolutionary leader enjoys his victorious entry into Havana after chasing out the corrupt Batista regime in 1959.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

How closely did Castro's actions follow his words when he did manage to secure power in Cuba? Should it have been such

an unpleasant surprise to the U.S. government of Dwight Eisenhower when Castro proceeded to nationalize all U.S. industrial properties? Do Castro's statements affect your own understanding of how he has been able to retain power in Cuba for over forty years?

Source: Fidel Castro, *History Will Absolve Me* (London: Cape, 1968).



You can read the Fidel Castro's writings online.

at the beginning of 1959. After a year of increasing tension, he declared himself a Marxist and began systematically persecuting those who openly disagreed with that philosophy, while denouncing the United States as the oppressor of freedom-loving Latin Americans. After he nationalized the extensive U.S. business interests in Cuba, a state of near-war existed between the two countries, culminating in the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion by U.S.-financed anti-Castroites in 1961. A year later, the placement of long-range missiles on the island by the Soviets brought the world to the brink of nuclear war (see Chapter 47).

Since then, relations between the Castro government and Washington have remained frigid. The Cuban revolution, despite some real achievements for the people of the island (literacy, public health, technical education, housing), has proved unable to guarantee a decent material life, especially because Castro's original Soviet and Chinese supporters have collapsed or withdrawn their aid. The revolution has also proved unsuitable for export to the rest of the continent, as Castro had once intended. No other Latin state ever "went communist," although a few Marxist-leaning governments have been elected—notably, those of Salvador Allende (ah-YEHN-day) in Chile in 1971 and of the Sandinistas (sahn-dee-NEES-tahs) in Nicaragua in the 1980s. All of these have been overtly and covertly undermined by the United States, as have the attempts by Marxist-led guerrillas or terrorists to seize power. The fiasco of Marxist theory and practice in Eastern Europe (see Chapter 53) and the manifest disinterest of the Chinese in political intervention have all but eliminated this threat to capitalist and democratic governments in the continent. The termination of the Cold War has had a beneficial effect on U.S.–Latin American relations, as the United States no longer worries that some type of hostile Soviet puppet regime will be installed in these near neighbors. On the other hand, since the 1990s, the United States has missed opportunities to provide leadership in hemispheric trade agreements; meanwhile, Brazil, Chile, and Venezuela have increased trade with Asia and Europe. Finally, time will tell whether the U.S. will again take the lead in controlling immigration and in fighting drug trafficking.

The U.S. Role in Recent Latin Affairs

In the early days of the Kennedy administration (1961–1963), under the emblem of anti-Castro action, the United States entered into an **Alliance for Progress** with the Latin American states. More than \$10 billion was set aside for economic development loans and credits, more than twice the money allocated to postwar Europe under the Marshall Plan. But as so often happens with government programs that are intended to make a quick impression on the electorate, much of the money went to make the rich richer or wound up in the wrong pockets. The single most effective, externally funded program for Latin American development was

the quiet work on improving crop yields, done mainly in Mexico during the 1950s and 1960s. This botanical laboratory project gave a tremendous boost to world food grain production, resulting in some places in the Green Revolution that we have mentioned earlier. Its success in greatly stimulating rice, wheat, and other food grain production is a main reason why the threatened world famine has thus far been confined to regions of Africa and has not menaced Latin America and the entire developing world.

In recent decades, U.S. involvement with the Caribbean nations has again become openly interventionist and reactionary, but generally within dimensions that the OAS as a whole has been willing to approve. Since 1983, presidents Ronald Reagan (Grenada, Nicaragua), George Bush (Panama), and Bill Clinton (Haiti) have acted forcefully to protect what they perceived to be U.S. strategic, political, or economic interests in the area. Ongoing efforts funded and guided by the North Americans to control narcotic drug smuggling from several Latin states into the United States have drawn further U.S. intervention, but a return to the pre-1930 system of "gunboat diplomacy" by the United States is hardly possible, even were it desirable. A major voluntary change in the levers of control occurred in 2000 when the U.S.-built-and-managed Panama Canal became part of the sovereign territory of Panama. Pending political questions in the Caribbean basin include possible independence for Puerto Rico (a U.S. territory for the past century) and the fate of Cuba after the inevitable demise of the octogenarian Fidel Castro.

CURRENT ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

In Latin America as elsewhere, economic and social issues are linked together and have had numerous direct political repercussions. In Latin America as a whole, just as in Africa, probably the highest-priority long-term social problem is controlling a rate of population growth (2.9 percent) that is too high for the available resources. As in Africa, several governments would contest this assessment, saying that faulty or nonexistent access to resources, both domestic and foreign, generates most social frictions in their countries. There is, in fact, something to be said for this argument. In the eyes of many Latin Americans, the developed world, and especially the United States, has taken unfair and shortsighted advantage of the underdeveloped world during the past century and continues to do so in the following ways:

1. The terms of foreign trade—that is, the rate at which raw materials are exchanged for manufactures, consumer goods, and necessary services—are loaded in favor of the developed countries.
2. Financial credits have been extended to the underdeveloped American nations with unrealistically high

interest and short terms, which nearly guarantees that the loans cannot and will not be repaid on time, if at all. This condition then becomes the basis of demanding still-harsher terms for the next loan.

3. Currently, the underdeveloped nations are being pressed to avoid using the main resources they possess—what nature has given them—to ensure a more secure future for the developed minority. Environmental concerns are being used to justify interference in internal affairs such as how many trees are cut down, or where beef cattle should graze, or how many fish should be caught.

What are we to make of these complaints? First, there can be little doubt that Latin America, like the rest of the developing world, has been forced to accept consistently disadvantageous trade conditions while getting only an occasional and undependable sop in the form of World Bank or bilateral loans and grants. Since World War II, a ton of wheat, a bag of coffee, or a container of bananas purchases less and less of the electrical machinery, office equipment, or insurance policies that the developed countries sell to the underdeveloped nations.

Whether the second accusation is true is debatable. Much of the waste, corruption, or misuse of international credits was indisputably the work of recipients in the developing countries, who had little fear of ever being held personally responsible. At the same time, the international lending community has rarely if ever “pulled” loans that were clearly being diverted to the illicit benefit of individuals. In any case, the terms of the international loans extended to the Latin countries in the past have been notably more severe than those granted to Africa and Asia. The efforts to repay have handicapped Latin America’s domestic investment and contributed to the fragile condition of the current Latin economies.

The third charge has a complex background but demands a decisive answer because it will affect us all in a powerful fashion. The Latin Americans (and others) are saying in essence, “You, the developed industrial societies, have now awakened to the dangers of pollution and abuse of the environment but want us, the less developed, to pay the price of implementing rational policies while you enjoy the short-term benefits of irrationality.” It was all right, in other words, for nineteenth-century American timber companies to cut down every tree over a foot thick in Michigan, but it is not all right for twentieth-century Brazilian timber companies to cut down mature mahogany in the Amazon basin. Multiply this example by hundreds, and you will have the position adopted by the Latin Americans and most other leaders of developing countries in response to the environmental concerns of the developed world. Interestingly, organized indigenous groups in the Amazon basin are demanding a voice in planning for sustainable use of the rain forests in the future.

The flight to the cities we have already mentioned in connection with modern Africa is equally strong in Latin America. Towns such as Lima or Bogotá, which were still slumbering in the early twentieth century, have been overwhelmed with peasant migrants in the last forty years. The majority live in unfinished, do-it-yourself neighborhoods that spring up in an ever-widening circle around the older city. Many of the inhabitants of these barrios have established a settled, even secure life, but many others are living on a tightrope, balancing petty and sporadic income against the constant demands of food and fuel. Much of the urban population seems to be “living on air,” hustling up unskilled work on a day-to-day basis or depending on networks of kin and friends to see them through until they can return the favor. (See the Society and Economy box for more about urban migration.)

Rich and Poor

The chasm between rich and poor is deeper and more apparent in Latin American countries than anywhere else. Africa has relatively few very rich and not many people who are well-to-do. In most of Asia, wealth is fairly evenly distributed except in one or two cities in each country. But in South America, the extremes are growing, while the number of those in the middle is more or less stagnant. There are a great many poor and a very small but growing number of rich—and the contrast between them is a powder keg in most Latin American countries.

So visible and disturbing is the polarization of Latin American society that the Catholic Church, long the main bastion of conservatism and reaction, has taken the lead in country after country as a voice for the poor. **Liberation theology**, an unusual combination of Marxist social theory and Catholic humanitarianism, has come to life in several countries, notably Brazil, to speak for the common people against a social and economic system that has exploited them for many generations.

Hundreds of priests, nuns, and higher officials of the church were imprisoned or even murdered by military and civilian reactionaries. Archbishop Oscar Romero (roh-MEH-roh) of El Salvador was shot down while saying mass in his own cathedral because he spoke out against the bloody excesses of the military in the civil war in El Salvador in the 1980s. The Romeros of two generations before would have been blessing the army’s guns.

Changing Styles in Government

Latin America since 1930 has thus tried several different styles of government—including socialism, corporatism, and nationalist populism—in an effort to achieve greater social justice and economic prosperity. Most of these have quickly degenerated into dictatorship. All have proved either ineffective or corrupt or were unable to retain their momentum. Castro’s Cuba remains the one experiment

with scientific socialism, and even its defenders acknowledge that it has failed its people economically in the last twenty years.

In the 1960s, it appeared quite possible that Latin American Marxists, inspired by Castro's success, would attempt to seize power in several countries. Economic nationalism was faltering, and little social reform had been achieved. Terrorist activity became a menace to the upper classes in Argentina and Brazil, where urban guerrillas operated. The military establishment in country after country pushed aside the ineffectual politicians and governed directly on a platform of law and order. Encouraged by government policy makers, Western banks loaned huge sums to the Latin American nations. Foreign debt increased by more than twelve times in the 1970s, to a point where, due to the slightest economic reversal, the Latin American nations could not pay even

the interest on time. A wild inflation was the main enemy of reform plans. At one time, the value of the Argentine peso against the U.S. dollar was dropping at the rate of 10 percent per day.

The 1970s were the low point for constitutional government. At one point in that decade, only three of the twenty Latin American nations had elected governments. Everywhere else, the military attempted to meet the increasing demands for economic reform by going outside the political process and ignoring opponents' civil rights. The military dictators of South America agreed clandestinely to cooperate in capturing and eliminating any dissidents—particularly the younger generation, which was automatically suspect. The secret police of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile kidnapped untold thousands of innocent young people, most of whom disappeared forever. The mothers of the missing (in Spanish, *desaparecidos*) relentlessly protested

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

THE HUMAN FACE OF MODERN URBANIZATION

Megacities from Mexico City to Santiago, Chile, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, are the result of massive, uncontrollable migrations from impoverished and strife-ridden rural Latin America during the second half of the last century. The thousands of newcomers who arrive daily depend at first on the hospitality of family or friends who preceded them to the city. Then they scramble to find (or invent) jobs as “informals” in the dynamic, unofficial informal economy (whose productivity equals that of the official economy that is reflected in the statistics). Next, they join others to build temporary huts on unoccupied lands in remote outskirts of the city. After ten or twenty years of persistent political activism and unrelenting toil, the shantytown eventually becomes a settlement of owner-built houses incorporated by the city, provided with water and utilities, and linked to the urban public transportation system. The inhabitants must cobble together two or three jobs as construction workers, street vendors or performers, or domestic servants in the faraway city centers, commuting hours each way. Because they are officially invisible, they have no benefits or employment guarantees. They spend their scant leisure time thinking of new ways to earn money at home. The transition from rural village to megacity is wrenching: Family structures and traditional lifeways often disintegrate. Yet this precarious and often-dangerous life is preferable to starving in their villages of origin, where the small plots of rocky soil cannot sustain families.

One of urban migration's rare success stories is that of Pascuala (pahs-KWAH-lah), a single mother and informal

worker living on the outskirts of Lima, Peru, in the 1980s. Pascuala came from an Aymara Indian village in the mountains of Peru, where she left school after first grade to shepherd her father's animals. As a young girl, she began working as a maid for a fashion-conscious wealthy woman in Lima. Pascuala convinced her mistress to send her to seamstress school, where she excelled. When her middle-class boyfriend abandoned her and their baby and she lost her job as a domestic, Pascuala was determined to support herself by sewing. Her business, at first piecework done at home, expanded to a small market stall when she befriended a helpful older woman vendor who helped her get a vendor's license. Eventually, Pascuala rented space in a shopping mall, where she employed several seamstresses, also Aymara Indian migrants to Lima. Pascuala now has a small house and drives her shiny new car when she visits her family in the village.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Comment on the obstacles that Pascuala overcame as she advanced. Conversely, what factors helped her to establish her business? In your opinion, what type of government would be best for urban poor people?

Source for Pascuala's story: “Simply Pascuala” by José María Salcedo, pages 452–455 in *The Peru Reader* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995).





Julio Etchart/Alamy

RIGOBERTA MENCHÚ. This Guatemalan activist of Mayan descent won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992 for speaking out on behalf of the downtrodden Amerindian masses. Latin American women activists of all classes, from peasants to professionals, now participate in politics.

against the repressive regimes and demanded that justice be done.

In the 1980s, with Argentina and Brazil again leading the way, the pendulum swung back to civilian rule; by the end of that decade, only a few countries were still ruled by men in uniform. The military in Buenos Aires stepped down in disgrace after foolishly provoking a war with Britain over the Falkland Islands, and a few years later, the Brazilian generals gave up power to the first duly elected government in a quarter century.

The emergence from a century and a half of neocolonialism is a painfully slow process that will continue well into the twenty-first century even in the most hopeful scenarios. Democratic, constitutional government is still a fragile flower in most of the continent, but it made some strong gains in the 1980s and 1990s. Even in the most precarious new democracies, there are more freedoms and an unprecedented inclusion of ethnic and racial minorities in politics at all levels. Will democracy take root in Latin America, or will authoritarianism and militarism emerge once again? The outcome will depend largely on whether and how socioeconomic discontent is resolved. In the early twenty-first century, several newly elected Latin American presidents are moderate social democrats who support helping the poor while pursuing economically conservative policies (and rejecting the neopopulist movement of Chávez). One of these leaders was Chile's Michelle Bachelet (bah-che-LET), the first woman elected president of a South American country (in 2006).

SUMMARY

THE TWENTY NATIONS IN LATIN and Caribbean America have overriding similarities, despite some differences. Everywhere, policy makers are concerned with the question of economic development—how to achieve it and how to manage it. Everywhere, the relationship between the United States and the others is vital to the future stability and prosperity of the continent. Various types of economic nationalism, sometimes introduced by the military, have been the Latin Americans' response to their status as poor relations of the more developed nations of the world. Cárdenas in Mexico and Perón in Argentina were perhaps the most noted examples in the last sixty years, but many others have appeared and will continue to do so. Fifty years ago, Castro offered a Marxist response to neocolonial status in Cuba, but Marxism has had minimal appeal outside that country, despite initial efforts to spread it. Its future is very dim.

Social problems, especially the unequal distribution of wealth and the pressures generated by a high birth-rate, haunt the continent south of the Rio Grande. One of the most striking manifestations of these problems is the uncontrollable growth of the cities and their shantytown surroundings. Another is the widespread street crime and law evasion. Despite repeated populist promises of thoroughgoing reform, political solutions have been sporadic and partial at best. Foreign aid has been both sparse and undependable over the longer term. Nevertheless, after the failure of the military regimes of the 1970s, there has been a vigorous recovery in parliamentary government, with increasing numbers of women and ethnic minority participants. Since the 1990s, some hopeful signs have indicated that constitutional democracy and self-determination will triumph permanently if the overbearing socioeconomic and environmental crises can be mastered. Currently,

continent-wide initiatives exist to develop scientific investigation, democratize technologies of communication and

information, and develop sustainable tourism that boosts economies and preserves the environment.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Alliance for Progress

banana republics

Good Neighbor Policy

Liberation theology

North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA)

Organization of American States (OAS)

Peronismo

For Further Reflection

1. Briefly describe the main styles of government attempted in twentieth-century Latin America. Generally speaking, what were the benefits and drawbacks in each case?
2. Trace the development of relations between the United States and Latin America in the twentieth century. What role do you think the United States should play in Latin America in the future?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com

1. After the Great Depression of the 1930s began, the larger Latin American states
 - a. became totally dependent on imported goods.
 - b. carried out long-delayed agrarian reforms to favor the peons.
 - c. started on a program of economic nationalism.
 - d. suffered economic collapse.
 - e. joined the Pan American Union and became economically successful.
2. The most socially conscious Mexican president in the twentieth century was
 - a. Lázaro Cárdenas.
 - b. Porfirio Díaz.
 - c. Benito Juárez.
 - d. Pancho Villa.
 - e. Miguel Hidalgo.
3. The most widely recognized female in twentieth-century Latin American history was probably
 - a. St. Theresa.
 - b. Eva Perón.
 - c. Carmen Miranda.
 - d. Madonna.
 - e. Michelle Bachelet.
4. Juan Perón was forced from power in 1955 by
 - a. a mass uprising.
 - b. a free election.
 - c. U.S. intervention.
 - d. a military plot.
 - e. ill health.
5. Which of the following countries did *not* experience U.S. military intervention in the twentieth century?
 - a. Nicaragua
 - b. Panama
 - c. Bolivia
 - d. Haiti
 - e. Cuba
6. President Franklin Roosevelt is responsible for implementing
 - a. the Good Neighbor Policy.
 - b. Dollar Diplomacy.
 - c. the United Fruit Company.
 - d. the Panama Canal treaty.
 - e. the Alliance for Progress.
7. Latin Americans would most accurately be described as viewing U.S. concerns for the environment of Central and South America as
 - a. compassionate.
 - b. unnecessary.
 - c. misguided.
 - d. arbitrary.
 - e. hypocritical.
8. The strongest voice for the poor in many Latin American countries has been
 - a. military strongmen.
 - b. the wives of government leaders.
 - c. intellectuals.
 - d. democratically elected representatives.
 - e. the Catholic church.

9. In the 1970s, the government and politics of most Latin American countries experienced
 - a. a swing toward the Marxist left.
 - b. intervention by military-based dictatorships.
 - c. a swing toward social welfare programs.
 - d. a renewal of clerical influence.
 - e. a process of democratization.
10. In the later 1980s and 1990s, Latin America experienced a strong movement toward
 - a. democratically elected governments.
 - b. military takeovers.
 - c. Marxist dictatorships.
 - d. fascist governments.
 - e. state capitalism.



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The Reemergence of the Muslim World

THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

PALESTINE/ISRAEL

THE RISE OF ISLAMISM

THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION

THE OIL WEAPON

THE GULF WAR AND THE INVASION OF IRAQ

THE MUSLIM NATIONS TODAY

The Arabs

The Non-Arabic Nations

FOR THE FIRST TIME in centuries, the Muslim peoples are at the center of world events and are playing major roles in international affairs. The term *Muslim world* refers to far more than the Middle East or the Arab countries (see Map 52.1). Muslims now number about one-sixth of humanity, and Islam is the dominant religion in thirty-eight countries reaching from Southeast Asia to the Atlantic coast of Africa. The 148 million Arabs are mostly Muslims, but a great many of the 1 billion Muslims are not Arabs. In this chapter, however, we will focus on the Arab Middle East, because that is where the major events and processes defining the Muslim relationship with the world have taken place in the last century.

One of the most important factors in Middle Eastern history over the last seventy years has been geology. By far the largest known oilfields in the world are located under Saudi Arabia and the other Persian Gulf Muslim countries. Their development was the key to the massive change in relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the later twentieth century, particularly after the oil boycott of 1973.

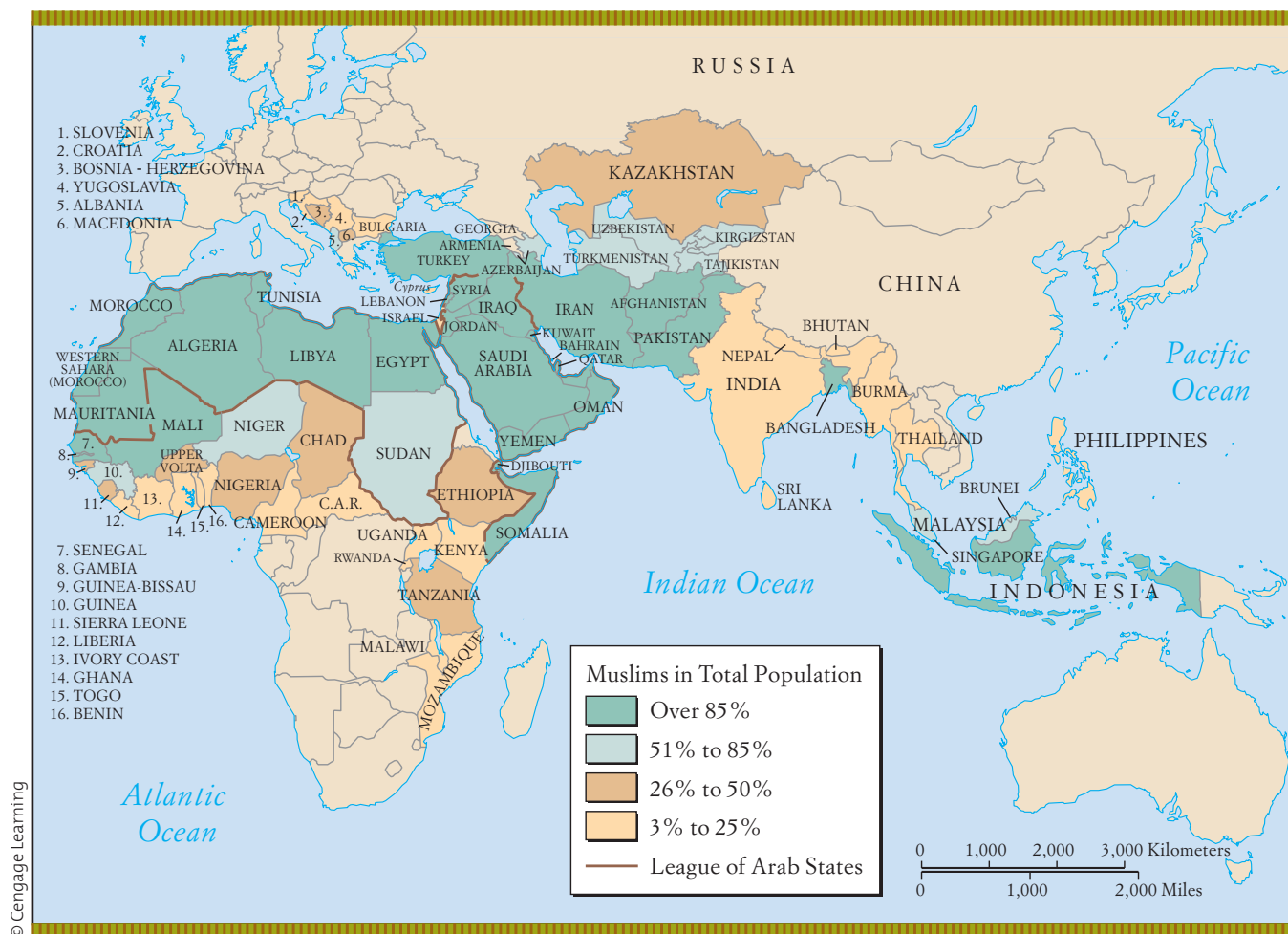
Another major component of modern Middle East history, Arab nationalism, was originally directed against the Turkish overlords, and it had become so strong by the time of World War I that the British found the Arabs willing allies in the fight against their fellow Muslims. The Arabs' reward was supposed to be an independent state, reaching from Egypt to Iraq and headed by the Hashimite family of *shaykhs* in Arabia, who had been among the most prominent of the British allies during the war.

Contradictory wartime diplomatic deals made by the French, British, and Italians in 1916–1917 ended the Arabs' dream of a large, independent state,

The people [of the Muslim world] sometimes make much more history than they consume locally.

—Saki (H. H. Munro)

1915	McMahon Letter
1916	Sykes-Picot Agreement
1917	Balfour Declaration on Palestine
1920s	Ataturk leads Turkey; Saudi Arabia united by Ibn Saud
1946–1948	Mandate territories become independent states
1948	Israel founded; Israeli-Arab War begins
1956	Suez Canal nationalized by Egypt
1964	PLO founded to fight Israel
1973	OPEC oil boycott
1979	Iranian Revolution; Soviet intervention in Afghanistan
1980–1988	Iraq-Iran War
1985	Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan
1991	Gulf War against Iraq
1993	Peace Agreement between Israel and PLO
1999	Renewed Israeli-Palestinian confrontation
2001	al-Qaida attack on World Trade Center
2002–Present	U.S. occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq

**MAP 52.1** Modern Islam, 2007

Although the Islamic heartland remains the Middle East and North Africa, Islam is growing steadily in black Africa and is the majority faith in more than thirty countries around the globe.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What past historical factors aided the spread of Islam outside its heartlands in the Middle East?

however. In effect, Turkish prewar imperial rule was replaced by European rule. The postwar Near Eastern Arab lands were converted into “**mandates**,” which were made the legal responsibility of the League of Nations but placed under the direct administrative rule of the British and French until such time as the Arabs proved their ability to act as responsible sovereign powers. Syria and Lebanon were French mandates from 1919 to 1946, and Jordan, Palestine, and Iraq were British mandates. When the Hashimite-led nationalists protested and rebelled, they were put down with decisive military action. Egypt, where the British had had an occupation force since 1882, got a slightly better arrangement. There, nationalism was strong enough to induce the British to grant the Egyptians’ pro-forma independence in 1922. British troops remained, however, and real independence was withheld until the 1950s because of British concerns about the Suez Canal and their “lifeline to India.”

During the 1920s and 1930s, the small gains affected by individual Arab groups gave momentum to nationalist

pan-Arabism, a movement that tried to get Arabs everywhere to submerge their differences and unite under one political center. The example of Saudi Arabia was held up as a possible model. Under conservative shaykh Ibn Saud, most of the Arabian Peninsula was unified in the 1920s by conquest and voluntary association and turned into a poverty-ridden but sovereign state. But the pan-Arabists could show few other gains by the time World War II broke out. The colonial grip on individual regions was too strong, and the disunity and jealousies that had plagued Arab politics for a long time showed no sign of abating.

THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

The exception to the continued subordination of the Muslim states or societies was the new Republic of Turkey. In the aftermath of its defeat as Germany’s ally in World War I, the sultan’s government had lost all credibility in

Turkish eyes. Backed by Great Britain, the Greek government attempted in 1919 to realize the “Great Idea” of restoring the former Byzantine Empire and making the interior of Turkey (Anatolia) once more a Greek colony. A Greek army landed on the Turkish coast and began to move inland.

At this critical point, a leader emerged who almost single-handedly brought his people back from the edge of legal annihilation. This was Mustafa Kemal, called **Ataturk** (father of Turkey). Kemal had been a colonel in the Ottoman army. In 1919–1921, he organized the national resistance to the invaders and won a decisive victory against the poorly led Greeks. Among the defeated in World War I, Turkey alone was able to secure an eventual revision of the original peace. The new treaty recognized the full sovereignty of the Turkish state within the borders it now has. The former Arab provinces were abandoned to the Western mandates.

But this was no longer Ottoman Turkey. Kemal was elected the first president (with near-dictatorial powers) of the new parliamentary republic. Until his death in 1938, Kemal retained the presidency as he drove Turkey and the Turks to a systematic break with the past. Modernization and Westernization were the twin pillars of Kemal’s policies as he focused on separating Turkish civil society from Islamic culture.

In every visible and invisible way Kemal could devise, the citizens of modern Turkey were distinguished from their Islamic ancestors. Western-style dress was introduced and even made mandatory for government workers. The veil was abolished. The Latin alphabet replaced the revered Arabic script. Women were made legally equal to men and could divorce their husbands. Polygamy was forbidden. Western schooling was introduced and made compulsory for both sexes. A new legal code was introduced, based on Western models and allowing no preference for Muslims. The capital was moved from the ethnically half-Greek Istanbul to the more-Turkish Ankara.

By the time of his death, Kemal had kept his promise to do for the Turks what Peter the Great had attempted to do for the Russians: to thrust them forward several generations through the abandonment of their Islamic base and through bringing them more into line with twentieth-century Western civilization. Despite intense resistance from conservative Muslim circles, Kemal had managed to turn his people into a superficially secular society in less than twenty years. He had also provided a model that was emulated by other, like-minded reformers all over the non-Western world.

PALESTINE/ISRAEL

The thorniest of all problems in the Middle East after World War I was the fate of the British mandate of Palestine (later, Israel). Hoping to draw the Arabs into the war against the Turks, the British government began negotiations

with one of the principal leaders of the pan-Arab movement, the Sharif of Mecca, Husayn ibn Ali al-Hashimi (the Hashimites were the clan of the Prophet Muhammad). In 1915, the British High Commissioner of Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, acting on behalf of his government, wrote Husayn the **McMahon Letter**, in which he promised British support for the creation of an Arab homeland in the region between Iraq and Egypt in return for Arab support. In exchange for this promise, and led by Husayn’s son, “Prince” Faisal, and a British advisor, Col. T. E. Lawrence, Husayn and Arab tribesmen fought a successful guerilla war to expel the Turks from Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. Meanwhile, in 1917, realizing the political influence of wealthy Jews such as Lord Rothschild and seeking support for an American entry into the war, Britain also made promises to the **Zionists**, Jewish nationalists who claimed to represent most European and American Jews. In the **Balfour Declaration**, the British agreed to support a “Jewish national homeland,” but this could be achieved only at the expense of Husayn, Faisal, and the Arabs to whom they had promised support in the region for the creation of an Arab state. The Arabs had shared Palestine with the biblical Jews and had been the majority people there for nearly 1,800 years. To the Arabs of post-World War I, then, the British promise of a “national homeland” sounded like a Jewish-controlled state in which they would only be a tolerated group, and they felt that they had been “double-crossed” (see the Law and Government box).

Jewish immigration into Palestine had begun in a minor way as early as the 1880s but had taken on potentially important dimensions only after the founding of the international Zionist movement by journalist Theodor Herzl at



Jack Picone/Alamy

THE PALESTINIAN INTIFADA: BOYS THROWING STONES AT ISRAELI SOLDIERS. Beginning in 1989 under PLO leadership, the Palestinian Arabs in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank/occupied territories challenged Israeli claims to these areas. Rock-throwing youth rioted in the streets in a persistent *intifada*, or uprising, which forced Israeli countermeasures and gave the Tel Aviv government a black eye in the world press. A second *intifada* began after the breakdown of the 1993 agreement, the Oslo Accord.

LAW AND GOVERNMENT

THE McMAHON LETTER TO THE SHARIF OF MECCA, 1915, AND THE BALFOUR DECLARATION, 1917

Sir Henry McMahon was the British High Commissioner in Egypt and Husayn ibn Ali al-Hashimi was the Sharif of Mecca when the following letter was written in October 1915. In 1915 and 1916, McMahon wrote Husayn to ask for Arab support against the Ottoman Empire, which was fighting on the side of Germany and Austria against the Allied nations. To get this assistance, Britain had to promise its support for an independent Arab state at the end of the war.

As for those regions lying within those frontiers wherein Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interests of her ally, France, I am empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurances and make the following reply to your letter:

1. Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs in all the regions within the limits demanded by the Sherif of Mecca.
2. Great Britain will guarantee the Holy Places against all external aggression and will recognise their inviolability.
3. When the situation admits, Great Britain will give to the Arabs her advice and will assist them to establish what may appear to be the most suitable forms of government in those various territories.
4. On the other hand, it is understood that the Arabs have decided to seek the advice and guidance of Great Britain only, and that such European advisers and officials as may be required for the formation of a sound form of administration will be British.
5. With regard to the vilayets [Ottoman provinces] of Bagdad and Basra, the Arabs will recognise that the established position and interests of Great Britain necessitate special administrative arrangements in order to secure these territories from foreign aggression, to promote the welfare of the local populations and to safeguard our mutual economic interests.

I am convinced that this declaration will assure you beyond all possible doubt of the sympathy of Great Britain towards the aspirations of her friends the Arabs and will result in a firm and lasting alliance, the immediate results of which will be the expulsion of the Turks from the Arab countries and the freeing of the Arab peoples

from the Turkish yoke, which for so many years has pressed heavily upon them.

Source: Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1939, Misc. No. 3, Cmd. 5957.

This letter from the British Foreign Secretary to Lord Rothschild was intended to curry Jewish support for the Allies in the First World War:

Foreign Office
November 2nd, 1917
Dear Lord Rothschild:

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours,
Arthur James Balfour

Source: *The Times of London*, November 1917. Taken from the Internet Modern History Sourcebook. The Sourcebook is a collection of public domain and copy-permitted texts for introductory-level classes in modern European and World history.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

If you were an Arab, how might you have interpreted the first and third paragraphs of the McMahon Letter? To what extent did the Balfour Declaration conflict with the promises the British had made to the Arab leaders? Why do you suppose the British made these conflicting agreements?



You can read Balfour's defense of the Palestine mandate online.



the turn of the twentieth century. Under the well-meaning but muddled British colonial government, Arabs and Jews began to take up hostile positions in Palestinian politics during the 1920s. Soon, this hostility was taking the form of bloody riots, suppressed only with difficulty by the British police. The situation was considerably worsened by the dramatic increase in the number of Jews who immigrated into Palestine immediately after the Balfour Declaration was made public. The British mandate authority did nothing to alleviate the situation until 1939, when belated promises were made to limit immigration. By then, however, the situation was beyond its control. Throughout the 1930s, Jewish immigrants had been pouring into Palestine from Hitler's Germany and Eastern Europe, where vicious anti-Semitism had become commonplace. At the outbreak of World War II, perhaps 30 percent of Palestine's inhabitants were Jews.

At the end of the war, the British in Palestine, as elsewhere, were at the end of their strength, and they wished to turn over the troublesome Middle East mandates as soon as possible to the United Nations. The pitiful remnants of the Jews of Nazi Europe now defied British attempts to keep them from settling illegally in Palestine. Attempts to get Arabs and Jews to sit down at the negotiating table failed, and the frustrated British announced that they would unilaterally abandon Palestine on May 14, 1948. Faced with this ultimatum, the United Nations eventually (November 1947) came out with a proposal for partitioning the mandate into a Jewish state and an Arab state—a compromise that, needless to say, satisfied neither side. By the time the United Nations proposal was put forth, fighting between irregular Arab and Jewish militias was already under way. Zionist leaders in Palestine immediately proclaimed the creation of the nation of Israel upon British withdrawal in May 1948.

The results of the 1948 war—the first of six armed conflicts in the last sixty years between Israel and its Arab neighbors—were strongly favorable to the new Jewish state. Unexpectedly, it held its own and more against its several enemies. But the triumphant Israelis then expelled many hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs from their ancestral lands, creating a reservoir of bitterness that guaranteed hostility for decades to come, with both Palestinian Arabs and Jews making mutually contradictory claims to a “Right of Return.”

In 1964, after fifteen years of intra-Arab dissension about how best to deal with the Israeli presence, Arab leaders formed the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**, whose single goal was the destruction of the state of Israel. Both sides pursued their respective goals with bloodshed and intolerance for each other for almost thirty years until 1993. In this effort the PLO was assisted by most of the Arab states, which saw Israel as an enemy that could not be tolerated in their midst. For its part, as a besieged state, Israel used its well-disciplined and largely American-equipped armed forces to repay violence with violence and to continue occupying Palestinian lands. This enmity, like all other conflicts during the Cold War era, became caught



MAP 52.2 Israel and Its Arab Neighbors, 1947–2007

The extraordinary complexity of the conflict between Jews and Arabs stems in large part from the many years of peaceable intermingling of populations, making it impossible to separate them and to place them under separate governments without coercion. As in the Balkan states, the success and duration of the past domination of the region by Muslims have made the current conflict more savage.

MAP QUESTIONS

Note the dates of Israel's “annexation” of Palestinian lands. What specific events enabled Israel to annex these lands?

up in the general hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union, with the former siding strongly with the Israelis and the latter with the Arabs (see Map 52.2).

THE RISE OF ISLAMISM

Westerners have always misunderstood the nature of Islam and have tried to equate it with Christianity in Europe, with unfortunate results. Islam is much more than a religion as the West understands that term and is certainly not limited to the private sphere as Christianity has

IMAGES OF HISTORY

ISLAMIC ROYALTY

> “PRINCE” FAISAL AND DELEGATION, 1919. Faisal was the son of the Sharif of Mecca, Husayn ibn Ali al-Hashimi. Here he is shown attending the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919. Also in

the photograph is Col. T. E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia), second row, second from the right. The British briefly installed Faisal as the king of Syria, then later of Iraq.



been since the French Revolution. Islamic law, especially, does not recognize the separation of church and state nor of religious belief and civil practice. Rather, for the good Muslim, these concepts are a unity and always have been. They can no more be separated than can the human personality from the body it inhabits. Muslims have always felt a higher identity embracing them than the mere fact of being Syrian or Egyptian. For many, “The Fatherland of a Muslim is wherever the Holy Law of Islam prevails.”

This feeling is not new. Explosive movements of renewal and reform (frequently oversimplified as “fundamentalist”) have a long history in Islamic lands. Whenever and wherever they have appeared, excesses committed by brutal rulers—such as the illegal taxation and even enslavement of their subjects—have provided the spark that set off cries demanding a return to the time-honored well-springs of justice embodied in holy law, the *Sharia*. Always these calls have issued first from the mouths of the religious leaders of the masses—the ulama, the mullahs, and the Sufi shaykhs. From time to time, these purgative movements have taken the form of *jihad*, holy war (Chapters 35 and 36). In the 1890s, the *Salafi* movement began as a movement of reform that sought to accommodate modernism. However, this movement took a more militant turn in the 1920s when Salafi Muslims in Egypt formed the *Islamic Brotherhood*. It was this organization that employed violence for the first time, such as assassinations against “infidel” occupying powers including the British. Even at the high point of secular nationalism in the Middle

East—during the years before and after World War II when the Turkey of Kemal Ataturk, the Iran of Reza Shah, and the Egypt of Nasser were blazing new paths—there was a strong undercurrent of religiously based patriotic feeling that rejected secularism as an ideology that had been imposed on Muslim peoples by the West (see Chapter 35 and below). When some of these secular regimes (notably Egypt’s) were discredited by the humiliation suffered in the 1967 **Six-Day War** and by their failures to raise Muslim lands out of poverty, Muslims abandoned even popular leaders such as Nasser. They turned *en masse* to **Islamism**, Islamic principles, as a powerfully creative force to guide them through the difficulties of life in a world that had grown beyond their understanding, much less control. When governments like Egypt’s responded with imprisonment and executions to stifle Islamist dissent, some came to regard leaders such as Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak themselves as infidels, subject to jihad.

But only in recent decades have Islamists come into the spotlight in world affairs. In several countries—Afghanistan, Pakistan, Jordan, the Sudan, Yemen, Libya, and Algeria—they enjoy widespread and vociferous public support to the point of dominating public life and intimidating their civic rivals. In some others—Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria—they are a minority but seem to be gaining ground against the secularists who still control the governments. In still others—Indonesia, Morocco, and Algeria—the balance is neatly held and can shift momentarily. But overall it is evident that militant forms of Islam

are a potentially major factor in international affairs in the twenty-first century. In recent years, the emergence of **al-Qaida**—the network of Muslim terrorists headed by the Arab **Osama bin Laden** and presumed to be responsible for the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon—has put a different and much more immediately menacing face on the Islamist movement (for more, see Chapter 54).

THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION

Three outstanding events or processes in the twentieth century have together defined many of the spiritual and material bases of the Muslim universe. The first was the establishment of the secular Republic of Turkey by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The second was the oil boycott of 1973–1974, organized and implemented by the Arab members of the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**. The third was the Iranian Revolution of 1979, led by the Ayatollah Khomeini.

The modern state of Iran is the successor to the great Persian empires of ancient times. Its inhabitants, who are not Arabs, have been Muslims almost without exception since the Arab conquest in the 640s. In many epochs, the Iranians have been among Islam's most distinguished leaders. Nevertheless, they are separated from the majority of Muslims in one decisive way: They are Shi'ite Muslims.

Modern Iran came into being in the aftermath of World War I, when a military officer named Reza Shah Pahlavi (ruling 1925–1941) seized power from a discredited traditional dynasty and established an authoritarian regime modeled on that of his Turkish neighbor. His son,

Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (ruling 1941–1979), continued his Westernizing and secularizing policies. By the 1970s, considerable progress had been made in the cities at least. The country had a substantial middle class, technically advanced industry (especially connected with petroleum engineering), an extensive Western educational system, and mechanized agriculture. Its immense oil deposits generated sufficient income to pay for large-scale government projects of every sort, and these proved profitable for a select few contractors and their friends in the bureaucracy.

But the shah had neglected to see to the well-being of much of the urban and most of the rural population. Government corruption was universal, the army and police were all-powerful, and the ruling clique held traditional religious values in more-or-less open contempt. On top of that, many people viewed the shah and his advisers as slavish puppets of the West, who had neither understanding of nor respect for the greatness of Islamic Persia.

The upshot was a massive swell of protest, inspired and led by the exiled Ayatollah (Shi'ite theologian) Ruhollah Khomeini. Under the banners of “Back to the Qur'an” and “Iran for the Iranians,” Khomeini skillfully led his people into revolution and then returned in 1979 to take the helm of the government that succeeded the bewildered shah. For the next decade, the Ayatollah implemented what he had promised Iran from afar: a thoroughly Islamic, uncompromisingly anti-Western, anti-secular government. Resistance to this course was brushed aside by his authoritarian attitude that allowed no concessions. The atheistic Soviets were denounced almost as heartily as the Americans, whose long-standing support for the shah as a Cold War counter against the Soviets had earned Khomeini's especial contempt. (For more about Khomeini, see the Patterns of Belief box.)

In the Ayatollah's Iran, militant Islamism found its most dramatic and forceful exponent so far. But it was by no means a necessarily attractive scenario for other secular Muslim states, and within a year of the Ayatollah's return, Iran was at war with a Muslim neighbor. In 1980, Iraq attempted to take advantage of the upheaval next door to seize some disputed oil-bearing territory from Iran. The eight-year conflict that followed was one of the bloodiest in recent history, claiming at least 1 million lives (mainly Iranian) and dealing both countries blows from which they have not yet recovered.

With its much smaller population, Iraq would have been defeated early in the war had it not been for the active financial support and armaments supplied by other states. Led by the Saudis, many Arab leaders thought that the Ayatollah's radical brand of Shi'ite Islam posed a serious threat to all of them and wished to see it contained or defeated. The militant anti-Western positions embraced by Khomeini (notably, the holding of U.S. hostages in 1979–1980) also induced the Western states to support Iraq in various covert ways—actions that they would soon come to regret.



Reza Estakhrian/Getty Images

AN IRANIAN WOMAN CONSULTS WITH HER MULLAH. With the Ayatollah Khomeini's establishment of a mullah-led government in 1979, Iranian women have been forced to wear the traditional *hijab*. While public humiliation is the sentence for defying the codes the religious leaders have issued, many Muslims, women included, have accepted these conservative measures as necessary for a life based on Islamic values, called Islamism.

PATTERNS OF BELIEF

AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI (1902–1989)

Early in 1979, the massive street demonstrations that had become a daily occurrence in Tehran succeeded in persuading the shah of Iran to leave the country for exile. His place was quickly taken by an unlikely figure: the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a blazing-eyed, ramrod-erect man in his seventies, garbed in the long kaftan of a strict Muslim believer. Khomeini had been forced into exile by the shah's police fifteen years earlier. Now the tables had turned, and it would be Khomeini, not the once all-powerful shah, who ruled Iran's 40 million inhabitants until he died.

The *ayatollah* (the word means “theologian”) was a member of Iran's leading sect, the Shi'ite Muslims, who make up only about 10 percent of the world's Muslim population but have long been the dominant religious group in Iran. Since the 1960s, conservative Shi'a had opposed the secularizing policies of Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. They believed in a rigid interpretation of the Qur'an, whereby government should be the strong right arm of the religious establishment (the *ulama*). Not surprisingly, neither the shah nor his close advisers shared this view. Using all of the apparatus of the modern state, including a barbaric secret police, they made the lives of the ayatollah and his followers miserable and assassinated many of them. Among the dead was Khomeini's elder son, who was murdered in Iraq.

With the resources of a modern army and police at his command, and with the full support of the U.S. government in his general policies, it seemed unthinkable that the shah's throne was in danger from a small group of unarmed religious fanatics. That was true until the mid-1970s, when it became apparent that the government's initial social reforms—the White Revolution—were failing, thanks in part to massive corruption. Always a country of economic extremes, Iran became the model of a society in which a tiny

elite became fantastically wealthy, while the ever-more-numerous poor got the merest crumbs from their table. Surrounded by his elite friends, the shah compounded the bad impression by spending huge sums on personal and familial luxuries.

Khomeini had begun denouncing the shah's mistakes in the 1960s. Even in exile, he was regarded as the spirit of the opposition in Tehran. He was adept at linking the devout villagers with the urban middle classes and reform-minded intellectuals who were coming to hate the shah's misrule. The police attempt to beat the increasing numbers of street demonstrators into flight only created martyrs for the movement. Thousands were arrested weekly, and new recruits instantly filled their places. The peasant soldiers watched their parents and relatives being beaten, and the army became too unreliable to be used against the demonstrators. From his waiting place in Paris, Khomeini's messengers flew back and forth carrying instructions to the faithful. They boiled down to one demand: The shah and all he stood for must go.

When Khomeini took over, the world knew nothing of him or what he desired. That changed quickly, as he imposed strict Qur'anic standards on every aspect of Iran's constitutional and social affairs. He generally opposed all non-Muslim views but was especially contemptuous of the West and, above all, the United States.

Regarding the U.S. government as the foreign power most responsible for Iran's misery, he cut off all relations and began whipping up crowd hatred of the “Great Satan” in Washington. In November 1979, the demonstrators broke into the U.S. embassy and took fifty-two hostages in an attempt to force the Washington authorities to turn over the ailing shah to

(continued)



Jacques Haillon/Corbis

AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI (1902–1989). A Shi'ite religious scholar who opposed the regime of the shah of Iran, Khomeini spent many years in exile in Iraq and France. His taped harangues against the Iranian government and its close ties to the United States helped foment the 1979 Iranian Revolution. He remained the “Leader of the Revolution” and supreme head of state of Iran's revolutionary government until he died in 1989.

revolutionary justice in Tehran. The shah soon died of cancer, but the hostages were held for more than a year until their release was negotiated.

By then, Khomeini (who never took an official post but directed all policy in Tehran) was looked on in the West as a deranged tyrant. His rigid views and his conviction that he had supernatural approval made it next to impossible to approach him with realistic compromises. While the Cold War raged, the West was delighted to see him attack Iran's small Communist Party and to listen to his denunciation of "godless Marxism," but he was equally adamant against the democracies and all they stood for. His own country seemed on the verge of civil war when he died, but the transition of power went smoothly, with clerics of the ayatollah's type gradually giving way to more moderate politicians.

Khomeini's legacies to his people will long be the subject of acrid dispute. Although many regarded him as a saint, his ideas were always opposed by a hard core of secularists, a group that has grown since his death and the reinstitution of a parliamentary government.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Do you believe that the ayatollah's attitude toward the U.S. government was justifiable? Is taking hostages from among officials of a foreign country an unheard-of action in modern times? Can you give examples?



You can read Ayatollah Khomeini's "The Uprising of Khurdad 15" online.

THE OIL WEAPON

What was the number-one history-making event or series of events in the 1970s, in retrospect? Most would now say that it was not the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union or the American adventure in Vietnam or even the rapid steps being taken toward European unity, but rather the worldwide economic crisis precipitated by the OPEC oil boycott. In 1973, the favoritism shown by the West, and especially the United States, toward Israel was answered during that year's brief Arab-Israeli conflict (sometimes known as the **Yom Kippur War** because it began on that Jewish holiday) by the Arabs' decision to withhold all oil shipments to the United States and its NATO allies. Because the Middle East had long been the dominant supplier of world petroleum markets, the impact was immediate and catastrophic. Prices of crude oil quadrupled within a few months. The economies of the Western nations and Japan were put under great strain. Even the United States, which came closest to oil self-sufficiency of all the affected nations, faced shortages.

A major recession, the worst since the 1930s, with unemployment rates zooming to 13 percent in Western Europe, was one of the results. Soaring energy costs caused consumer prices for practically every necessity of life to spiral upward even as demand decreased. As mass unemployment was accompanied by double-digit inflation in the mid- and late 1970s, a new word came into the vocabulary—*stagflation*. This unlovely compound referred to the worst of all economic worlds: the combination of stagnation and inflation.

The postwar boom, which had lasted a quarter of a century, had definitely ended, and most of the West remained in a painful business recession well into the 1980s. Some countries have never entirely recovered from the great oil

shock. Their labor markets have been permanently altered by the disappearance of many blue-collar production jobs that depended on cheap energy. (The 1973 shock was later reinforced by events in Iran. Beginning in 1979–1980, international oil prices again quadrupled for several years because of fears of a supply pinch following the Iranian Revolution and the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War.)

This windfall in Arab oil profits did not last more than a decade, and the OPEC nations were eventually forced to adjust their prices to a diminished world demand. But the brief havoc exacted in oil supplies—which the West had always thought were shielded from producer-country influence—established a new respect for Arab political potency. What Western consumers knew after 1973 was that a handful of heretofore peripheral and insignificant Middle Eastern and North African kingdoms had risen on a tide of crude oil to become at least transitory major players in world politics. The surge in price made some of the major producers (notably, the largest of all, Saudi Arabia) immensely rich in dollars, and money here, as elsewhere, spelled both economic and political power. No longer could any industrial nation afford to ignore what OPEC was doing or planning. For the first time in at least two centuries, the Muslim East had attained importance through its own initiatives, rather than merely because of what one or another alien group was doing there.

THE GULF WAR AND THE INVASION OF IRAQ

In 1990, the ambitious and bloodstained Iraqi dictator, Saddam Hussein (or Husayn), victor in the just-concluded conflict with Iran, believed the time was ripe for a settlement of accounts with Kuwait, his oil-rich neighbor at the

head of the Persian Gulf. In an undisguised grab for additional oil revenues, Saddam invaded the tiny country and declared it annexed, thinking that he would present the world with an accomplished fact backed up by a large and well-armed army.

To his surprise, the West reacted violently and was soon joined by most of the non-Western world, including the Soviet Union and most Arabs. The majority of the United Nations presented Saddam with the most unified front that organization had seen since its inception. The Iraqi dictator refused to back down, however. It took a powerful air and ground attack led by the United States on his forces in 1991 to induce him to withdraw with heavy losses (the Gulf War).

Although a treaty was forced on Saddam that required him to destroy his stockpiles of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons (weapons of mass destruction), his defiance of his enemies and his efforts to frustrate the work of weapons inspectors caused tensions to continue through the 1990s. Urgings by President George H. W. Bush that Iraqis remove him from power had only tragic consequences when his administration failed to back up promises of support to Shi'ites in the south of Iraq and Kurds in the north when they rose up against Saddam in 1991–1992. Thousands were killed in gas attacks and air assaults, resulting in further distrust of the United States.

When many of President Bush's advisers returned to power in 2001 under the administration of his son George W. Bush, the "hawks" among them urged the new president to resume the war against Saddam. When Bush and his advisers claimed that Saddam was allied to al-Qaida and was still hiding weapons of mass destruction, the United States invaded Iraq, despite broad international opposition that claimed that the invasion was blatant aggression. Since the invasion, in ways reminiscent of the Vietnam War, the United States has found itself bogged down again in a war that has proven difficult to justify, steadily losing international standing. The invasion has succeeded in removing Saddam from power, but at the price of breeding more Arab hatred of the United States than ever before. Perhaps most ironically, Iraq temporarily became a recruiting ground for new legions of Islamist zealots bent on destroying the West in the name of Allah. Sovereignty has been returned to an Iraqi ruling council. As of 2009, it appears more likely than just three years ago that Iraq will manage to hold together in the face of radical forms of political Islam, ethnic and sectarian rivalries, and opposition from elements of the old regime that remain opposed to democracy. With violence subsiding, American military units have withdrawn to fortified bases and the Pentagon has begun a gradual exit from the country.

Yet the military intervention of American and allied forces in the region might not be over. After having been driven from Afghanistan, many refugees found refuge in the mountains of northern Pakistan. From the protection of bases in Pakistan's mountainous north and with help

from local Pashtun (pahsh-TOON) tribesmen, the Taliban have retaken control of over approximately 75 percent of Afghanistan's rural areas. On the other hand, 2009–2010 also witnessed successes by Pakistan's army in reasserting control over its mountainous northern borderlands.

THE MUSLIM NATIONS TODAY

The relative importance of the Muslim nations in today's world can be viewed from sharply differing perspectives. Some observers, who focus on the continuing weakness of the domestic political infrastructure and the technological dependency of most Muslim societies on Western nations, tend to dismiss the twentieth-century resurgence as a temporary "blip" that will have no permanent effects on the overall picture of Western world domination.

Others, focusing on such disparate phenomena as the shocking capabilities and determination of the al-Qaida terrorists, the continuance of authoritarian regimes in fourteen Middle Eastern states, and the sophisticated financial initiatives of the Saudi Arabian government to protect its oil revenues, are of the contrary opinion. They believe that the Muslims have placed themselves firmly and permanently on the world stage. In this view, the West would be making a huge mistake to leave the Islamic peoples out of its calculations on any important international issue. It appears that the latter view is becoming generally accepted. However, the lesson of the Iraqi invasion and more than a century of Western imperialism is that responsibility for the future of all Non-Western states must remain primarily with their own citizens—one that is not imposed by outside powers.

The Arabs

It is difficult to generalize accurately about the Arab nations. The various Middle East countries inhabited by Arabs are commonly known by their control over much of the world's oil and their enmity with Israel and, because of its support for Israel and the invasion of Iraq, with the United States. But even these supposedly basic facts are subject to sharp variances both over time and between countries. The oil trade has become much less confrontational and less politicized, but the Arab-Israel hostility seems resistant to any solution. Even the extraordinary diplomatic efforts of U.S. President Bill Clinton in the early 1990s, like those of President Jimmy Carter before him, produced only a mirage of peace rather than its actuality. In 1993, Clinton was able to induce the government of Israel and the PLO to sign a "path to peace" agreement. But in the past several years, this so-called Oslo Accord has repeatedly been tossed aside by hardliners on both sides, and the bloodshed has resumed. At times it has appeared that the ongoing conflict is needed by some of the Arab leadership to divert popular attention from their domestic

economic problems, which have persisted despite both oil profit windfalls and international aid. At other times, the Jewish leadership has been deliberately provocative in its assertions of control over Palestinian people and places and in its support of new Israeli settlements in east Jerusalem and the West Bank.

Egypt, with the largest population of the Arab world, is in an especially difficult position. With few resources beyond the fields of the Nile Valley, it has become entirely dependent on U.S. and World Bank assistance and migration to rich Saudi Arabia to maintain an even minimal living standard for its people. Economic desperation—especially in contrast to the oil wealth of the Saudis, Iraqis, and others—has added fuel to other resentments, which have given rise to a militant Islamic fundamentalism in Egypt and other nations.

But the potential resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict also poses the danger that, without the common enemy, the Arab nations will be forced to recognize what most leaders already tacitly acknowledge: They lack any mutual policies and goals except for adherence in one degree or another to Islam. And that fact, coupled with the bureaucratic corruption and suppression of citizens' civil rights common in non-Western nations, will almost certainly fuel the rising antipathies between the Islamists and the current ruling group of secularist and nationalist politicians. The clash between these two groups focuses on the struggle for the allegiance of the rural majority.

Will the villagers continue to support the urban politicians who have promised them a better life but have delivered on that promise only partially and sporadically since 1945? The secularists include such different past and present personalities as Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat in Egypt, Saddam Hussein in Iraq, Ahmad Ben Bella in Algeria, King Husayn in Jordan, and Hafiz al-Assad in Syria. All of them have wanted to lead their nations into a Westernized technology and economy, while giving perhaps only lip service to Western-style political and civil rights.

On the other side of the equation are the Islamists of various stripes, led by the former Islamist associates of Khomeini in Iran, the members of the al-Qaida terrorist network established under Osama bin Laden, and the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic Jihad, and the Shi'ite **Hizbullah**, as well as many others whose names are as yet unknown to the world. They are willing to accept most of the modern world's material and technical achievements, but only if the power of selection remains securely in their own hands and as long as it is understood that the society using these achievements must be fully in tune with the words of the Qur'an as interpreted by themselves.

For America and its allies, the extremes to which Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida followers were willing to go to free the Middle East from America and other "Crusading" states was demonstrated on September 11, 2001. After having failed to destroy the World Trade Center in the early 1990s, al-Qaida terrorists under bin Laden's orders

hijacked four American airliners, two of which were flown into the World Trade Center, one into the Pentagon, and one crashing in Pennsylvania, costing thousands of innocent lives. Demands by the United States that the Taliban rulers of Afghanistan turn bin Laden and his lieutenants over to the United States for trial were refused. In an effort to destroy the terrorist network and its Taliban allies, the president and Congress allied themselves with dissident Afghani tribes, under a loose confederation of warlords called the "Northern Alliance." Their goals included toppling the Taliban, capturing bin Laden, and destroying his organization.

As of 2009, the first of these objectives was achieved. Bin Laden's network has been seriously crippled, although it has found new recruits around the world among those whose hatred of the United States has been fueled by American actions in Iraq. Bin Laden remains at large, believed to be hiding in northern Pakistan. However, as explained above, the Taliban has made a comeback in Afghanistan, and the future of Western objectives in the region remains clouded.

The Non-Arabic Nations

The Muslim countries of Africa and southern Asia have thus far shown only limited and scattered interest in coordinating their activity, foreign or domestic, with the Arabs, despite extensive aid to these nations from Saudi Arabia and Iran. This attitude is partly a result of the circumstances in which Islam was introduced and grew in these parts of the globe. The offspring of converts who continue to be strongly rooted in their indigenous cultures, the African and Asian Muslims have not been quite as single-minded and exclusive as their Arab fellows in religious affairs.

Since attaining independence in 1949, Indonesia, the largest Muslim state and boasting the fourth-largest population in the world, has felt its way forward by the technique of "guided democracy." The country was originally guided by the charismatic leader of the anticolonial struggle, Sukarno, and then until 1998 by the secularist General Suharto. (Guided democracy claims to be more authentic in representing the popular will than are Western parliamentary governments. It purports to reconcile clashing points of view by the benign guidance of a single leader.) Preoccupied with ethnic-religious conflicts and the problems created by a burgeoning population with limited resources (rich oil deposits are by far the most important), the government has shown no interest in forming associations even with nearby Muslim states. In this melting pot of religions, Islamic fundamentalism has produced several movements that seek either the establishment of an Islamic state under Sharia law or total separation.

Pakistan and Bangladesh are the next-largest Muslim states. Throughout its short history, Pakistan has been entirely occupied with its recurrently dangerous

quarrel with India over Kashmir. Both countries now possess nuclear weapons; both have large populations of minorities who have little identification with the governing groups. In most recent times, the chaos in neighboring Afghanistan has made Pakistan more important in Western eyes, balancing the former tilt toward India. Internally, a series of military takeovers and deep internal divisions have prevented any real commitment to democratic politics, which is perhaps impossible given the huge political and economic problems created by events over which the government has comparatively little control (see Chapter 49). The violence visited upon the country by Islamist militants has added appreciably to its precarious state.

On its side, Bangladesh has been struggling since its creation with abject poverty in an economy that ranks as one of the world's poorest. Lacking any notable human, mineral, or energy resources, Pakistan and Bangladesh have remained on the periphery of both Muslim and world affairs and are heavily dependent on aid from foreign sources ranging from China (Pakistan) to the United States (both). Neither has shown any interest in making common policy with other Muslim countries. (They could not even get along with one another in an earlier joint state.) Secularist generals or their civilian accomplices and puppets have ruled both most of the time since their creation. Radical Islamism is as yet only weakly represented in Bangladesh.

As a summary labeling, the politics and governments of the Muslim states were still far from democratic in

most instances. The monopolistic party with an authority figure at its head was the rule (as random examples, Hosni Mubarak in Egypt, Saddam Hussein in Iraq, and Mu'ammarr Qaddafi in Libya). The central authorities treated ethnic minorities and/or religious "deviants" roughly if they showed the slightest resistance. Civil wars, declared and undeclared, raged in several nations, both between competing sections of the Muslim populace and between Muslims and their religious and cultural rivals (Iraq, Sudan, Algeria). Whole regions containing groups unfriendly to the regime were systematically punished—sometimes by armed force, as in Turkey and Iraq.

The domestic economic condition varied from reasonably stable (the oil-blessed Middle East) to very shaky (most of North and Northeast Africa). Indonesia and Malaysia were so badly shaken by recent fiscal and economic miseries as to bring down entrenched dictators, governments, and parties. Even rich Saudi Arabia proved not immune from the worldwide recession of 2001–2002. In most countries, connections with the bureaucracy were usually necessary for successful enterprise, corruption was rampant, and necessary government investments in infrastructure (roads, airports, sewer lines, and the like) were still conspicuous by their absence. All in all, the reentry of Islam into a prominent place in the modern world has not been easy, and the ride ahead promises to be perhaps even rougher—not only for the countries concerned but also for their non-Muslim neighbors.

SUMMARY

THE MUSLIM WORLD HAS RETURNED to an important role in world politics and economics during the twentieth century, after two or three centuries of insignificance. Making up about one-sixth of the globe's population, Muslims from West Africa to Southeast Asia have been able to insert themselves back into Western consciousness, especially since the oil boycott of the 1970s.

The first real change was the creation of the secular Turkish republic after World War I. This state served as a model for many other Muslim thinkers and politicians and fostered the creation of nationalist associations throughout the Middle East and North Africa. The Arab-Israeli struggle over Palestine has been a galvanizing force from the 1920s to the present. It was followed by the creation of the Arab-sponsored Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the oil boycott, and the rise of more-radical forms of Islamism in the 1970s and 1980s. Fueled by a decade of extraordinary profits from oil, some Muslim countries have experienced a tremendous burst of

modernization. Others, lacking oil, have remained at or near the bottom of the world prosperity scale.

After centuries of relative passivity, Islamic religious leaders (the *ulama* among Sunnis, the *mullahs* and *ayatollahs* among Shi'ites) have been reasserting their ancient claims to leadership of the Muslims in several countries—notably since the revolution in Iran. Although all previous pan-Arabic and pan-Islamic appeals have foundered amid sectarian and national rivalries, it is possible that the present surge of Islamism could erect and maintain such an alliance should these movements succeed in overthrowing the secular governments now in place in most Middle Eastern lands. Their uncompromising rejection of Western ideals—such as religious toleration, political equality, and popular sovereignty—combined with their appeal to an alienated underclass in poverty-stricken Muslim countries, makes them a potentially dangerous force not only for their secular rivals at home but also for international peace.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

al-Qaida
Ataturk

Balfour Declaration
Osama bin Laden

Hizbullah
Islamism
mandates
McMahon Letter
Organization of Petroleum
Exporting Countries
(OPEC)

Palestine Liberation
Organization (PLO)
Six-Day War
Yom Kippur War
Zionists

For Further Reflection

1. Please explain how British promises to the Arabs and to the Jews during World War I would have caused resentment among the Arabs. What does this suggest about the later conflicts in the region between Arab and Jewish nationalists?
2. What seem to be the reasons why Muslims have shifted away from modern secular leadership and government to Islamism? Are these reasons new, or have they existed in past centuries?
3. In your opinion, do most Muslims seem to favor a return to Islamist-style leadership and governments? Be sure to provide reasons and facts to support your answers. What recent events suggest otherwise?
4. Some people believe that the presence of Israel and its actions are at the root of many problems in the Near and Middle East. Is this a fair and accurate assessment? Again, state the reasons for your position.

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com

1. After World War I, the chief exception to colonial rule among Muslim countries was
 - a. Egypt.
 - b. Turkey.
 - c. Iraq.
 - d. Lebanon.
 - e. Iran.
2. The historical movement to unite all Arabs under a single political leadership is
 - a. Arabs First!
 - b. pan-Arabism.
 - c. the Arab Awakening.
 - d. Arab Unity.
 - e. the Arab Brotherhood.
3. Kemal Ataturk believed that Turks
 - a. must remain Muslim to retain a national identity.
 - b. must expand beyond their old borders to solve their national woes.
 - c. had an obligation to liberate their Muslim comrades in Europe.
 - d. must adopt a Western lifestyle.
 - e. had a duty to convert all of their surrounding neighbors to Islam.
4. The McMahon Letter promised
 - a. British support for an Arab state in the Middle East.
 - b. Allied support for an Arab state in Palestine.
 - c. British support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.
 - d. British support for the division of Turkish territories into colonial-like mandates.
 - e. Allied support for a mandate in Palestine.
5. At the time of the Balfour Declaration on Palestine, that country's population
 - a. was in its majority Arab.
 - b. was about half Arab and half Jew.
 - c. was almost zero.
 - d. was polled on its preferences for the postwar era.
 - e. had seen an influx of Muslims in recent years.
6. The state of Israel traces its creation to
 - a. an Arab-Jewish pact in World War II.
 - b. a United Nations decision to create two states from British Palestine in 1947.
 - c. U.S. military intervention after World War II.
 - d. a war against Egypt and Syria in 1963.
 - e. the success of its Jewish residents in the Yom Kippur War.

7. Perhaps the greatest irritant to Palestinians during the immediate postwar period was
 - a. Zionist statements that they desired the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine.
 - b. unchecked Jewish immigration into Palestine.
 - c. the division of Middle East lands into mandated territories.
 - d. the failure of the British to deliver on the promises made in the McMahon Letter.
 - e. the strong support given to the Zionists by outside groups.
8. The Iranian Revolution in 1979 was aimed against
 - a. the shah of Iran and his Soviet backers.
 - b. the shah and his U.S. backers.
 - c. the communists who had seized power.
 - d. the Sunni Muslims who had captured the shah.
 - e. the shah's inability to deal effectively with the country of Iraq.
9. The trigger for the Arab-sponsored oil boycott in 1973 was
 - a. the U.S. air raid on Colonel Qaddafi in Libya.
 - b. the Israeli raid on Yasir Arafat's headquarters in Tunisia.
 - c. the support given by the West to Israel in the Yom Kippur War.
 - d. the revenge of Saudi Arabia for the West's support of the shah in Iran.
 - e. American support for the shah of Iran.
10. The Muslim-majority state with the largest population is
 - a. Pakistan.
 - b. Saudi Arabia.
 - c. Algeria.
 - d. Iran.
 - e. Indonesia.



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53

Collapse and Reemergence in Communist Europe

THE IMMEDIATE POSTWAR ERA

The Communization of Eastern Europe
The Stalinist Regime

FROM STALIN TO BREZHNEV

Goulash Communism
Stagnation

THE END OF COMMUNIST RULE

THE BREAKUP OF THE SOVIET UNION

EASTERN EUROPE'S REVOLUTION OF 1989

PROBLEMS OF THE POSTCOMMUNIST ERA

IN 1989, AN ASTOUNDED world watched the spectacle of the impossible happening in Eastern Europe: the rapid and complete collapse of the forty-five-year-old communist system. A year later, the doubly impossible happened in the Soviet Union: the peaceable abolition of the Communist Party's control of government. One year after that, the Soviet Union dissolved, and its component ethnic regions became independent states.

Rarely, if ever, has such a totally unexpected and complete reversal of the existing state of international political affairs occurred in such a brief span. The Cold War—which had defined all other international arrangements for a long generation—was abruptly terminated. And an integrated system of political and military controls, governing an economic apparatus that had ruled from fifty to seventy-five years over 300 million people, was simply thrown into the ashcan and the table swept clean. The most memorable Revolution of the Proletariat, so vehemently proclaimed by the followers of Karl Marx, turned out to be the revolution that ended the reign of Marxism.

THE IMMEDIATE POSTWAR ERA

As we saw earlier, the Soviet government under Josef Stalin emerged triumphant from the “Great Patriotic War.” The Red Army stood in the center of Europe, hailed by some at least as the liberator from the Nazi yoke. While the

Men have always been mad,
and those who think they can
cure them are the maddest
of all.

—Voltaire

1945–1948	Eastern Europe comes under Soviet domination
1948–1960	Stalinist phase in Eastern European economies
1953	Stalin dies
1955–1964	Khrushchev era
1956	Hungarian revolt suppressed
1964	Khrushchev replaced by Brezhnev
1979–1989	Afghani invasion by USSR
1985–1991	Gorbachev era
1989–1990	Eastern Europeans reject communist governments
1991	Dissolution of USSR; Boris Yeltsin elected president of newly created Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
2002–2009	Renewed tensions between CIS and Western nations
2009	Russia invades Georgia

impatient Americans quickly demobilized their forces, Stalin proceeded to reap the fruits of his costly victory over the Nazi enemy.

The Communization of Eastern Europe

Under the Allies' Yalta Agreement of 1945, the Russians were to carry through free, democratic national elections in the Eastern European countries as soon as conditions permitted. The divisions among the Big Three (Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States), which became evident at the war's end, made it impossible to specify more exactly when and how the elections should be held. The Yalta Agreement was in fact a tacit acknowledgment by the West that Stalin and his Red Army would be in control east of the Elbe for at least the immediate postwar years. The best that Washington and London could hope for was the election of governments that would be Soviet-friendly without being outright puppets.

But Stalin, whose suspicion of the Western "capitalist encirclers" had not diminished during the wartime years, was not inclined to accommodate himself to any type of pro-Western or even independent leadership among the Eastern Europeans. But the vital test case of whether the West would accept Stalin's long-term plans for Eastern Europe was Poland. During the war, the Polish government-in-exile had been promised the firm support of the Allies in recovering its country. Many Poles fought bravely in the British Royal Air Force (RAF) and distinguished themselves in the Allied Italian and French campaigns. In 1944, Stalin broke with the Polish exile government over the question of who was responsible for the massacre in the Katyn Forest (thousands of Polish army officers had been murdered in Soviet-occupied Poland in 1940) and then put together a group of Polish communists to act as his cat's-paw in liberated Poland. Despite Western protests, the pro-Soviet group, backed by the Red Army, gradually made political life impossible for their opponents. After a series of highly predictable elections under Soviet "supervision," Poland's decidedly anticommunist and anti-Russian population was forced in 1947 to accept a Soviet satellite regime. The Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania received even less consideration. The advancing Red Army simply treated them as recovered provinces of Soviet Russia.

Thus, throughout Eastern Europe, a total of about 110 million people from the Baltic to the Adriatic had been forced under Stalinist rule by Soviet puppets. If truly free elections had been held in the area, it is thought that the Communist Party would have received perhaps 10 to 20 percent of the vote, but in the circumstances, that fact was irrelevant.

The Stalinist Regime

The Soviet Union recovered rapidly from the horrendous damage caused by the Nazi invasion, thanks partly to stripping the Soviet Zone of occupied Germany of all industrial

goods and also to the forced "cooperation" of the Eastern European satellites. For the first several years, the postwar economic policy was a continuation of already-familiar Soviet goals and methods. The lion's share of investment went into either new construction or reconstruction of war-ravaged heavy industry and transportation. The first postwar Five-Year Plan reached its goals in considerably less time than planned. By 1950, the Soviet Union was an industrial superpower as well as a military one. It surpassed faltering Britain and still overshadowed recovering Germany, France, and Italy. New Soviet oilfields in central Asia, new metallurgical combines in the Ural Mountains, and new Siberian gas and precious-metal deposits were coming on stream constantly.

But in basic consumer goods, the postwar era was even worse than the deprived 1930s. The housing shortage reached crisis proportions in the cities. To have a private bath and kitchen, one had to be either a high party official or an artistic/literary favorite of the day. Personal consumption was held down artificially by every means available to a totalitarian government: low wages, deliberate scarcity, diversion of investment to heavy industry, and constant propaganda stressing the necessity of sacrificing to "build a socialist tomorrow."

In the Eastern European communist states, the backward agrarian economies of the prewar era were changed by the same methods employed in the Soviet Union in the 1930s: coercion of the peasantry, forced (and wildly inefficient) industrialization, and the absolute control of the national budget and all public affairs by the single party. The Eastern European communist parties and their leaders were more-or-less exact replicas of the Soviet Communist Party and Stalin from the late 1940s until at least the late 1950s. The positive and negative results they obtained resembled those obtained in the Soviet Union fifteen to twenty years earlier, with one important exception: Unlike Stalin, who transformed himself into a Russian nationalist when it suited him, the Soviet puppets in Eastern Europe were never able during Stalin's lifetime or for years thereafter to appeal for loyalty to the deep-seated nationalism of their own peoples. On the contrary, they bore the burden of being in the general public's eye what they were in fact: minions of a foreign state.

In 1948, Stalin declared Yugoslav leader Marshal Tito an enemy of communism and undertook a campaign against him that embraced everything but actual war. Tito's crime was that he had objected to the complete subordination of his party and his country to Soviet goals—a process that was well under way everywhere else in Eastern Europe. After a period of hesitation, the United States decided to assist Tito with economic aid. By so doing, Washington allowed the Yugoslav renegade to escape almost certain catastrophe for his country and himself. Tito, still a stalwart Marxist, responded by changing his foreign policies from unquestioning support of the Soviet Union to a prickly neutrality. By 1956, Yugoslavia was busily experimenting with its own brand of social engineering, a

peculiar hybrid of capitalism and socialism that for a time seemed to work well enough to attract considerable interest among many African and Asian nations.

FROM STALIN TO BREZHNEV

Tito's heresy was the beginning of the slow breakup of international Marxism into two competing and even hostile camps. The phases of the breakup can best be marked by looking at the Soviet leadership and its policies after the death of Stalin (by a stroke, supposedly) in 1953.

Goulash Communism

Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1974), a longtime member of the Politburo, succeeded to the leadership first of the Communist Party and then of the Soviet state by gradual steps between 1953 and 1955. A son of peasants, Khrushchev was a very different sort of individual than Stalin. Having suffered in fear through the 1930s Stalinist purges himself, Khrushchev was determined that the party, and not the secret police, would be the seat of final power. By 1957, the dreaded KGB had been put back into its cage, and Khrushchev, after a couple of close calls, had succeeded in breaking the Stalinist wing of the party. That wing considered him to be the heedless and ignorant underminer of the system it believed was indefinitely necessary.

Khrushchev's difficulties within the hierarchy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) sometimes revolved around his crude and volatile personality, but substantive frictions occurred over foreign and domestic policy as well. In foreign policy, Khrushchev allowed the tensions with the Maoist Chinese party to reach a complete break in 1959, splitting the vaunted unity of the world Marxist movement. In 1961, despite his proclamation of **peaceful coexistence**, he challenged the West and particularly the new U.S. president, John F. Kennedy, by allowing the Soviets' East German satellite to build the **Berlin Wall** in defiance of existing access agreements. Finally, Khrushchev took and lost the huge gamble of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. To save Fidel Castro's vulnerable communist regime in Cuba, the Soviets tried to introduce atomic missiles within ninety miles of Florida (see Chapter 47) and were forced by the United States to give way. All of these initiatives ended in erosion of the Soviet Union's prestige in the Third World—that large group of ex-colonies and neutral nations that sought to avoid being enmeshed in the Cold War.

But Khrushchev was ultimately brought down more by his domestic political innovations than by his foreign policy. Most important by far was his attack on Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Party in February 1956. At this highest party meeting, Khrushchev gave a long, supposedly **secret speech** in which he detailed some (although by no means all) of the sins of the dead idol, whom a generation of Russians had been trained to think of as a

genius and incomparable savior. Khrushchev's denunciation, which immediately became known outside as well as inside Russia, marked a turning point in international Marxist affairs. Never again would Stalin occupy the same position in the communist pantheon, and never again would a European communist leader be looked on as a demigod.

Foreign reactions soon followed. In the autumn of 1956, first the Poles and then the Hungarians attempted to act on Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin by shaking off Soviet political and military controls. Both were unsuccessful, but the Soviet Party would never again have the same iron control over its satellites. Grudgingly, the CPSU had to admit that there were “many roads to socialism” and that each communist party should be allowed to find its own way there.

Secondarily, Khrushchev's “harebrained” attempts to change the structure of the CPSU and to install a mistaken agrarian policy contributed to his political demise. Party leaders came to see him more as a debit than an asset to Russian power and prestige, and in 1964, Khrushchev was unceremoniously ushered into premature retirement by his enemies within the Politburo. Khrushchev confidently expected the Soviet system to outproduce the capitalists in the near future and devoted much effort to improving the lot of the Soviet and Eastern European consumers during his ten years in office. He coined the telling phrase “goulash communism” to explain what he wanted: a system that put meat in the pot for every table. Some progress was made in this respect in the 1950s and 1960s when consumption of goods and services rose substantially. The tight censorship over the arts and literature imposed by Stalin was also loosened temporarily, but the Khrushchev era was by no means a breakthrough into market economics or political democracy. It was an advance only in comparison to what went before.

Stagnation

Khrushchev was replaced by Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982), an *apparatchik* who had climbed the party ladder by sailing close to the prevailing winds. Worried about the long-term effects of the denunciation of Stalin, Brezhnev and his associates presided over a degree of re-Stalinization of Russian life. He cracked down hard on writers who did not follow party guidelines and on the small-but-important number of dissidents who attempted to evade censorship by *samizdat* (self-publishing). At the same time, he endorsed Khrushchev's policy of increasing consumption. In the 1970s, the living standards of ordinary Russians finally reached upward to levels that had been current in Western Europe in the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The hallmark of Brezhnev's foreign policy was a determination to retain what had been gained for world communism without taking excessive or unnecessary risks. The best example of this attitude was the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine, applied in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Several months earlier, Alexander Dubcek, a reformer, had been voted into the leadership of the still-Stalinist Czech Communist Party and proceeded to attempt to give his country “socialism with a human face.” The Soviet leadership watched this loosening of the reins with intense and increasing concern. The generals warned that Czechoslovakia must not be allowed to escape its satellite status.

In August 1968, Brezhnev acted: Soviet and Eastern European army units poured into Czechoslovakia in overwhelming numbers. The Czechs had no alternative but to surrender. Dubcek was forced out, and a faithful puppet was installed in his place. Despite verbal denunciations, the Western countries accepted this resolution of the issue without lifting a hand. As in Hungary twelve years earlier, it was clear that the NATO nations were not prepared to risk a world war on behalf of the freedom of Eastern Europeans. Anticommunists in the satellite nations realized that their freedom to act independently could come about only if (1) the Soviet Union gave them leave or (2) the Soviet Union itself radically changed its system of government. Neither prospect seemed likely within a lifetime in 1968.

Brezhnev remained in power (1964–1982) longer than any Soviet leader except Stalin, but his effect on the Soviet state was in no way comparable. Where Stalin had turned the Soviet Union on its head, Brezhnev was intensely conservative. His eighteen years as chief of the state and the party were marked by a general loss of morale and momentum in every aspect of Soviet life except the military. Opportunists and career seekers completely dominated the CPSU. Corruption in its top ranks (starting with Brezhnev’s own son-in-law) was rampant and went unpunished. Using party connections to obtain personal privileges, such as the rights to buy in special stores and permission for foreign travel, was taken for granted. Intellectuals and artists had once considered it an honor to join the party, but now its prestige had degenerated to the point that authentically creative people refused to join.

For a time, the increased emphasis on consumer goods in the 1970s masked what was happening to the **command economy**: The overall productivity of Soviet labor was declining while government investments were being misapplied. Pushed by his generals, Brezhnev went along with a huge increase in the military budget to match the U.S. atomic weaponry. Two forces thus converged to squeeze Soviet consumers from about 1975 onward: increased unproductive investment in military hardware and personnel, and declining civilian gross national product.

The *era of stagnation*, as it was later dubbed, made itself apparent in daily life in different ways. For many people, the most depressing was that Soviet living standards continued to lag far behind the those of the West. Instead of catching up by 1980 as Khrushchev had once rashly predicted, the gap was increasing. After sixty-five years of communist promises, Soviet consumers still faced long lines outside shops selling inferior goods; unexplained shortages of meat, produce, and even bread in the cities;

a housing shortage that never seemed to improve; and five-year waits to buy the very expensive but poor-quality domestic automobiles.

The Soviet Union was actually slipping backward, not just compared with the United States and Western Europe but also relative to Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. In fact, the Soviet Union was rapidly becoming a Third World country in every way except military technology and power. The entire postwar communications revolution had bypassed Eastern Europe. Even a private telephone was a rarity for all but the higher party ranks and a few favored urbanites. Computers and their electronic spin-offs were few in number and obsolete compared with those in the West. The efficiency and productivity of communist industry and agriculture in both the Soviet Union and the satellites were far below world standards. They showed no signs of improvement as the ailing Brezhnev wheezed on into the 1980s. Had it not been for recently opened Siberian gas and oil resources, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency estimated that Soviet domestic product would have actually *diminished* in the last years of Brezhnev’s era.

THE END OF COMMUNIST RULE

The problems were not limited to the Soviet Union. By the 1980s, the gerontocracies (rule of the aged) of Eastern Europe were also beginning to show signs of doom. Poland, the largest of the Soviet satellites, was the catalyst. The Polish leaders had failed to provide sufficient consumer goods for years, and in 1989–1991 a nationwide peaceable protest, led by shipyard electrician Lech Walesa and called the **Solidarity movement**, almost succeeded in ousting them from power. In retaliation, a communist general imposed martial law for the next several years and tried to repress Solidarity against massive popular resistance. Although Poland was the most dramatic example, by the mid-1980s, all of the Eastern European states were experiencing a rising tide of popular rage at the inability of the leaders to provide a decent standard of living. Yet the leaders insisted on clinging to their obsolete and discredited Marxist ideology while attacking their critics as misinformed or subversive.

In 1985, **Mikhail Gorbachev** (b. 1931) rose to the leadership of the Soviet Union, promising to reform both the sputtering economy and the CPSU itself. He pushed his program of **perestroika** (restructuring) and **glasnost** (openness) slowly, however, as it became apparent that both the party and much of the populace were fearful of a future in which the old rules might not hold anymore. Two full generations of Soviet citizens had accustomed themselves to “the system,” and they had learned that reforms and reformers tended to disappear in disgrace while the system went on.

Nevertheless, it became clear that economic restructuring and the regeneration of the tired party could not



BORIS YELTSIN DEFIES THE ATTEMPTED COUP. In August 1991, Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Republic, mounted a tank drawn up before the Parliament Building to read out his refusal to surrender governmental powers to the hard-liners. At this time, coup participants were holding Gorbachev under arrest.

proceed without basic political reforms that allowed free criticism and initiative. In 1987–1988, Gorbachev took the plunge in this direction, spurred by heroic Soviet dissidents such as physicist Andrei Sakharov, by his own convictions, and by the necessity of reducing the tremendously costly arms race with the United States. As long as that race went on, the money necessary for productive economic investment would not be available, and the communist world would fall further behind the West.

Gorbachev therefore initiated a rapid winding down of the Cold War, meeting several times with President Ronald Reagan of the United States to sign agreements on arms control and troop reductions in divided Europe. Gorbachev also made gestures of reconciliation to China, and in 1989, he withdrew Russian troops from Afghanistan. They had been engaged there in a highly unpopular war—the Soviet Vietnam—on behalf of Soviet puppet rulers since 1979, while the United States supported the opposing guerrilla forces. Afghanistan proved to be the last of the surrogate wars fought between the two rival systems all over the globe since 1946.

The most remarkable of Gorbachev's domestic initiatives was his drive to separate the Communist Party from the government of the Soviet Union. Between 1988 and 1991, the CPSU First Secretary presided over a series of moves that transformed the Soviet state. He initiated a true multiparty democracy with a parliament and a radically revised constitution. The CPSU's seventy-year monopoly on political life was abolished. A Congress of People's Deputies and a Supreme Soviet (a standing parliament) were

elected and took office in 1989. Immediately, bitter conflicts arose between the worried communist hard-liners in the parliament and its sizable noncommunist minority.

Gorbachev's cautious moves toward democracy had greatly upset the old-guard CPSU activists and bureaucrats, but they had not gone nearly far or fast enough to satisfy the growing numbers of anticommunists and the supporters of thoroughgoing reform. A convinced believer in the possibilities of Marxism, the Soviet Union's last president also knew that real reforms were necessary. Gorbachev was a classic case of the moderate who is criticized by both extremes and cannot bring himself to join either one for survival. The result was his political death in the summer of 1991. The reformers led by Boris Yeltsin foiled an attempted coup by CPSU hard-liners, but it simultaneously revealed how naïve Gorbachev had been about his friends and his enemies. He was discredited and was soon pushed aside by Yeltsin.

The failed coup had undermined not only Gorbachev's prestige but also the authority of the Communist Party. Yeltsin had already demonstratively resigned from it, and he was now joined by millions of others. Within a few months, the party was declared illegal in Russia (although this decree was later reversed by court action), and its ranks faded to a few hundreds of thousands of embittered and demoralized members. To use Leon Trotsky's cruel words to the anti-Bolsheviks in 1917, it had been “thrown on the ash heap of history.” Its enormous property and financial resources were either taken over by the government of Yeltsin or offered to private hands, in line with a vast “privatization” campaign that was introduced spasmodically, and with great difficulty, into the industrial and consumer economy as a whole. The dismantling of communism in the economic sphere, in fact, was going to prove as challenging as its introduction had been.

THE BREAKUP OF THE SOVIET UNION

Gorbachev had failed to recognize the depth of discontent in the Soviet Union. Above all, the fires of nationalism were finding steady fuel from the possibility—for the first time in a century of czarist and communist rule—of expressing ethnic discontents openly. Indeed, glasnost proved to be a tremendous boost to the many peoples in this truly multiethnic union who wished to end their connection with Russia as well as with communism. Among them were Turkic and Mongol Asians who were second-class citizens in their own countries, Muslim fundamentalists who rejected Russia and communism with equal passion, and Ukrainian and Baltic nationals who had never accepted their coerced incorporation into the Soviet Union (see Chapter 43).

Once the reins were loosened, all of the western and southwestern borderlands of the Soviet Union were



MAP 53.1 Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union

Although in Eastern Europe only Yugoslavian borders were changed as an immediate result of the dissolution of the communist regimes, the borders of the Soviet Union were radically rearranged into four independent states and eleven

members of a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The Russian Republic is by far the most prominent of these, followed by Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

>> MAP QUESTIONS

What were the political and economic reasons for the breakup of the old Russian empire?

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potential breakaways. Within two years of the initiation of glasnost, Armenians and Azeris were fighting one another over ancient disputes in the far Caucasus Mountains; wrathful Kazakhs in the new Kazakhstan were hunting down Russian immigrants; and the three Baltic republics of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania were demanding total independence. Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, and some of the Muslim provinces along the southern borders of Siberia soon joined them. By mid-1991, the Soviet political structure of a federation dominated by the huge Russian Republic was in a state of collapse. The final straw came in August with the bungled coup, whose conspirators claimed that their goal was to reestablish the Union, although their first concern was to restore the rule of the Communist Party.

What eventually emerged from the events of 1991 was the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**, whose name reflects the difficulty of finding some common ground among its varied members once the lid of Russian communist rule was blown off. Eleven of the

fifteen Soviet republics opted to join the commonwealth, while four (the Baltic states and Georgia) refused. The CIS was always a weak confederation—the smaller members would not agree to anything else—and was politically, economically, and territorially dominated by the Russian Republic. In recent years, the CIS has become all but meaningless, replaced by bilateral agreements between sovereign states of the former Soviet empire (see Map 53.1).

Russia, led by Yeltsin's successors, Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev, has remained a politically and economically fragile entity. During their terms as president, both men have managed to walk a fine line between intimidation or outright repression of political dissenters and the introduction of modern democratic civil life. The economy has been particularly vulnerable to corruption of every type, derived in large part from the too-rapid and helter-skelter distribution of state-owned resources to private parties in the Yeltsin years. Yet on balance, foreign observers agree that Russia has made a successful

transition into a mainly—though not altogether—free-market economy. Agriculture and the isolation of the rural villages have remained what they had been under communism: the weakest points of the nation's economic and social life. The long-lived, bloody, repressive campaign against the breakaway Chechen terrorists in the far south has also been a major debit factor in both men's performance in both domestic and foreign eyes.

EASTERN EUROPE'S REVOLUTION OF 1989

In the fantastic fall of 1989, the communist governments of Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Romania were thrown out by peaceful protests or more violent means. Earlier, the Hungarian communists had

EVIDENCE OF THE PAST

THE END OF THE BERLIN WALL

The ultimate symbol of the Cold War between East and West came to be the ten-foot-high concrete line of the Berlin Wall. Erected by the East German government with Soviet approval and assistance in August 1961, it ran along the boundary between East and West Berlin in an attempt to stem the increasing numbers of East Germans who sought asylum in the free and economically prospering West Germany. The “death zones” on the eastern side of the wall were just that: Hundreds of people lost their lives attempting to sneak or burst their way across the barrier in the 1960s and 1970s. President John F. Kennedy's “Ich bin ein Berliner” speech at the wall in 1963 committed the Western alliance to the defense of the West Berliners and the eventual removal of the hated barrier to German unity.

The abrupt decision of the tottering East German government in November 1989 to allow free passage across the Berlin boundary signaled the end of the wall and of the Cold War. It heralded the demise of communism in Eastern Europe and, a little later, the Soviet Union. On November 9, 1989, the demoralized East German border guards gave up their defense of a collapsing state. American historian Robert Darnton gives his eyewitness account:

The destruction of the Wall began in the early evening of Thursday, November 9th, soon after the first wave of East Berliners . . . burst upon the West. A young man with a knapsack on his back somehow hoisted himself upon the Wall . . . he sauntered along the top of it, swinging his arms casually at his sides, a perfect target for bullets that had felled many other Wall jumpers . . . border guards took aim, and fired, but only with power water hoses and without much conviction. The conqueror of the Wall continued his promenade, soaked to the skin, until at last the guards gave up. . . .

A few minutes later hundreds of people . . . were on the Wall, embracing, dancing, exchanging flowers, drinking wine . . . and chipping away at the Wall itself.

Another view comes from an East Berlin woman:

I was performing with my cabaret group in Cottbus, about three hours' drive away from Berlin, when someone said they'd heard on the radio that the Wall had been opened. We all dismissed that as rumor. But you didn't know what to believe, there were so many rumors going around. About an hour after the performance, we were driving back and heard it on the radio ourselves. When we arrived in Berlin, we immediately drove across into the



Pictorial Press Ltd./Alamy

THE WALL COMES DOWN. A horde of willing volunteers turned up on November 9, 1989, and every succeeding day for a month to help smash down the hated wall that had divided Berlin and the Berliners for almost three decades. Here, East German border guards look on from above at the Brandenburg Gate on November 11.

(continued)

West. . . . The city center, on Ku'damm, was one big party. After an hour we came back, and my friend dropped me off at my home.

Bert, my husband, was away on a business trip and the kids were already asleep. Thirty minutes later, my friend called me back and said he couldn't sleep. I couldn't, either! so we decided to go back again. It was something like two or three in the morning. . . . I didn't come back till it was time for my kids to get up.

The next weekend Bert and I and the kids went off on a trip to West Germany. People were passing out drinks along the autobahn. There were huge lines. I took a glass of something and thought: what kind of funny lemonade is this? It was champagne!

That first week people were marvelous. There was an openness, a new spirit.

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Where else besides Berlin has a physical barrier been erected to separate people for purely political/ideological reasons? Do you think such separation could be effective in creating permanent ethnic divisions? What was the German experience?

Source: Robert Darnton, *Berlin Journal, 1989–1990* (New York: Norton, 1991), 75.

saved themselves temporarily only by agreeing to radical changes, and the Polish Communist Party had in desperation agreed to share political power with Walesa's Solidarity. A bit later, in 1990, the Yugoslav and the Albanian communist parties were cast aside. Thus, Soviet-style communism was decisively rejected by all who had had the misfortune to live under it for a long generation in Eastern Europe.

As in the Soviet Union, the primary cause of the Eastern European **Revolution of 1989** was the failure of the system to deliver on its promises of economic progress. This failure reinforced the nationalist resistance to Russian dominion, which most Eastern Europeans traditionally felt but which had been temporarily silenced in the postwar years. When Gorbachev showed that he believed in democratic ideas and was not inclined to keep Eastern Europe under communist control by force as his Soviet predecessors had, the cork came flying out of the bottle of discontent. (See the Evidence of the Past box.)

How did the Eastern Europeans go about ridding their nations of communism? The means varied from the massive, peaceful protests mounted by the East Germans and the Czechs (the "Velvet Revolution" in Prague), to the more-gradual pressures brought by a wide spectrum of anti-Marxists in Bulgaria and Albania, to the lethal street fighting in Romania. In all of these countries, the communist party attempted to retain some support by renaming itself and participating as a legal party in the free elections held throughout postcommunist Europe in 1990 and 1991. As in Russia, the frictions and disappointments of the transition to a free-market economy and a democratic polity allowed some former party leaders a second chance. Some "reform communists" were able to vindicate them-

selves in the eyes of their fellow citizens and retained or regained important posts in the Baltics, Hungary, Romania, and other states.

Generally speaking, the discredited old leaders were allowed to retire without being subjected to witch hunts. There was no attempt to bring any but a handful of the most hated to trial. In the name of the future, the most respected of the anticommunist leaders, including Walesa of Poland and Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic, were inclined to put the past behind them as rapidly as possible and to forgive and forget those who had harassed and imprisoned them.

PROBLEMS OF THE POSTCOMMUNIST ERA

The immediate economic problems of the new governments of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union were immense. They had to cope with a backward, collectivized agriculture that required far too much of their available labor and produced too little. Markedly inadequate consumer distribution networks and services had been the rule for forty years. Communications and information technology were decades behind current Western practice. The interest payments on the foreign debt accumulated by communist governments seeking popularity in the 1970s were eating up an intolerable percentage of the gross national product. Above all, the industrial sector, packed with superfluous workers by a standard communist policy of maintaining full employment through artificial means, was performing miserably. Most large



Bernd Heinz/Vario Images/Alamy

VACLAV HAVEL. After an irresistible wave of public protests brought down the former regime, playwright and political dissident Vaclav Havel was inaugurated as the first postcommunist president of the Czech Republic in 1990. Because no lives were lost during the uprising, the Czech revolt against the communist government is known as the “Velvet Revolution.”

companies were actually bankrupt, a fact masked by government ownership and subsidies. The biggest plants were almost always antiquated in technology, pollution ridden, and inefficient. Their low-quality output could not be sold in hard-currency markets and had to be forced on the domestic market or other communist countries.

The postcommunist democratic governments had to make the difficult choice between adopting free-market capitalism in one sudden sink-or-swim shift or attempting to achieve a mixed economy less traumatically through a gradual transition from state to private ownership. With the exception of Poland, which introduced basically free markets all at once, the governments opted for the gradual or partial approach. Some, like the Russians and Romanians, have tried to introduce free or freer markets, only to have to back off when they ran into popular resistance.

At the time of this writing, the Poles appear to have been more successful, but all of the countries have had severe difficulties in satisfying the justified demands of their citizenry for decent living standards and a better life. The first fruits of the postcommunist economic order were rapid inflation, endemic corruption, large-scale unemployment at bankrupt state-owned enterprises, and the highly visible division of the new free-market society into haves and have-nots. For many farmers, unskilled workers, and pensioners, the new situation could not be coped with and was a definite worsening of their material status. Although these evils have abated in the past decade, they and simi-

lar problems of transition from the communist command economy remain strong enough to generate many negative estimates.

Many citizens, especially the older generation, were embittered at the initially surging crime rates, the appearance of a “mafia” of newly rich and corrupt *biznezmeni* (business elite), and other unsavory phenomena of a disoriented and dislocated society. The prolonged inability of the Yeltsin government in Russia (1992–2000) to attain fiscal stability and organize its revenues had injurious repercussions throughout all of Eastern Europe, frightening off much potential Western investment that was badly needed.

These economic facts have of course been reflected in the internal political sphere. Russia and most of the Eastern European states (Romania was an exception) quickly installed complete personal freedom, honest elections, a free press, and effective justice and security, but these changes were not enough to ward off a certain disillusionment. It should be remembered that the Eastern Europeans are laboring under a special handicap: They have never had a prolonged period of political freedom and constitutional government. In most of their countries, the years of parliamentary democracy could be measured on the fingers of both hands (see Chapter 42). The postwar Marxist repression of the educated and the middle classes and its artificially imposed “class solidarity” have made the necessary consensus for parliamentary give-and-take even more difficult to achieve. Worst of all, the violent, negative nationalism that was the curse of the early twentieth century was lying just below the Marxist surface, as the spectacular and tragic disintegration of the former Yugoslavia has demonstrated. The eruption in Kosovo between Serbs and Albanians and the bloody repression of the Chechen rebellion in Russia were other severe blows to hopes for an easy transition from communist coercion to democratic harmony.

Clearly, the tasks of establishing effective, responsive, and just government in these multiethnic countries have been enormous and will not be solved for many years, if at all. Putin and Medvedev (Putin’s successor as president) have steadily rolled back many of the civil rights their citizens had enjoyed through the 1990s. Many Russian companies have been harassed or driven out of business, while the Russian press has found itself no longer free to criticize the government. In the international arena, the outlook has also become clouded. On one hand, Russia under Putin and Medvedev has shown itself committed to maintaining reasonable relations with the West, even to the point of tolerating some of its former satellites joining the European Union (see Chapter 47). Russia has also had to accept the permanent and authentic sovereignty of the Eastern European states, although an invasion and occupation of Georgia’s northern provinces in 2008, occasioned by unresolved border issues, demonstrated the limits of that acceptance.

The first years of the twenty-first century have been good for Russia. Its fortunes have improved dramatically with the discovery and export of oil, gas, and other valuable industrial materials from its vast resource base. For Russians, this has produced a gradual improvement in their standards of living. For the Russian leadership, it has meant freedom from the embarrassment of having to accept aid from its erstwhile enemies and has enabled Putin and Medvedev to reassert an independent Russian voice in world affairs.

In the last six years, Russia has resumed interfering in the internal politics of former Soviet member states, including an occupation of northern Georgia; resumed (albeit muted) saber-rattling over American plans to

deploy an antimissile system in Eastern Europe; and allied itself with China in opposing stronger international sanctions designed to curb gross human rights abuses in the Sudan and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to Iran. Furthermore, Russia has agreed to provide Hugo Chávez's Venezuela with tanks and aircraft to counter American military and political power in the Caribbean basin and Latin America. The election of President Barak Obama, however, has helped to reverse some of these worrisome trends. A diplomatic effort by the President and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, has led to improved relations, including a recently signed agreement to further reduce nuclear weapons by both nations.

SUMMARY

THE ASTONISHINGLY RAPID COLLAPSE OF the Soviet political and economic dominion in the years 1989–1990 came as a surprise to even the most perspicacious observer. An accumulating discontent with the multiple failures of the communist system to provide freedom or a decent material life for its citizenry joined with the long-standing resentments of non-Russian nationalists under Soviet rule to bring down the Marxist-Leninist regimes like falling dominos. The collapse of the Soviet Union immediately brought forth a series of claims to independence by the peoples

along the western and southern borders of the traditional Russian state, claims that had to be recognized, however reluctantly, by the former masters in Moscow. The former Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe broke entirely free and began a sometimes painful and halting reintegration into the general European community. Both they and the new Russia found their way into the new millennium laden with inherited difficulties in their economies and in political issues—particularly a rampant nationalism that had survived the communist era.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced term in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

Berlin Wall
command economy
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
glasnost
Mikhail Gorbachev

Nikita Khrushchev
peaceful coexistence
perestroika
Revolution of 1989
secret speech
Solidarity movement

For Further Reflection

1. Politicians and historians sometimes assert that the fall of communism in Russia and Eastern Europe was a sudden event brought on by policies enacted by President Reagan. Based on material presented in this chapter (and previous ones), evaluate the accuracy of this claim.
2. What specific causes brought about the demise of communism in Europe? Why has it persisted in Cuba and eastern Asia?
3. What problems have Russia and Eastern Europe faced in maintaining systems based on democracy, individual rights, and free-market capitalism since 1989?

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through: www.cengagebrain.com.

- Stalin's main objective in Eastern Europe in the immediate postwar era was to
 - hunt down and punish Nazis and their sympathizers.
 - secure military assistance against a possible Western attack.
 - generate a better supply of consumer goods.
 - repair war damage to the Soviet Union and assure communist control.
 - help Eastern European countries become stronger than those in Western Europe.
- Which Eastern European country proved that the Western Allies were no longer willing to fight Stalin for control in that region?
 - Czechoslovakia
 - Poland
 - Hungary
 - Yugoslavia
 - Germany
- The Soviet Union controlled the communist governments in every Eastern European state except
 - Yugoslavia.
 - Romania.
 - Czechoslovakia.
 - Bulgaria.
 - Poland.
- The major reason for Khrushchev's sudden expulsion from leadership of the CPSU in 1964 was his
 - submission to the Maoists.
 - embarrassment over the attempt to place missiles in Cuba.
 - disregard of the mounting pressure for consumer goods.
 - efforts to emulate Stalin too closely.
 - attempts to restructure the CPSU and to implement a new farm policy.
- The creator of the term *goulash communism* was
 - Gorbachev.
 - Khrushchev.
 - Stalin.
 - Yeltsin.
 - Tito.
- The Brezhnev Doctrine
 - put the world on notice that the Soviet Union was preparing an invasion.
 - demonstrated that the Soviet Union intended to remain the leader in world Marxism.
 - forced Eastern European states to choose between communism and capitalism.
 - allowed no existing satellite states to become independent.
 - claimed that all Eastern European countries must continue under communism.
- The only aspect of Soviet life that did not lose momentum under the leadership of Leonid Brezhnev was
 - religion.
 - consumer spending.
 - technology.
 - the arts.
 - the military.
- As the head of the Communist Party in the late 1980s, Gorbachev's fundamental problem
 - was his inability to see the need for change.
 - came from foreign affairs such as the Afghan war.
 - was his indecision about the extent of necessary reforms.
 - was his continuing belief in the probability of war against the United States.
 - developed from his need to make friends with Ronald Reagan.
- After being deposed in 1989, the leaders of the various Eastern European communist parties generally were
 - hunted down and accused of crimes against their people.
 - imprisoned without trial or shot.
 - allowed to retain their posts.
 - sent into retirement without being accused of crime.
 - tried for their crimes but freed in the end.
- In economics, the postcommunist governments of Eastern Europe generally
 - continued with the Marxist system without change.
 - introduced a completely free market in a short time.
 - sought to convert to a free market in gradual steps.
 - retained the basic idea of a "command economy."
 - were repulsed by a nervous West when they tried to implement capitalism.



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A SHORT AND VIOLENT CENTURY BEHIND US

TECHNOLOGY AND POLITICAL CULTURE

THE RICH AND THE POOR: CONTRASTS

APPROACHES TO SOCIAL REFORM

Prosperity in the Developed Societies

Losing Ground in the Developing Countries

THE OTHER HALF OF HUMANITY

FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

LOOMING PROBLEMS

The United Nations and National Sovereignty

Control of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Terrorism

Environmental Deterioration

A SHORT AND VIOLENT CENTURY
BEHIND US

THE END OF THE first decade of the new millennium is a good point for making a brief survey of current trends in the world that readers of this book are inheriting. One of the most urgent demands for attention is the sharpening of ethnic, religious, and national hostilities around the world. Simultaneously, the global Cold War between the two great power blocks that defined the second half of the old century has faded into relative unimportance. A noteworthy book* by the historian John Lukacs claims that what we call the *twentieth century* really lasted only the seventy-five years between the outbreak of world war in 1914 and the collapse of communism in Europe in 1989. According to Professor Lukacs, these two landmarks defined the last century—the first announcing its commencement, the second its end. For many who lived through a century that was dominated by colonialism, two world wars, and the Cold War (when Western Powers for the most part shaped

*John Lukacs, *The End of the Twentieth Century and the End of the Modern Age* (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1993).

Only within the moment of time represented by the [twentieth] century has one species—man—acquired significant power to alter the nature of the world.

—Rachel Carson

1945	United Nations founded
1948–1973	Economic boom in West
1950s–1960s	End of Colonial Era
1963	Nuclear Atmospheric Test Ban
1970	Widespread recognition of environmental crisis begins
1970s–1980s	Female economic equality drive
1986	Chernobyl nuclear plant meltdown
1991	Atmospheric pollution documented over Antarctica
1990s	Global warming demonstrated
September 11, 2001	An Age of Terror begins?

those events), Lukacs's view of the world had some appeal. From the perspective of the current century, however, we know that his thesis was an oversimplification of history that failed to take into consideration emerging technologies, globalization, and the importance of the non-Western world. Many of these changes do not bode well for a new day of world harmony.

TECHNOLOGY AND POLITICAL CULTURE

It is a shopworn cliché to say that our globe has shrunk incredibly in the last two generations. Mass communications and instantaneous transfer of data and ideas from

one corner of the earth to the others have worked a transformation that contemporary human beings have not yet fully grasped. We only dimly understand the dimensions of the problems that have arisen, let alone their solutions. (See the Science and Technology box on Marshall McLuhan.)

A chief difficulty is that our technology has far outrun our ethics, our ways of thinking, and our political culture. We can do things that have tremendous power for good or evil in the lives of human beings—our own and those in the future—but we don't know how to determine “good” or “evil” in a consensual fashion. In a world that has become immensely more interdependent, rivals of all types are still pursuing the old chimera of “I win, so you lose.” This is as true in economic development and environmental

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

MARSHALL MCLUHAN: “THE MEDIUM IS THE MESSAGE.”

Marshall McLuhan (1911–1980), an obscure Canadian literature professor, became a controversial icon of 1960s pop culture. McLuhan redefined the discussion about communication technology and pioneered academic study of mass media and popular culture. (At that time, most academics scorned so-called low culture as unworthy of serious academic study.) He and his colleagues established the University of Toronto's Centre for Culture and Technology, the first of its kind; consequently, he became a celebrity, and artists such as John Lennon and Yoko Ono made pilgrimages to Toronto to visit McLuhan, their media guru.

McLuhan put aside the old distinctions between highbrow and lowbrow cultural expression. For him, the mode of transmission was more important than the information conveyed. In other words, “The medium is the message.” He was convinced that the ongoing change from print to electronic media was the cause of drastic changes occurring in individual cognition, society, and culture. Television was still a novelty, but McLuhan was one of the few to envision its repercussions. Today, thirty years after his death, his ideas remain influential in media studies, a field that he helped legitimize.

McLuhan understood that, with or without our awareness of the process, multimedia technology would necessarily change our perceptions. Each medium is an extension of some part of the human body or “sensorium”; therefore, any change in the dominant media upsets the established equilibrium of the senses, with traumatic results. For example, with the advent of the printing press, literate humankind forfeited the sensorial richness of the preceding oral cultures. He argued that we must prepare for the impending electronic age because the “global village” he foresaw would require radically different modes of perception. Inhabitants of an electronically interconnected world would have much in

common with preliterate humankind, the oral cultures which McLuhan labeled “tribal” societies. Our choices are either to understand and control our technology or to live in fearful subjugation to its mysteries. In McLuhan's words:

Instead of tending towards a vast Alexandrian library, the world has become a computer, an electronic brain And as our senses have gone outside us, Big Brother goes inside. So, unless aware of this dynamic, we shall at once move into a phase of panic terrors, exactly befitting a small world of tribal drums, total interdependence, and superimposed co-existence [... in which ...] everything affects everything all the time. [...] In our long striving to recover for the Western world a unity of sensibility and of thought and feeling we have no more been prepared to accept the tribal consequences of such unity than we were ready for the fragmentation of the human psyche by print culture. (*The Gutenberg Galaxy*, 32)

McLuhan foresaw the twenty-first century's digital age, even though he died in 1980, before the “massification” of the personal computer and the Internet. The following year, in tribute to his contributions to the electronic age, *Wired Magazine* named McLuhan its “patron saint.”

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

In your opinion, have the predictions made in the above quote from *The Gutenberg Galaxy* come to pass? What do you think McLuhan meant by “Big Brother”? Does such a threat exist today? Comment on the effects of other twenty-first century technology: the wireless Internet, Blackberry, iPod, cell phone, and “smart” classrooms.



protection as it is in international wars and ethnic conflicts. The results are often chaotic and sometimes fatal for whole groups.

One of the noteworthy contradictions of the contemporary world is the fact that, as advances in electronics are making physical distance almost irrelevant to communication, economic and social factors are splitting the human community into pieces that seem to have little to communicate to one another. The wealthy nations abound in previously unheard-of personal luxuries and social resources of every type, whereas the poor nations possess few resources and are unable to produce them sufficiently to meet the growing demand. Several countries have already experienced a Third Industrial (or Postindustrial) Revolution, but it has not begun in many others. Some of these nations have even remained largely untouched by the first two industrial revolutions.

Contemporary society is a kaleidoscope of significant differences, often concealed beneath a thin veneer of similarities that are generated in the West and then adopted worldwide: Women apply much the same cosmetics, for exactly the same reasons, throughout the modern world; from Kenyan villages to New York apartments, children play with plastic toys mass-produced in Chinese factories; Afghan heroin finds its dark path into Russian seaports as well as Houston nightclubs. But these superficial uniformities of cultural behavior are deceptive. A better acquaintance or the arrival of a crisis lays bare the lasting differences. Many of them are direct reflections of the extreme variations in the economies of the most- and least-developed nations in the world of the twenty-first century.

THE RICH AND THE POOR: CONTRASTS

Despite the best efforts of well-meaning individuals in powerful positions, the personal-income gradient from the heights of developed countries to the lower slopes of the underdeveloped remains as steep as ever. In the 1990s, the enrichment of the already prosperous was steadily matched by the impoverishment of the already poor. According to the World Bank, in 1950, the average per capita gross domestic product—a commonly used measure of individual wealth—of the world’s “advanced economies” was ten times that of the least advanced ones. In 2007, that gap had increased to nearly seventeen times. Gross domestic production per capita in Burundi, the poorest nation in the world, was slightly more than 1/400th of that in the United States (\$120 versus \$43,730 according to statistics from *The Economist*). And there are a few countries—namely Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, and Luxembourg—in which the per capita GDP exceeds that of the United States.

Both social interventionists and supporters of the unrestricted free market have advanced various schemes for improving the living standards of the poor, but in the most poverty-stricken economies, these attempts have failed. Africa, in particular, has experienced meager improvement. Despite the current deep recession, most of the West and Asia has been experiencing the *longest-sustained economic advance in modern history*—nearly a quarter century of burgeoning prosperity for both the owning and the laboring classes—which has resulted in important social, political, and cultural changes by the present decade. The failure of most of the less-developed nations, particularly in Africa and Latin America, to provide anything like a comparable living standard for their citizens has created a dangerous gap between the two worlds of rich and poor. Neither the doctrinaire prescriptions of the Marxists nor the “unseen hand” of the free marketers has forestalled this sharpening division between haves and have-nots. And despite the hopes of some, the consequences of the increased globalization of world trading patterns continues to show many debatable or downright-debilitating features for the have-nots.

APPROACHES TO SOCIAL REFORM

The collapse of the Soviet communist bloc in 1989–1991 was the unforeseen end of a system of economics and politics that had haunted the Western democracies for seventy years. In the interwar years and immediately after World War II, communism seemed likely to spread throughout the world either by revolution or by parliamentary procedure. In the underdeveloped lands, many millions saw it as the best hope at a decent material life for them and their children. In some countries such as China and Cuba, communism did bring an initial surge of social and economic justice to the masses and earned the support of many. They were willing to pay for their better economic prospects by giving up the political and social freedoms they had only minimally and imperfectly enjoyed under the previous colonial or capitalist system.

But this was not true of the Western countries, including Eastern Europe. Here, when the people had a choice, they firmly rejected the political, economic, and intellectual sacrifices demanded by communism. The Western socialist parties severed all connections with Soviet communism during the 1950s and even distanced themselves from many of the long-treasured ideas of Marx. Other forms of socialism, such as revolution and gradualism, rather than radical change became the order of the day among the social democrats.

What had previously been considered a peculiarly American viewpoint—that the secret of social

harmony was in making a bigger pie rather than rearranging the slices—came to prevail in all Western nations. Furthermore, although never clearly admitted, this view came to be the new Soviet orthodoxy after Stalin's death. Revolution in the eyes of Brezhnev or even Khrushchev was reserved for developing countries, where any other means of effecting change was out of the question, and such a revolution was desirable only where it served Soviet foreign policy. By the 1970s, it was fair to say that only Castro in Cuba, Mao in China, and the leaders of a few newly independent African and Southeast Asian states gave more than lip service to Marx's original doctrines of social and economic egalitarianism. The Marxist dream of the proletariat achieving a universal earthly heaven had been put on the shelf indefinitely.

Prosperity in the Developed Societies

So long as the economic boom in the West lasted, social changes *did* come as both a reflection and a cause of vast improvement in the workers' living and working conditions. These improvements were what finally nullified the appeal of communism, as the Soviet system proved unable to generate anything like them.

In the 1980s, Western workers (extending "Western" to mean Japan) worked about one-fourth fewer hours weekly to earn wages that purchased about two and a half times as much in real terms as in 1950. They had guarantees of job security, wage or salary increases, vacation and sick time, insurance against accidents and ill health, extended unemployment pay, family leave, and other benefits that would have astounded workers of the 1940s. Under the impact of the higher energy costs after the OPEC oil boycott, increased competitive pressures in world markets since globalization, and the loss of jobs to low-wage countries, some of these gains have been curtailed by businesses or diluted by governments.

Higher education is vastly more accessible, with state scholarships or stipends for student living expenses the rule in all countries. Material living conditions have also vastly improved. In the United States, most salaried and about half of the wage-earning people own their homes. In Europe and Japan, where rentals are the urban standard, working-class families can afford more space, and private automobiles have been commonplace for many years even among manual workers. Upward mobility out of the working classes into the technical or professional groups has been extensive everywhere. In these real senses, social and material progress in the West has been consistent and effective since 1945, although the severe recession of 2007–2009 has brought serious hardships for millions, and as of this writing it remains to be seen if previous levels of prosperity will be regained in the near future.

Losing Ground in the Developing Countries

The developing world has unfortunately often shown a contrary pattern. The shift from manual to mental white-collar work and from agriculture to technological pursuits has been slow and halting, at best. Productivity has in some places and job types actually declined, as in much of sub-Saharan family farms. Social mobility has increased, but only a small proportion of people with access to higher education and connections have moved upward. In absolute numbers, *downward mobility* has probably been more common than upward in Africa and Latin America, where large groups of previously independent small landowners have been forced out of their traditional niches or impoverished by demographic pressures and overdependence on market-oriented agriculture. The near-total absence of organizations such as independent trade unions or farmers' associations leaves these people vulnerable to changes imposed by the vicissitudes of world markets, with no one to help defend their interests. The small Latin American farmer and African mine worker can rarely improve their economic or social prospects except by migration to the city, with its attendant dangers and frequent failure.

THE OTHER HALF OF HUMANITY

In 1964, a French wife and mother had to obtain the written permission of her husband to open a bank account in her own name. Ten years later, after a ferocious verbal battle, the French parliament legalized abortion upon the request of the pregnant woman. Twenty years after that, women outnumbered men in the parliament. These three facts are as useful as any to symbolize the changes in the status of women brought about by the struggle for **women's liberation** in the last several decades.

The Second Sex, as Simone de Beauvoir's influential book called women, has been steadily closing the vast gap that once stood between them and men in the social and economic arenas of the Western world. Many if not most countries now have laws on the books (sometimes unenforced) that prohibit paying women less than men for the same work, discriminating on the basis of gender for promotions or entry into a profession, refusing credit to women, denying them contractual rights, denying women custody of minors, and so on. In 2009, women made up 60 percent of all U.S. university graduates—up from 20 percent in the 1950s. Forty-six percent of the students entering U.S. law schools are women, a number that has approximately quadrupled since 1980. By the time this volume appears on students' desks, it is estimated that females will make up more than one-third of the total number of lawyers.



David Holloway/Getty Images

FEMINISM. The battle for women's rights shifted during the 1960s and 1970s from a political to an economic and social focus as millions of single and married women sought freedom of choice in matters of birth control and sexuality. These rights were demanded during the March for Women's Lives held April 25, 2004, in Washington, D.C.

These indications of rapid change are by no means limited to the economic and labor sectors. The formerly normal status of marriage for young women has been radically questioned. About one-quarter of American women between eighteen and forty-five were single (that is, divorced or unmarried) in 1960, whereas more than half were by 2006. More than half of all first marriages end in divorce. In the United States, one-third of all babies are born to unmarried women—up from about 8 percent forty years earlier. The proportion is higher still for firstborns. Similar or higher numbers are found in other countries, ranging from the villages of Sweden to the city slums of South Asia. Unwed motherhood has become so common in some sectors of the population that it no longer requires comment or explanation. Two generations ago, it would have been grounds for social ostracism.

FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

The dramatic changes in family life over the past generation are evident in several ways. The two-parent two-generation male breadwinner and female-housewife model, which had been the ideal for Western urban families since the mid-nineteenth century, has clearly become but one of several *alternative* lifestyles. With most mothers working at least part-time outside of the home, children under six are commonly cared for by paid employees. The removal of the biological mother from primary responsibility for the young child's welfare during the most impressionable years will presumably have wide-ranging but as-yet-unknowable effects on the importance and permanence of the nuclear family relation.

The increasing numbers of female-headed households and economically independent females in all Western and some non-Western countries have put women into a position of potential political power that has been unparalleled in recent history. But to the dismay of more aggressive feminists, so far this potential has not been realized. Despite the occasional emergence of charismatic political leaders such as Indira Gandhi, Benazir Bhutto, and Golda Meir and a steady upward trend for females in legislative and administrative bodies worldwide, women have shown themselves generally unmoved by appeals to feminism as a political—as distinct from a socioeconomic—force. One cogent reason is that informal living together supplants formal marriage and abandonment by the male grows easier and more common, while enforcing legal responsibility for maintenance of spouse or children is difficult, if not impossible. Annually, many millions of women, from the villages of Africa to the ghettos of U.S. cities, find themselves thrown into permanent poverty by the breakup of their living arrangements with a man. Grappling with acute problems of survival, poor women have had little interest and/or energy to organize for longer-term political goals.

A third phenomenon in recent familial history is that the social identification that individuals in the past received from their families has largely become superfluous or is consciously rejected. The individual, not the family or the clan, exercises choice, creates opportunity, accepts responsibility, and generally makes his or her own personal mark in the Western world (and, increasingly, everywhere else). Although this may be seen as a further large step toward democracy and fair play, it also has certain detrimental aspects for both individuals and society. One, the feeling of alienation from others, is highly stressful. It has been most apparent in those locales where the traditional family has become weakest: the urban, mobile, wealthy West where the individual is an atom among atoms rather than a link in a chain. The degree to which this has become true can easily be demonstrated by a simple question to the reader of these lines: Do you know where you are going to be buried? Probably, you have no idea where this traditionally most sacred rite will be carried out or who will do it—an unthinkable thing to confess until recently in human history.

LOOMING PROBLEMS

The United Nations and National Sovereignty

One of the touchiest of all topics in the current political discourse has been the degree to which national sovereignty must or should be surrendered to a supranational organization. The United Nations Organization (UN) was

founded in 1945 by the victorious Allies to do what its predecessor, the League of Nations, was unable to do: guarantee international peace. Unlike the League, the UN has a potentially powerful executive organ in the Security Council. The council has wide authority, including the power to take air, sea, and land military action against aggression.

The UN General Assembly has no such powers and can only debate issues and recommend action to the Security Council. All states of the world have an equal vote in the General Assembly, which in effect means that the developing countries have a large voice in the UN's nonmilitary aspects, such as labor, cultural affairs, and public health—through the International Labor Organization (ILO); the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); and the World Health Organization (WHO), respectively. These organs have played an important and positive role in world affairs for the last fifty years, even while the political and military performances of the UN were disappointing to many sympathetic observers.

The reason for their disappointment was that ultimate powers were retained by the sovereign states and not by the UN Secretariat (executive office). When a major state saw that its interests were being threatened by UN intervention of some type, it either exercised its veto in the Security Council or ensured by other means that there would be no effective interference. Throughout the Cold War era, the UN was able to intervene effectively only on the few occasions when both blocs could agree that a given conflict was intolerably dangerous (namely, the Israeli-Arab contest) or when one side chose to boycott the proceedings (for example, the UN decision to defend South Korea in the 1950s). The smaller powers,

on the other hand, were frequently forced to conform to Security Council resolutions aimed at controlling their political and military inclinations and initiatives. Thus, the UN's guardianship of the peace was applied on two levels: one for the powerful, when it was dismissible, and the other for the less so, when it was sometimes effective.

In most recent times, the relative collaboration between the United States and Russia in international affairs has given the UN an unprecedented freedom of action in maintaining peace and redressing injustice that might lead to war. The successful coalition against Iraq in the Gulf War of 1991 was an outstanding example of what can be done. Other examples were the universal condemnation of the terrorist acts of the al-Qaida group in 2001 and the support for the antiterrorist campaign in Afghanistan that followed. The limits of such collaboration among the world powers was, however, clearly shown in the international quarrels that marked the United States' unilateral campaign to remove Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein shortly thereafter. The fact that Cold War maneuvering has ended by no means has proved sufficient to bring international harmony. Instead, the blunders and frustrations that marked the attempted interventions by NATO and the UN to establish peace in the Yugoslav, Somali, and Rwandan civil wars of the 1990s, and in recent years in Darfur, may be the rule.

Control of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Another pressing problem awaiting solution is the proliferation of nuclear and other weaponry. So long as only the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France had atomic weapons, the “deadly secret” of creating them could be contained. But in the late 1960s, the Chinese under Mao went ahead with their own research effort, and by the mid-1970s, they had cracked the atomic code. The Israelis and South Africans were next, followed closely by the Indians and Pakistanis, and in 2006, by the North Koreans. The mushroom cloud is spreading over wider territories and can be set off by more and more hands. Furthermore, the Iranian government is suspected of secret attempts to develop atomic weaponry and has resisted international efforts to end its refinement of weapons-grade uranium. Many also fear that Cold War weapons stocks might be accessed or stolen by terrorists and also that nuclear power plants are vulnerable to their attacks.

The same fears are generated by contemplation of the deadly use of so-called **weapons of mass destruction (WMDs)**—as, for example, in biological warfare through release of epidemic disease germs or poisons into the atmosphere or water supplies (chemical warfare). It is certain that such attempts have already been made. Many think that it is just a matter of time before some terrorist



Getty Images

JANJAWOOD ATTACKS IN DARFUR. A young man watches an abandoned village burn less than an hour after Janjaweed militiamen set it afire in Darfur in 2004. So far, despite efforts at intervention, the United Nations has been powerless to stop the human rights abuses in Africa and other places of conflict in recent years.

band or desperate government attempts chemical, biological, or nuclear blackmail—or even annihilation.

Terrorism

For centuries, people of all religions have debated the circumstances under which it is permissible to engage in “holy war” against followers of other faiths. For Muslims, *jihad* is meant to be employed against “unbelievers”—essentially non-Muslims. Although this seems clear enough in most situations (for example, where someone has declared himself to be a Christian), it becomes thorny when one has to judge who qualifies as an unbeliever. Muslims, for example, have long debated what makes a Muslim a Muslim. Does the fact that a person *declares* that he or she is Muslim, or does his *behavior* decide the question? In recent years, the world has seen the appearance of violent groups of religious extremists—such as Islamic Jihad and al-Qaida—who advocate not just a simple reassertion of Islamic values (Chapter 52), but holy war against governments and entire populations whom they judge to be heretics, including even civilians and (putatively) Muslim states. Called **takfiri** (from *takfir* : to accuse someone of being an unbeliever) Muslims, they employ terrorist methods to carry out what they see as their sacred duty to fight unbelief, including martyrdom in carrying out bombings.

From the perspective of Westerners, and Americans in particular, the entire question of terror employed for political or military ends came into focus with the September 11, 2001, airborne attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., by the worldwide al-Qaida network headed by Saudi Arabian renegade Osama bin Laden. It was a day of mass death from enemy action, the first time that the United States had ever suffered such an event on its own soil. Whether others will follow it, as al-Qaida has repeatedly stated, cannot be known at this time. In the nine years since the 2001 attacks, international surveillance and police collaboration have been able to intercept and render harmless many different plots to destroy lives and property. But al-Qaida and similar takfiri organizations have succeeded in several other attempts against governments and innocent bystanders, ranging the world from Spain to Indonesia.

Yet it must be said that it would be an egregious injustice to allege that only Muslims have engaged in such acts and to brand their beliefs as being inherently violent, as some have done. World history is replete with episodes of mass carnage carried out in the name of God, gods, saints, or prophets. Followers of all three of the monotheistic religions—Christianity, Judaism, and Islam—and Hinduism have made followers of other faiths the targets of attacks. Polytheists and Jews persecuted early Christians; in their conquests, Muslims attacked Christians and carried out frightful slaughters of Hindus



Scott Kemper/Alamy

WORLD TRADE CENTER ATTACK. Volunteers from all over the country converged on “ground zero” of the World Trade Center to clean up the debris of the September 11, 2001, attack. Hijacked airplanes were used as the instruments of destruction by terrorists thought to be members of the al-Qaida international network of Islamic extremists.

and Buddhists; medieval Christians perpetrated atrocities in their Crusades against Muslims and repeatedly made Jews scapegoats for their (Christians’) assorted sufferings. This pattern of conduct has continued right into the past century, which bore witness to systematic genocide against Jews (the Holocaust); attacks on Christians in Armenia, the Middle East, and Africa; instances of genocide against Muslims in Palestine and India; and murderous attacks on Hindus during the partition of India and Pakistan. So our world is left with an ancient stain that has yet to be blotted out—namely, that one person’s “holy war” is another one’s terrorism.

Environmental Deterioration

We have all heard so much about the environmental threats to the continued survival of the human race that

we may be tempted to throw up our hands and trust to good luck or hope that another habitable planet is found before this one becomes unlivable. Nevertheless, certain environmental dangers are both real and can be addressed effectively, if only we have the will to do so. The most urgent near-term problems facing us in the new millennium seem to be the following:

- ◆ *Excessive and unbalanced consumption of nonrenewable energy.* Each year, the average U.S. citizen consumes roughly thirty-five times as much energy (fossil fuel, water, electric) as a person in India and about three times as much as an individual in Italy or France. The tremendous difference between the rich nations and the poor in global affairs is nowhere more apparent than in energy consumption. The less-developed countries, with about 60 percent of world population, consume only 12 percent of the energy produced in the world; the developed coun-

tries consume the rest. And if per capita use remains the same in 2030 as it is today, the world will need to produce 50 percent more energy just to keep pace with population growth.

- ◆ *Global warming.* In the past fifteen years, what the world's scientific communities had looked upon as a possibility or a probability has become a certainty: the Earth's temperature is going upward at a rate unprecedented in historical times—**global warming**. Debate continues about the rate of increase, and some still question the nature of the causes. However, no serious scientists any longer question the basic fact, and a large majority attributes it to **greenhouse gases** produced by hydrocarbon-fuel-burning power plants and automobiles. If the speed of change approximates the higher ranges now foreseen for the next ten years, the world's climate, vegetation, and sea levels will see massive alteration. Some predict that sea levels could rise as much as twenty feet, inundating large portions of the world's coastlands, while water shortages and droughts—already a major problem in many places—will become even more frequent and longer in duration. Already in short supply due to pollution, sources of fresh, potable water are plummeting as another result of global warming. Some foresee a future world of wars and mass migrations as competition for this most precious of resources continues to escalate.
- ◆ *Food production in Africa.* Owing to sharply rising populations dependent on severely limited (and shrinking) reserves of arable land and the continued misuse of farmland to raise cash crops, African nations have been facing dwindling food supplies. A growing list of them are now permanently dependent on imported food and have become beggars in the world economy. Massive starvation on a periodic scale is the probable future of these nations without a coordinated international attempt to assist them in feeding themselves. One result will be an explosion of civil wars such as the one currently being instigated by the Sudanese government against its own minority citizens.
- ◆ *Pollution and radioactive wastes.* Many developing countries are almost entirely ignorant of or choose to disregard the most elementary pollution-control measures. Their industries and mines—frequently controlled by owners in the developed countries—poison the earth, air, and water on a large scale. The meltdown at the Chernobyl nuclear plant in Ukraine twenty years ago was the most spectacular example of the dangers posed by inadequate or nonexistent policing and protection. Many others



Cliff LeSargent/Alamy

ONE ANSWER TO GLOBAL WARMING. The contribution of greenhouse gases to global warming, as well as dependence on imported oil, has been moderated by some communities that use alternative sources of energy such as these giant wind turbines near the Rocky Mountain foothills in Alberta, Canada.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY



RACHEL CARSON, VISIONARY ENVIRONMENTALIST

Rachel Carson (1907–1964) was a well-known marine biologist, ecologist, and writer. In 1962, she published her third best seller, *Silent Spring*, now considered a classic of environmentalist writing. Carson had found that songbirds were disappearing, poisoned by new man-made pesticides that she called “elixirs of death.” Her warnings about the toxicity of these synthetic chemicals shocked most people in the 1960s, because powerful institutions (including the American Medical Association) maintained that the poisons affected only the targeted pests or weeds. *Silent Spring* described in stark detail how toxins enter the food chain, causing deformity, malignancy, and death in wildlife and humans. Carson’s goal was to educate people about the prudent use of synthetic toxins and to encourage alternative ways of controlling pests. Her call to ecological activism in *Silent Spring* inspired the first grassroots environmental movements in the United States and eventually led to the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970.

For the first time in the history of the world, every human being is now subjected to contact with dangerous chemicals, from the moment of conception until death. In the less than two decades of their use, the synthetic pesticides have been so thoroughly distributed throughout the animate and inanimate world that they occur virtually everywhere.... What sets the new synthetic insecticides apart is their enormous biological potency. They have immense power not merely to poison but to enter into the most vital processes of the body and change them in sinister and often deadly ways....

What of our simultaneous war against the weeds? . . . The legend that the herbicides are toxic only to plants and so pose no threat to animal life has been widely disseminated, but unfortunately it is not true.

. . . Among the herbicides are some that are classified as “mutagens,” or agents capable of modifying the genes, the materials of heredity. The genetic effects of radiation rightly appall us; how then, can we be indifferent to the same effect in chemicals that we disseminate widely in our environment? . . .

Who has decided—who has the *right* to decide—for the legions of people who were not consulted that the supreme value is a world without insects, even though it be also a sterile world ungraced by the curving wing of a bird in flight? The decision is that of the authoritarian temporarily entrusted with power; he has made it during a moment of inattention by millions to whom beauty and the ordered world of nature still have a meaning that is deep and imperative. . . .

If we would divert to constructive research even a small fraction of the money spent each year on the development of ever more toxic sprays, we could find ways to use less dangerous materials and to keep poisons out of our waterways. When will the public become sufficiently aware of the facts to demand such action?

>> ANALYZE AND INTERPRET

Debate this proposition: Synthetic pesticides increase crop yields for our rapidly growing human population. Feeding people is more important than worrying about pollution.

Global warming is today’s foremost ecological dilemma. Was global warming always considered a problem? What are some ways that innovative technology might ease, rather than worsen, the problem?

might be cited. These potential catastrophes have no respect whatever for national borders, and the long-term, slow effects of pollution may be worse than the occasional explosive event such as Chernobyl.

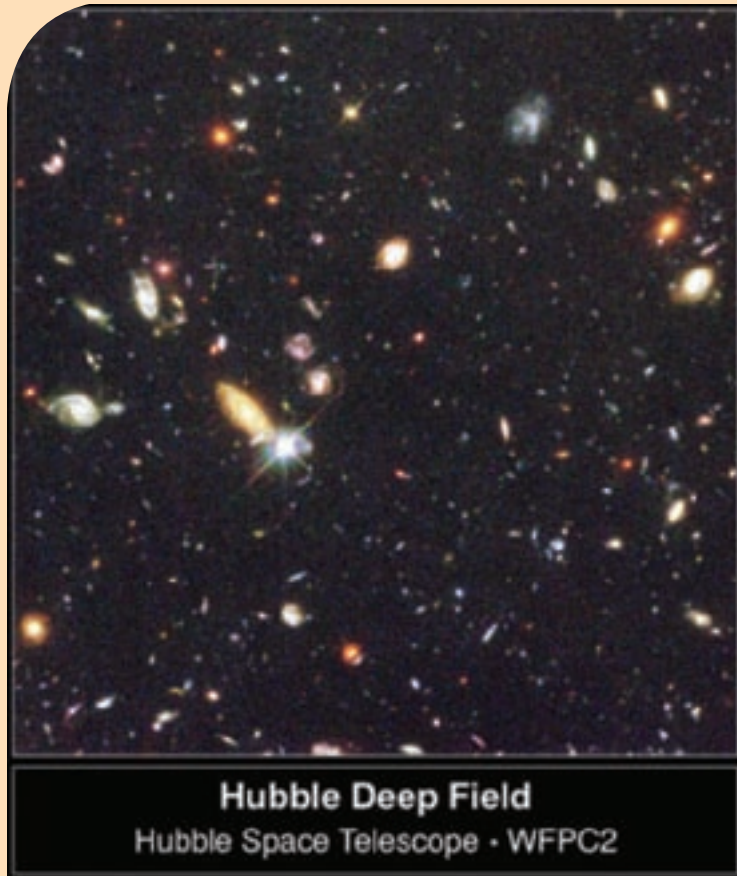
This list is by no means comprehensive and deals only with what the authors of this book believe to be the

problems with the most immediate global repercussions. During the life spans of students reading these lines, the developed world (the United States foremost) will either master the most urgent of these problems or substantially change the hitherto-known environment of human beings from a life with nature to a life *against* or *outside* nature. Whether this latter style of life is possible and at the same time humane is an open question.

IMAGES OF HISTORY

GAZING INTO THE PAST (LITERALLY) WITH THE HUBBLE SPACE TELESCOPE

> **HUBBLE SPACE TELESCOPE VIEW OF A FAR-OFF REGION OF GALAXIES.** This is the most distant region of the galaxy ever imaged, and near the limit of the visible universe. The number of galaxies in this field indicates that there are many more galaxies in the universe than previously believed. The Hubble Space Telescope's Advanced Camera for Surveys looks back billions of years to see the first galaxies.



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< **HYDROGEN GLOWING IN OMEGA NEBULA.** This sea of glowing hydrogen is only a small part of the Omega Nebula. This view is roughly 5,500 light years away, in the constellation Sagittarius. The light that made this photo possible left Sagittarius when the first-known civilizations were forming in Asia and Native America.

SUMMARY

WE EARTHLINGS LIVE ON A small planet, which is only a minor part of a eight-planet solar system, itself one of perhaps hundreds within a still-expanding cosmos. We will soon either succeed (temporarily) or fail (permanently) in our attempt to keep Earth livable for creatures like ourselves. We have seen that it is possible for humans to damage their habitat so drastically that it will no longer be a fit place for the species. What will be done in these regards in the next decades is largely up to people like yourselves, the educated men and women of a powerful country.

At bottom, there are only two rational approaches to the solution of basic environmental problems: *conservation*, which is the attempt to retain (conserve) existing systems, and *technology*, which is the attempt to discover (develop) superior replacements. The conservationists argue that the Earth's natural systems are the results of eons of slow evolution; that of all earthly beings, humans alone rebel against those systems rather than live with them; and that this rebellion, although it may be successful in the short run, spells ruin in the longer term. The technicians argue that evolution is

only one path to an acceptable, sustainable system and that humans can and must try to find other paths when the natural one proves inadequate or has been blocked. The choices that must be made between these differing approaches will largely determine the quality and character of your lives.

Choices of every kind lie before you, as they have before all of your predecessors. Like them, you will often not be sure of what must be or should be done. Like them, you will have to seek guidance from many sources: religion, science, parents, and the study of history. The answers from history especially will often be unclear or cryptic; they may have sections missing or lend themselves to more than one interpretation. But the historical answer will usually be most applicable and most comprehensive: This is what humans, in all their variety, have done successfully to meet and overcome problems somewhat like those you currently encounter. And, like all of your predecessors on this earth, you will have to hope that you have understood correctly and have taken a constructive, viable path as you join the long parade of men and women moving forward into the infinite future.

Identification Terms

Test your knowledge of this chapter's key concepts by defining the following terms. If you can't recall the meaning of certain terms, refresh your memory by looking up the boldfaced terms in the chapter, turning to the Glossary at the end of the book, or accessing the terms online: www.cengagebrain.com.

global warming
greenhouse gases
takfiri

weapons of mass destruction (WMDs)
women's liberation

For Further Reflection

1. Do an online search for the latest information concerning actions by the United Nations and its various agencies to address the issues of peace, global inequalities, social reform (especially the rights of women and children), weapons control, terrorism, and global warming. What seem to be the major obstacles preventing these actions?
2. What do you think the planet Earth will be like in fifty years, compared with its current ecological, social,

and economic state? Comment on the present and future gaps between the rich and the poor, on the main sources of energy now and then, on lifestyle changes worldwide, and on allocation of water and other natural resources. Reflect on how an understanding of historical events can help your generation make constructive decisions about these issues.

Test Your Knowledge

Test your knowledge of this chapter by answering the following questions. Complete answers appear at the end of the book. You may find even more quiz questions on the book's website, accessible through www.cengagebrain.com.

- One of the chief problems of today's world is that ethics and the political culture have been outpaced by
 - education.
 - longevity.
 - ambition.
 - national aspirations.
 - technology.
- As of your textbook's printing, the poorest nation in the world was
 - Burundi.
 - Bangladesh.
 - Rwanda.
 - Djibouti.
 - Eritrea.
- The social democrats found their greatest strength in which of the following places?
 - Cuba
 - Soviet Union
 - Eastern Europe
 - Western Europe
 - China
- In Africa and Latin America, "downward mobility" has often been the lot of
 - dictators.
 - those who rejected Christianity.
 - independent small landowners.
 - former aristocrats.
 - almost everyone.
- Simon de Beauvoir was a strong advocate of
 - women's rights.
 - gay rights.
 - Latino rights.
 - children's rights.
 - workers' rights.
- Which of these statements about social issues in the United States is most accurate?
 - The percentage of women graduating from universities has almost doubled since 1950.
 - One in four children is born to an unmarried woman.
 - The number of women entering law schools has increased about fourfold in two decades.
 - Estimates are that, by 2010, most lawyers in the United States will be women.
 - About one-third of American women between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were unmarried in 2000.
- One of the touchiest subjects for the United Nations has been
 - an international currency.
 - national sovereignty.
 - nuclear proliferation.
 - poverty eradication.
 - African dictatorships.
- The United Nations Security Council voted to defend South Korea in 1950 because of
 - a unanimous vote by all its members.
 - the strong support by the United States.
 - the leadership of U Thant.
 - the strong fear of communism.
 - a boycott by one of the council's members.
- The world's developed countries, with about 40 percent of the earth's population, consume about what percentage of the energy produced?
 - 40
 - 62
 - 25
 - 88
 - 95
- According to Marshall McLuhan, which of the following recent innovations could contribute to returning popular culture to a pre-literate state?
 - Nuclear weapons.
 - Space flight.
 - Hybrid cars.
 - The internet.
 - Computers.



Go to the History CourseMate
website for primary source links,
study tools, and review materials
www.cengagebrain.com

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

1. What changes occurred in the twentieth century that had worldwide significance?
2. To what extent were World Wars I and II and the Cold War global phenomena?
3. What important changes in the world did decolonization entail? What were the characteristics of these modifications?
4. As decolonization became a major theme in world affairs, what ideologies emerged that had global significance? When these new ideologies spread around the world, how were they adapted to fit local traditions and values? To what new problems did their emergence give rise?
5. What further global changes have occurred in recent decades that have resulted (at least partly) from decolonization?

CROSS-CULTURAL CONNECTIONS

Trade and Exchange Networks

Opening of Panama Canal (1914) facilitates international shipping; after WWII, jet airplanes speed up global trade connections.

The Information Revolution of the 1980s and 90s is the culmination of century-long increase in communication capability and speed that began with radio and telegraph and culminated in communications satellites, computers, and the Internet. Information exchange on scale and speed unimaginable even 25 years before.

Creation of regional trade zones began with European Common Market (1957; after 1970, expanded to become the European Union). In Americas, NAFTA (1994) in North America, CACUM (1960; renewed 1986) in Central America, and MERCOSUR (1991) in southern South America free-trade zones.

Other organizations promoting international trade and development are APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum), which connects Pacific-rim countries of both hemispheres; SADC (Southern African Development Community); and ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States). OPEC unites petroleum-producing countries in the developing world.

International institutions and agreements established to address problems of global scale: League of Nations, succeeded by United Nations; Kyoto Protocol (1997); International Criminal Court (2002) to prosecute crimes against humanity; a variety of non-governmental agencies (NGOs) to promote human rights (Amnesty International, Doctors Without Borders); GATT (1948), supplanted by WTO (1996); World Bank and IMF (1945).

Recent emphasis on micro-loans from private sources encourages small-scale entrepreneurs, particularly women, in impoverished areas.

Rise of multinational corporations, largest of which wield power and influence comparable to that of richest countries. Export processing zones established in developing countries; favor multinational corporations with low taxes and pools of low-wage (mostly female) workers.

Growth of service and information-exchange industries in developed countries, accompanied by outsourcing of factory jobs to underdeveloped countries.

Migrations and Population Changes

Decline in infant mortality rates due to post-WWI emphasis on domestic hygiene ("cult to cleanliness") in West; spreads to developing world. Biological technologies increase life expectancy. Continuing population growth in developing countries; diminishing birthrates in developed world. Population growth and global interdependency result in need for foreign aid, development projects, outsourcing of menial jobs, international solutions.

Legal and illegal immigration to developed countries; increases cultural diversity and creates problems of assimilation and resentment by native citizens.

Revolutions, civil wars, repressive regimes, genocides, poverty, and famine decimate populations and make refugees of millions of the survivors. Economic refugees outnumber political refugees at century's end.

Rural people flood the cities. First waves of internal migrants build better lives in the cities; subsequent waves overwhelm megalopolises such as Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and Lagos, Nigeria, where millions barely survive on fringes and in landfills of established societies.

Spread of Ideas and Technologies

Foods: Government planning to prevent commercial (market-driven) famines for the first time. International efforts create high-yield strains of rice and wheat; combine with mechanized farming implements to increase crop yields in developing world. Global commerce provides year-round access to seasonal produce, for a price.

Diseases: Elimination or diminishment of diseases, but cholera, malaria, AIDS, and others persist. Spread of contagious diseases such as the Spanish influenza, Asian flu, AIDS, and SARS, and the threat of new ones such as avian flu, facilitated by improved and speeded-up international travel.

Ideas: Beginning with the transistor radio in the 1960s, modern ideas and electronic communications technology reach isolated areas of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Spread of democracy, free press, and personal freedoms after World War II. Conflicts can be resolved peacefully through elective process.

Universal acceptance and adoption of Western scientific methods.

Spread of the concept of universal human rights; however, century-long problem of terrorism a global phenomenon.

Decrease in the number of spoken languages as national languages replace regional ones; English, French, and Spanish emerge as predominant languages of global exchanges.

Political movements of transnational scope: 1968 youth protests, women's rights movement, and Amnesty International. In Information Age, human rights abuses difficult to hide. Public pressure decreases abuses of women, children, and political prisoners.

Increased political participation and leadership by minorities and women. Women win suffrage rights in democratic countries and now serve at all levels of government, including as presidents of numerous countries.

Spread of global religions (Buddhism, Christianity, and Judaism) along with diminished numbers of local religions.

Emergence of global culture transcending national cultures, perceived by many as either threatening to traditional cultures or source of new choices in adapting to a changing world.

WORLDVIEW SIX



LAW AND GOVERNMENT



SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

WESTERNERS

- > Rise of mass democracy creates new-style party government where money plays important role.
- > Law increasingly reflects popular attitudes.
- > Property rights under attack; civil rights advance.
- > Totalitarian governments in some nations after World War I and Great Depression.
- > After World War II, long economic boom allows democratic recovery and stability in West.
- > Soviet communism expands for a generation, then collapses.

- > 1920–1945 sees decline and near collapse of free market in West and impoverishment of middle classes and agriculturalists; 1945–present a long boom, interrupted by oil crisis of the 1970s.
- > Japan emerges as financial power in 1980s.
- > European Community becomes economic reality, whereas Soviet bloc stagnates and collapses.
- > Global economy forming under Western dominance.

AFRICANS

- > “Scramble” for Africa completed by early 1900s; law and government continue on colonial lines until after World War II.
- > Decolonization brings mixture of African traditional law and political structures with European models; Western forms often at odds with precolonial content.
- > Post-independence problems encourage authoritarian governments.
- > Regionalism, ethnic rivalries, and corruption are major problems.

- > Emphasis on export crops and mining converts some areas to food-deficit regions.
- > Little manufacturing, even after end of colonialism.
- > International aid provided in attempt to overcome declining agricultural productivity and dependency on world markets and imports.
- > Because of large population increases, many national economies in crisis by 1990s.

MUSLIMS

- > Minority attempts to introduce modern Western law, education, and politics made after World War I with moderate success, except for in Turkey.
- > After World War II, forms of Islamic revival develop, led most recently by Iran.
- > Governments range from limited Western constitutionalism to undisguised theocracy.
- > Nationalism and Islam powerful forces throughout Africa and Asia.

- > Middle East oil the major export, generating dependence.
- > Effort was exerted to avoid this by using oil funds for domestic investments.
- > Arab states and Indonesia relatively successful, but oil production remains key to prosperity.
- > Poor Muslim countries unstable and still not integrated into world economy.

SOUTH AND EAST ASIANS

- > Former British possessions generally retained Western outlook on law and government; French and Dutch territories less committed to these ideals.
- > In several nations, Marxist socialism combines nationalism with radical reform.
- > Governments range from liberal democratic constitutionalism to dictatorships.
- > China’s mutated Marxism in a category of its own, combining political censorship with economic and social freedoms.

- > South and East Asia a mixed picture of progress.
- > In Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Burma, traditional agrarian and poverty-stricken economy barely changed or worsened as result of rapid population increases.
- > South Korea, Taiwan, and Malaysia move toward modern industry and services in last thirty years.
- > Japan’s successful free-market example influential, but China remains unknown quantity in Asia’s economic picture.

LATIN AMERICANS

- > Fundamental laws European, and governmental structures resemble those of West.
- > Social gap between rich and poor frustrates intent of constitution and makes segregated legal procedure inevitable.
- > Government represents only uppermost minority, although changing.

- > Westernized urban lifestyle supported for minority by modern industrial economies; in most of continent, however, agrarian and deprived mestizo/mulatto population has made little progress.
- > Rapid population increase prevents substantial or permanent gains from international investments and loans.
- > Most of Latin America continues dependent on Western nations.

Towards a Globalized World, 1914–Present



PATTERNS OF BELIEF

In the “post-Christian era,” secularism elevated to formal doctrine in most countries, assisted by influence of Marxism through 1960s.

- > Failure of Marxism in 1980s underlines sterility of Western philosophical ideas.
- > Western interest in Eastern religion and philosophies rises sharply.

- > Christian missions make inroads into traditional religions in central and southern regions.
- > Islam dominates north, west, and eastern coasts.
- > Most Africans blend one or more formal doctrines with local beliefs.
- > Education for masses begins after 1950 and increases after decolonization.

- > Secularism of some intellectuals and reformers opposed by traditionalists.
- > After World War II, religious revivalists and fundamentalists learn how to propagandize effectively with nationalist appeal.
- > Islam combined with strong rejection of West’s values.

- > Asians retained religious and cultural independence from West, even during colonial era.
- > Buddhism still the most popular of mass cults; Islam and Taoism competitors in southeast and China.
- > India remains Hindu, while secularism accepted among educated.

- > Catholicism split into reform-minded and traditionalist parties within clergy as it loses automatic acceptance among the masses, which have been touched by modern secularism and Protestant evangelism.
- > Formal link between state and church nearly gone.
- > Education unmet need in mestizo and Indian countries; literacy rates still low.



ARTS AND CULTURE

- > Art becomes fragmented.
- > No models or authority recognized.
- > Influence from non-Western sources.
- > Abstraction in pictorial arts matched by rejection of traditional models in other arts among avant-garde.
- > Literature and philosophy either “serious” or popular; no middle ground.
- > Mass cultural forms often dictated by commercial considerations.

- > Modern artists blend Western training with native motifs and media.
- > Independence brings greater opportunities, domestically and internationally.
- > Literature continues mainly in Western languages, hence limited audience at home, where oral folklore still the main way of transmitting cultural values.
- > Sub-Saharan pictorial and plastic arts widely recognized for first time.

- > Increased literacy results in revival or first appearance of literature in several Muslim states.
- > Oil wealth of 1970s provides governmental arts patronage in Arab states.
- > Nationalism reflected in art forms and revived interest in folk art.

- > Cultural autonomy expressed in arts, as always. Non-Western approach manifested through regional variations in fine arts, folklore, and artisanry.
- > Literature and philosophy deeply affected by Western influences in last generation, but remain distinct.
- > Higher education resembles that in West.

- > In fiction and poetry, Latin American authors have won world acclaim, and the fine arts have prospered in last century.
- > Formal culture still restricted to wealthy and urban middle class, however.



SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

- > Science the defining reference for knowledge and truth.
- > Social sciences rise to prominence.
- > Technology makes enormous strides, removing physical labor as obstacle to almost any task and enabling “information revolution” through computers and electronic apparatus.

- > Physical and social scientists few in number and depend on foreign sources for training, financing, and direction.
- > Higher educational facilities oriented toward nonscientific programs and degrees.
- > Technology imported from West and Japan sometimes has devastating impact.

- > Physical and life sciences dependent on Western training and goal setting.
- > Situation rapidly changed to autonomous science in much of Muslim world since 1970.
- > Emphasis on science and technology in higher education accepted by fundamentalist Muslims as modern necessity.

- > Formerly huge gap between sciences in South and East Asia and the West almost closed.
- > Technology lags as result of shortages of investment funds.

- > Labor-rich and slow-developing economy has only slight connection with technology.
- > Sciences and technology heavily dependent on Western models and direction.
- > Higher education slow in reorienting itself toward modern curriculum, while mainly foreign-owned companies not research oriented.

Glossary

Abbas the Great See Shah Abbas the Great.

Abbasid Dynasty (ah-BAH-sihd) The dynasty of caliphs who governed the Islamic Empire from the 750 until 1258 CE.

Abolition, Act of Law passed in 1829 by governor-general of British East India Company, which banned certain Hindu practices, such a *sati*.

abbot/abbess The male/female head of a monastery/nunnery.

abstract expressionism A style of modern painting that does not seek to represent external reality but to convey emotional meaning through abstract shape and color.

abstractionism A twentieth-century school of painting that rejects traditional representation of external nature and objects.

Act of Supremacy of 1534 A law enacted by the English Parliament, making the monarch the head of the Church of England.

Actium, Battle of The decisive 31 BCE battle in the struggle between Octavian Caesar and Mark Antony, in which Octavian's victory paved the way for the Principate.

Adena culture One of the Native American Woodland civilizations that thrived c. 1000 BCE–200 CE.

Afghanistan Wars (1839–1842, 1878–1881, 1919) Fearing a possible invasion of India through Afghanistan, the East India Company fought these wars to occupy Afghanistan.

Afro-Asiatic language family One of the four major groups of languages spoken in Africa. Mostly confined to southern Africa today.

Afro-Asiatic speakers People who speak a language that is a member of the Afro-Asiatic language family.

Age of the Barracks Emperors The period of the Roman Empire in the third century CE when the throne was repeatedly usurped by military men.

Agincourt (AH-zhin-cohr) The great victory of the English over the French in 1415, during the Hundred Years' War.

agrarian civilizations Civilizations that are based primarily on peasant farming.

Agricultural Revolution The substitution of farming for hunting-gathering as the primary source of food by a given people.

Ain Jalut (AYN jah-LOOT) A decisive battle in 1260 during which an Egyptian Mamluk army turned back the Mongols and prevented them from invading North Africa.

Ajanta (ah-JAHN-tah) Caves in central India that are the site of marvelous early frescoes inspired by Buddhism.

Akbar the Great (ACK-bar) Best known of the shahs of the Mughal Empire of India (r. 1556–1605). He was most famous for his policy of cooperation with his Hindu subjects.

Akhnaton (ahk-NAH-tun) Name of a fourteenth-century BCE Egyptian ruler who attempted to introduce monotheistic religious practice.

al-Afghani, Jamal al-Din (al-af-GAH-nee; 1838–1897) Early leader of the Islamic reform movement.

Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE) Son of King Philip II of Macedon. Remembered for his conquest of the Persian Empire and most of the Near East, 336–323 BCE, from which the Hellenistic era began.

al-Ghazzali (al gah-ZAH-lee) (d. 1111) The “Renewer of Islam,” he was an important figure in the development of Sufism, Islamic mysticism.

Allah (ahl-LAH) Arabic title of the one God.

Alliance for Progress The program proposed by U.S. president John F. Kennedy in 1961 for large-scale economic assistance to Latin America.

Alliance of 1778 A diplomatic treaty under which France aided the American revolutionaries in their war against Britain.

al-Qaida A militant Islamist organization, formed by Osama bin Laden in the 1990s, that has adopted takfiri doctrines and has declared jihad against all Westerners and their Muslim supporters.

Amerindians Short for (Native) American Indians.

Amun-Ra (AH-mun-RAH) Originally, the Egyptian god of air and life, later he came to represent the sun and creation.

Amur River War 1976 sporadic shooting between Soviet and Chinese troops stationed along the Amur River following tensions that arose upon the death of Mao Zedong.

Anabaptists Radical Protestant reformers who were condemned by both Lutherans and Catholics.

The Analects Book of Confucius's sayings collected by his students.

anarchism A political theory that sees all large-scale government as inherently evil and embraces small, self-governing communities.

Anasazi (ah-nah-SAH-zee) Term sometimes used to refer to Ancestral Puebloans.

Ancestral Puebloans These are the people native to the Four Corners area of the present United States. They built the Chaco Great Houses and cliff dwellings at Mesa Verde.

Anghor Wat (ANG-ghohr WAHT) A great Buddhist temple in central Cambodia, dating to the twelfth-century CE Khmer Empire.

Anglican Church The official Protestant Church of England, with the monarch as its official head.

Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Joint British and Egyptian control of the Sudan that followed British occupation of Egypt in 1882.

Anglo-French Entente The diplomatic agreement of 1904 that ended British-French enmity and was meant as a warning to Germany.

Anglo-Russian Agreement The equivalent to the Anglo-French Entente between Britain and Russia; signed in 1907.

- Angola-to-Brazil trade** A major portion of the transatlantic slave trade.
- animism** A religious belief imputing spirits to natural forces and objects.
- Anschluss** (AHN-shluhs) The German term for the 1938 takeover of Austria by Nazi Germany.
- anthropology** The study of humankind as a particular species.
- anthropomorphic gods** Gods that have a human form.
- Antigonid Kingdom** (an-TIH-goh-nihd) One of the Hellenistic successor kingdoms to Alexander the Great's empire. Included most of Greece and Asia Minor.
- Antikythera mechanism**. First-century Greek device used to calculate the movements of the sun, the planets, and the moon.
- Anti-Semitism** Literally, opposition or hatred of Semitic peoples (Arabs, Jews, and Lebanese, for example), but specifically Jews in most modern contexts.
- Anti-Slavery Movement** Faction among mostly British evangelical Christians, which, beginning in the 1790s, was able to pressure Parliament with increasing effectiveness to ban slavery and the slave trade in Britain and throughout the British Empire.
- apartheid** (ah-PAHR-tide) The Afrikaans term for segregation of the races in South Africa.
- appeasement** The policy of trying to avoid war by giving Hitler what he demanded in the 1930s; supported by many in France and Britain.
- Arabian Nights, The** Also known as *The 1001 Nights*. Medieval collection of tales from the Islamic Middle East that greatly reflect life at the time of the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad.
- archaeology** The study of cultures through the examination of artifacts.
- Archaic Period** 8000–2000 BCE in Native American history. Period when gathering slowly replaced large-game (mega-fauna) hunting.
- Archduke Franz Ferdinand** See Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand.
- aristocracy** A social governing class based on birth.
- Aristotle** (384–322 BCE) One of the three greatest philosophers of Classical Greece. A student of Plato and teacher of Alexander the Great.
- Ark of the Covenant** The wooden container of the two tablets given to Moses by Yahweh on Mount Sinai (the Ten Commandments); the Jews' most sacred shrine, signifying the contract between God and the Chosen.
- Arthashastra** (ahr-thah-SHAHS-tra) A compilation of hard-bitten governmental policies supposedly written by Kautilya to guide his master, Chandragupta Maurya, and one of the few literary sources of early India's history and culture.
- Aryans** A nomadic pastoral people from central Asia who invaded the Indus Valley in about 1500 BCE.
- Ashikaga clan** (ah-shih-KAH-gah) A noble Japanese family that controlled political power as shoguns from the 1330s to the late 1500s.
- Ashoka** (ah-SHOH-kah) Greatest of the kings of ancient India. He greatly expanded the Mauryan kingdom through conquest. Later converted to Buddhism and encouraged its spread.
- Askia Muhammad the Great** Sultan of the Songhay Empire, 1493–1528. Famous for promoting Islamic scholarship and Islamic scholars at Timbuktu during his reign.
- assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand** Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was assassinated on June 28, 1914, in the town of Sarajevo in Bosnia. This event touched off World War I.
- assimilation** The acceptance of the culture and language of an alien majority by an ethnic minority to a degree that effectively blurs the distinctions between those groups.
- assimilation and association** French administrative policies applied to their colonies in Africa and Southeast Asia, whose objective was to acculturate their colonial subjects to French language, history, and civilization.
- Assur** The chief god of the Assyrian people.
- Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal** The “father of the Turks”; a World War I officer who led Turkey into the modern age and replaced the sultanate in the 1920s.
- Atlantic Charter** An agreement co-signed in 1941 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill outlining eight basic freedoms, which they proposed as essential for reconstructing the post-World War II world. It included the right of self-determination as one of those principles.
- atlatls** Throwing stick used in place of a bow for propelling a dart at high velocity.
- audiencia** (auw-dee-EHN-see-yah) The colonial council that supervised military and civil government in Latin America.
- August 1991 coup** The attempt by hard-line communists to oust Mikhail Gorbachev and reinstate the Communist Party's monopoly on power in the Soviet Union.
- Ausgleich of 1867** (AUWS-glike) The compromise between the Austro-Germans and Magyars that created the “Dual Monarchy” of Austria-Hungary.
- Austro-Prussian War** The conflict for mastery of the German national drive for political unification, won by the Bismarck-led Prussian Kingdom in 1866.
- Avesta** (ah-VEHS-tah) The holy book of the Zoroastrian religion.
- Avicenna** (ah-vih-SEHN-nah) See Ibn Sina.
- Axis Pact** The treaty establishing a military alliance between the governments of Hitler and Mussolini; signed in 1936.
- Axum** (AX-uhm) The center of the ancient Ethiopian Kingdom.
- ayllu** (eye-YOO) Quechua name for the clan organization of the Peruvian Indians.
- Ayuthaya** The capital of the Thai Kingdom of early modern southeastern Asia.
- Aztec** Latest of a series of Indian masters of central Mexico before the arrival of the Spanish; developers of the great city of Tenochtitlán (Mexico City).
- Babylon** Most important of the later Mesopotamian urban centers.
- Babylonian Captivity** The transportation of many Jews to exile in Babylon as hostages for the good behavior of the remainder; occurred in the sixth century BCE.
- Babylonian Captivity of the papacy** See Great Schism.
- Baghdad** (bag-DAD) Capital of the Islamic Empire under the Abbasid Dynasty. Built by Caliph al-Mansur, c. 763.
- bakufu** (bah-KOO-foo) The military-style government of the Japanese shogun.
- Balfour Declaration** The 1917 public statement that Britain was committed to the formation of a “Jewish homeland” in Palestine after World War I.
- banana republics** A dismissive term referring to small Latin American states.

- Bantu** (BAN-too) Related peoples who speak languages that are part of the African language group called Bantu, which is a subgroup of the Niger-Congo language family. They are spread through most of subequatorial Africa.
- Bantu speakers** People who speak one of the member languages of the Bantu language family.
- barbarian** Greek for “incomprehensible speaker”; uncivilized.
- Barracks Emperors** The series of twenty Roman emperors between 235 and 284 who used troop command to force their way into power.
- Battle of the Nations** October 1813 at Leipzig in eastern Germany. Decisive defeat of the army of Napoleon by combined forces of Prussia, Austria, and Russia.
- Bedouin** (BEH-doo-ihn) The nomadic inhabitants of interior Arabia and original converts to Islam.
- Benedictine Rule** The rules of conduct given to his monastic followers by the sixth-century Christian saint Benedict.
- Bengal Renaissance** A social reform movement during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Indian province of Bengal.
- Benin** Ancient West African forest kingdom located in present-day Nigeria.
- Benin bronzes** Bronze castings associated with court ritual and political power in the Benin kingdom. Most date from the fifteenth century and afterwards.
- Berbers** Indigenous people of North Africa and the Sahara Desert.
- Beringia** (beh-RIHN-jee-ah) A land mass in the region of the Bering Strait over which Ancestral Native Americans migrated to the Western Hemisphere, c. 30,000 to 10,000 BCE.
- Berlin blockade** The 1948–1949 attempt by the USSR to squeeze the Western allies out of occupied Berlin; it failed because of the successful Berlin Airlift of food and supplies.
- Berlin Conference of 1884–1885** A conference called by Otto von Bismarck of all the major European powers to find a formula for adjudicating competing claims to foreign territory and to temper potential conflicts.
- Berlin Wall** The ten-foot-high concrete wall and “death zone” erected by the communist East Germans in 1961 to prevent further illegal emigration to the West.
- Bhagavad-Gita** (BAH-gah-vahd-GEE-tah) The best-known part of the Mahabharata, detailing the proper relations between the castes and the triumph of the spirit over material creation.
- Bhakti Hinduism** A more-popular form of Hinduism that emerged in India near the end of the first millennium BCE. The opposite of Brahmanism, it emphasizes individual spiritual devotion to a particular god, for example Shiva, Vishnu, or Krishna.
- big bang theory** The theory that the cosmos was created by an enormous explosion of gases billions of years ago.
- Bill of Rights of 1689** A law enacted by Parliament that established certain limits of royal powers and the specific rights of English citizens.
- Bismarck, Otto von** Chancellor of Prussia, then Germany under Kaiser William I. Unified Germany and built the Triple Alliance.
- Black Death** An epidemic of bubonic plague that ravaged most of Europe in the mid-fourteenth century.
- Blackshirts/SS** Hitler’s bodyguard; later enlarged to be a subsidiary army and to provide the concentration camp guards.
- Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara** A saint-like figure whom Buddhists believe to be the protector of travelers, merchants, and seamen.
- Boers** (bohrrs) The Dutch colonists who had been the initial European settlers of South Africa.
- Boer War** South African war between the Boers (people of Dutch descent) and Great Britain. Fought 1899–1902.
- Bolsheviks** (BOHL-sheh-vihks) The minority of Russian Marxists led by Lenin who seized dictatorial power in the October Revolution of 1917.
- Bornu** West African Islamic kingdom found to the west of Lake Chad. Active in the international trade of the central Sudan.
- boule** (BOO-lay) The 500-member council that served as a legislature in ancient Athens.
- bourgeoisie** (BOOZH-wah-zee) The urban upper middle class; usually commercial or professional.
- Boxer Rebellion** A desperate revolt by superstitious peasants against the European “foreign devils” who were carving up China in the new imperialism of the 1890s; quickly suppressed.
- Brahman** (BRAH-muhn) The title of the impersonal spirit responsible for all creation in Hindu theology.
- Brahmin** (BRAH-mihn) The caste of priests, originally limited to the Aryans and later allowed to the Indians, with whom they intermarried.
- Brahmanism** The earliest form of Hinduism. Its practices and doctrines were restricted to the priests, or Brahmins.
- bread and circuses** The social policy initiated by Augustus Caesar aimed at gaining the support of the Roman proletariat by freely supplying them with essential food and entertainments.
- Brest-Litovsk Treaty of 1918** The separate peace between the Central Powers and Lenin’s government in Russia.
- British East India Company** Company originally chartered in 1600 by Queen Elizabeth I to trade with the East Indies. However, driven out of the Indies by the Dutch, they concentrated on mainland India.
- Bronze Age** The period when bronze tools and weapons replaced stone among a given people; generally about 3000–1000 BCE.
- Buganda** East African kingdom that appeared in the 16th century. Located west of Lake Victoria Nyanza.
- Bunyoro-Kitara** Another kingdom, like Buganda and others, that appeared as a result of mixing Nilotic religio-political traditions with Bantu agricultural production and urban traditions. It was the most powerful of the Great Lakes region until the late eighteenth century.
- burning of the books** China’s Legalist first emperor attempted to eliminate Confucian ethic by destroying the Confucian writings and prohibiting its teaching.
- bushido** (BOO-shee-doh) The code of honor among the samurai.
- Byzantine Empire** The continuation of the Roman imperium in its eastern provinces until its fall to the Muslim Turks in 1453.
- Caesaro-Papism** A concept that applies when the supreme power of government is combined with supreme leadership of the Christian Church.
- Cahokia** (cah-HOH-kee-ah) Large Native American settlement near East St. Louis, Illinois, c. 600–1300 CE. Noteworthy for its enormous ceremonial mounds.

- caliph** (kah-LEEF) Arabic (*Khalifa*) for “deputy” to the Prophet Muhammad; leader of Islamic community.
- calpulli** Aztec kinship groups.
- Calvin, John** (1509–1564) French theologian who developed the system of Christian theology called Calvinism, as delineated in his text, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*.
- Cardinal Richelieu** See Richelieu.
- Carthage** Rival in the Mediterranean basin to Rome in the last centuries BCE before ultimate defeat.
- cash crops** Crops that are grown for sale rather than for consumption.
- castas** (CAHS-tas) In colonial Spanish America, mixed-blood people of color.
- caste** A socioeconomic group to which a person belongs by reason of birth.
- caudillo** (cow-DEE-yoh) A regional chieftain and usurping strongman who achieves national power in Latin America.
- Cavour, Camillo** (1810–1861) Prime minister of Sardinia after 1852, he brought about the unification of the Italian states into the united Italy.
- censors** Officials with great powers of surveillance during the Roman republic.
- Central Powers** The alliance of Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria that fought the Allied Powers (Britain, France, and Russia) in World War I.
- Chaco Canyon** Canyon located in present-day northwestern New Mexico, which was the center of the Chaco phenomenon.
- Chaco phenomenon** (CHA-coh) Ancestral Puebloan civilization that centered on the Great Houses of Chaco Canyon, c. 800–1150 BCE.
- Chaeronea** (cay-roh-NEE-yah) The battle in 338 BCE when Philip of Macedon decisively defeated the Greeks and brought them under Macedonian rule.
- Chartists** A British working-class movement of the 1840s that attempted to obtain labor and political reform.
- Chavín** (chah-VEEN) Early Peruvian Indian culture.
- Cheka** An abbreviation for the first version of the Soviet secret police.
- Chiang Kai-shek** (chung keye-shehk; 1887–1975) Early colleague of Sun Yat-sen, who succeeded Sun as the leader of the Kuomintang. Opposed the rise of the Chinese Communist Party, but was defeated in 1949 and forced to flee to Taiwan.
- Chichén Itzá** (chee-CHEHN ee-TSAH) Site in the Yucatán of Mayan urban development in the tenth to thirteenth centuries.
- Chinese Communist Party (CCP)** Communist party established in 1920s. In 1947, they defeated the Kuomintang and drove Chiang Kai-shek and his followers to flee to Taiwan.
- Chinghis Khan** (JENG-guhs KAHN) Mongol conqueror, 1167–1227.
- Chola** Powerful Tamil kingdom of southeastern India that thrived ca. 800–1200 CE. Very active in the Indian trade with Cambodia and Sumatra.
- city-states** States or societies that are dominated by a single city.
- Civil Code of 1804** Napoleonic law code reforming and centralizing French legal theory and procedures.
- Civil Constitution of the Clergy** 1791 law in revolutionary France attempting to force French Catholics to support the new government and bring clergy into conformity with it.
- civilization** A complex, developed culture.
- Cleisthenes** (CLEYES-theh-nees) A sixth-century BCE Athenian tyrant who laid the foundations of polis democracy.
- Clive, Robert** (1725–1784) Employee, soldier, and later governor of the British East India Company in India. Also known as Clive of India, he established the military and political supremacy of the East India Company in southern India and Bengal.
- Clovis culture** (CLOH-vihs) The earliest Native American “culture” known to archaeologists. Dated c. 9500–8900 BCE, it was largely based on hunting very large game.
- Coloureds** South Africans of mixed European and African descent.
- Columbian Exchange** A term for the global changes in the resources, habits, and values of Amerindians, Europeans, Africans, and Asians that followed the “discovery” and settlement of the Americas by Europeans and Africans.
- command economy** The name given to economic planning of the communist party in the Soviet version after 1929.
- Committee of Public Safety** The executive body of the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution.
- Common Sense** A pamphlet by Thomas Paine that was influential in hastening the American war of independence against Britain.
- Commonwealth of Independent States** (CIS) The loose confederation of eleven of the fifteen former Soviet republics that was formed after the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991.
- Communist Manifesto** The 1948 pamphlet by Marx and Engels that announced the formation of a revolutionary party of the proletariat.
- community of discourse** A group of people who share a common set of beliefs, symbols, and values.
- Council Movement** The attempt to substitute councils of church leaders for papal authority in late medieval Christianity.
- Confederation of Northern German States** A confederation forged by Bismarck following the Prussian victory in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866.
- Confucius** (cuhn-FYOO-shuhs) The fifth-century BCE philosopher whose doctrines were permanently influential in Chinese education and culture.
- conquistadores** (cahn-KEES-tah-dohrs) Title given to sixteenth-century Spanish explorers/colonizers in the Americas.
- Constance, Council of** The fifteenth-century CE assembly of Christian officials called to settle the controversy over the papacy and to review and revise the basic doctrines of the church for the first time in a millennium.
- Constantine the Great** (272–337 CE) Emperor of Rome, 324–337, best known for issuing the Edict of Milan that reversed Diocletian’s persecution of the Christians and proclaimed religious toleration throughout the Roman Empire.
- Constantinople** Greek colony that became the official residence of Constantine and remained the capital of the Eastern Roman and Byzantine Empires.
- consuls** Chief executives of the Roman republic; chosen annually.
- Copernicus, Nicholas** (1473–1543) Early figure of the European Scientific Revolution who introduced the idea that the universe is heliocentric.
- Coral Sea, Battle of the** Naval engagement in the southwest Pacific during World War II, resulting in the removal of a Japanese invasion threat to Australia.

- corporation** A company that the law bestows with the rights and liabilities of an individual. Generally, these are larger than partnerships and are highly capitalized through shares that are sold to the public.
- Corpus Juris** (COHR-puhs JOO-rihs) “Body of the law”; the Roman law code, produced under the emperor Justinian in the mid-500s CE.
- Cortés, Hernán** (cohr-TEHZ) Spanish conquistador of the Aztec Empire, 1518–1521.
- Counter-Reformation** Series of measures that the Catholic Church took in the 1540s to counterattack against the Protestants, including a thorough examination of doctrines and practices and an emphasis on instruction of the young and of all Christians.
- creationism** A cosmology based on Christian tradition that holds that the universe was created by an intelligent Supreme Being.
- Crecy** (cray-SEE) Battle in the Hundred Years’ War won by the English in 1346.
- Crimean War** Conflict fought in the Crimea between Russia and Britain, France, and Turkey from 1853 to 1856; ended by the Peace of Paris with a severe loss in Russian prestige.
- criollos** (cree-OH-yohs) Creole; term used to refer to whites born in Latin America.
- Crusades** Medieval European wars waged principally to recover the Holy Lands (and Spain and Portugal) from Muslim control beginning in 1096.
- Cuban Missile Crisis** 1962 crisis created when Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev placed nuclear armed missiles in Cuba. America imposed a naval blockade, and a settlement was reached when the missiles were withdrawn in exchange for an American agreement to remove missiles from Turkey.
- cultural relativism** A belief common in the late twentieth-century West that there are no absolute values to measure contrasting cultures.
- culture** The human-created physical and/or mental environment of a group.
- culture system** Dutch method of extracting wealth from Indonesian peasants by paying fixed (and often unfair) prices for their crops.
- cuneiform** (KYOON-nih-form) Mesopotamian wedge-shaped writing begun by the Sumerians.
- Cuzco** (COOS-coh) Capital city of the Inca Empire.
- cynicism** A Hellenistic philosophy stressing poverty and simplicity.
- Dada** A brief but influential European art movement in the early twentieth century that repudiated all obligations to communicate intelligibly to the general public.
- da Gama, Vasco** (duh GAH-mah, VAHS-coh; 1469–1524) First Portuguese to sail directly from Portugal to India and back, 1497–1499.
- daimyo** (DEYE-myoh) Japanese nobles who controlled feudal domains under the shogun.
- Damascus** Ancient city located in present-day Syria. It served as the capital of the Islamic Empire during the Umayyad caliphate (661–750).
- Dao de Jing** (DOW deh CHING) (*Book of Changes*) Daoism’s major scripture; attributed to Lao Zi.
- Daoism** (DOW-ism) (Taoism) A nature-oriented philosophy/religion of China.
- Charles Darwin** English naturalist who discovered natural selection and the modern theory of evolution. Author of *Descent of Man*.
- Dawes Plan** A plan for a dollar loan and refinancing of post–World War I reparation payments that enabled recovery of the German economy.
- D-day** June 6, 1944; the invasion of France from the English Channel by combined British and American forces.
- Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen** The epoch-making manifesto issued by the French Third Estate delegates at Versailles in 1789.
- decolonization** The process by which Europeans withdrew from their colonies in Africa and Asia and restored self-rule.
- deductive reasoning** Arriving at truth by applying a general law or proposition to a specific case.
- De Gaulle, Charles** General who commanded the Free French forces during World War II. Became President of the Fifth Republic, 1958–1968.
- de las Casas, Bartolomé** (day lahs CAH-sahs, bahr-toh-loh-MAY) Spanish Dominican friar who wrote a scathing report in 1522 describing the devastation experienced by Native Americans at the hands of the Spanish.
- Delhi sultanate** (DEH-lee) The government and state erected by the conquering Afghani Muslims after 1500 in North India; immediate predecessor to the Mughal Empire.
- Delian League** An empire of satellite poleis under Athens in the fifth century BCE.
- deme** The basic political subdivision of the Athenian polis.
- demesne** The arable land on a manor that belonged directly to the lord.
- democracy** A system of government in which the majority of voters decides issues and policy.
- demographic transition** The passage of a large group of people from traditional high birthrates to lower ones, induced by changing economic conditions and better survival chances of the children.
- Deng Xiaoping** (dung shau-ping; 1904–1997) Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party after the death of Mao Zedong; began the relaxation of CCP antipathy to capitalism, allowing limited free enterprise under liberalized CCP oversight.
- dependency** In the context of national development, the necessity to reckon with other states’ powers and pressures in the domestic economy and foreign trade.
- der Führer** (dayr FYOO-rehr) “The Leader” in Nazi Germany—specifically, Hitler.
- devish** (DER-vihsh) A Turkish term for a Sufi. See Sufi.
- descamisados** (des-cah-mee-SAH-dohs) “Shirtless ones”; the poor working classes in modern Argentina.
- Descartes, René** (1596–1650) Mathematician and logician of the European Enlightenment. He believed that the material world could be understood with the aid of mathematical formulas.
- Descent of Man, The** The 1871 publication by Charles Darwin that applied selective evolution theory to mankind.
- détente** (lit.) (day-TAHNT) Relaxation; the term used for the toning down of diplomatic tensions between nations—specifically, the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union.
- devshirme** (duv-SHEER-muh) Ottoman system of recruiting young Christian boys of the Balkan villages for the Janissary corps.

dharma (DAHR-mah) A code of morals and conduct prescribed for one's caste in Hinduism.

dhimmi (THIHM-meas) "People of the Book": Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians living under Muslim rule and receiving privileged treatment over other non-Muslims.

The Diaspora The scattering of the Jews from ancient Palestine.

Díaz, Bartolomeo (dee-YAHS, bahr-toh-loh-MAY-oh) Portuguese sea captain, the discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa, 1488.

Díaz, Bernal Soldier in the army of Cortez who was an eyewitness to the invasion and conquest of the Aztecs in 1519–1521.

diffusion theory The spread of ideas and technology through human contacts.

Diocletian Roman Emperor, 284–305 CE, known for his conquests and for establishing the Tetrarchy, the political division of the Roman Empire into western and eastern halves.

Directory The five-member executive organ that governed France from 1795 to 1799 after the overthrow of the Jacobins.

divan (dih-VAHN) A Turkish form of the Arabic word, *diwan*, meaning a Royal Council which advises the ruler.

divine right theory The idea that the legitimate holder of the Crown was designated by divine will to govern; personified by King Louis XIV of France in the seventeenth century.

Domesday Book A complete census of landholdings in England ordained by William the Conqueror.

Dorians Legendary barbaric invaders of Mycenaean Greece in c. 1200 BCE.

Dream of the Red Chamber, The The best known of the eighteenth-century Chinese novels.

Duce, Il (DOO-chay) "The Leader"; title of Mussolini, the Italian dictator.

Dupleix, Joseph François Governor-general of French possessions in India, 1742–1754.

Dutch East India Company A commercial company founded with government backing to trade with the East and Southeast Asians. The Dutch, English, and French governments sponsored such companies starting in the early seventeenth century.

economic nationalism A movement to assert national sovereignty in economic affairs, particularly by establishing freedom from the importation of foreign goods and technology on unfavorable terms.

Edict of Milan The Roman Emperor Constantine promulgated the Edict of Milan in 313 CE, establishing religious toleration throughout the Roman Empire.

Edo (EH-do) Name of Tokyo before the eighteenth-century

Effective Occupation One of the principles established during the Berlin Conference of 1884 for recognizing colonial claims. Essentially, it required that for a claim to be made, an effective administrative and police presence had to be established in the territory in question.

Eightfold Path The Buddha's teachings on attaining perfection.

ekklesia (ehk-KLAY-zee-yah) The general assembly of citizens in ancient Athens.

Elect, The A doctrine made famous by John Calvin that posits the notion that only a small minority (i.e., the "Elect") of the human race is predestined for salvation.

Emir (eh-MEER) A provincial official with military duties in Muslim government.

empirical data Facts derived from observation of the external world.

empirical method Using empirical data to establish scientific truth.

empiricist A school of Hellenistic Greek medical researchers.

Empress Dowager Cixi (1830–1908) Concubine of Qing emperor Xianfeng, she became the regent for her son, the emperor Tongxi. Exercising power for nearly fifty years, she encouraged the Taiping Rebellion and opposed badly needed reforms.

Enabling Act A law the German Reichstag passed in 1933 giving Hitler dictatorial power.

enclosure movement An eighteenth-century innovation in British agriculture by which formerly communal lands were enclosed by private landlords for their own benefit.

encomienda (en-koh-MYEN-dah) The right to organize unpaid native labor by the earliest Spanish colonists in Latin America; revoked in 1565.

Encyclopédie, The The first encyclopedia; produced in mid-eighteenth-century France by the philosophe Diderot.

Enlightenment The intellectual reform movement in eighteenth-century Europe that challenged traditional ideas and policies in many areas of theory and practice.

Epicureanism A Hellenistic philosophy advocating the pursuit of pleasure (mental) and avoidance of pain as the supreme good.

equal field (or Equal-field) system Agricultural reform favoring the peasants under the Tang Dynasty in China.

equity Fairness to contending parties.

Era of Stagnation The era of Brezhnev's government in the Soviet Union (1964–1982), when Soviet society and economy faced increasing troubles.

Era of the Warring States The period of Chinese history between c. 500 and 220 BCE; characterized by the breakdown of the central government and feudal war.

Essay Concerning Human Understanding An important philosophical essay by John Locke that underpinned Enlightenment optimism.

Estates General The parliament of France; composed of delegates from three social orders: clergy, nobility, and commoners.

ethnic, ethnicity The racial, cultural, or linguistic affiliation of an individual or group of human beings.

Etruscans (ee-TRUHNS-cuns) The pre-Roman rulers of most of northern and central Italy and cultural models for early Roman civilization.

European Economic Community An association of Western European nations founded in 1957; now called the European Union, it embraces fifteen countries, with several more in candidate status.

Ewuare Fifteenth-century CE king of Benin.

excommunication The act of being barred from the Roman Catholic community by decree of a bishop or the pope.

existentialism Twentieth-century philosophy that was popular after World War II in Europe; insists on the necessity of injecting life with meaning by individual decisions.

Exodus The Hebrews' flight from the wrath of the Egyptian pharaoh in c. 1250 BCE.

extended family Parents and children plus several other kin-group members such as in-laws, cousins, uncles, and aunts.

factories Fortified trading posts that Europeans established along the coast of (mostly West) Africa during the Age of Informal Empire.

- Factory Acts** Laws passed by Parliament in 1819 and 1833 that began the regulation of hours and working conditions in Britain.
- factory system** Massing of labor and material under one roof with a single proprietorship and management of production.
- fallow** Land left uncultivated for a period to recover fertility.
- fascism** A political movement in the twentieth century that embraced totalitarian government policies to achieve a unity of people and leader; first experienced in Mussolini's Italy.
- Fathers of the Church** Leading theologians and explainers of Christian doctrine in the fourth and early fifth centuries.
- Fertile Crescent** A belt of civilized settlements reaching from Lower Mesopotamia across Syria, Lebanon, and Israel and into Egypt.
- fief** The grant of a privilege, right, or manor by a suzerain to his or her vassal in return for the vassal's promise of loyalty and service.
- Final Solution** Name given by the Nazis to the wartime massacres of European Jews.
- First Consul** Title adopted by Napoleon after his coup d'état in 1799 that established him as the ruler of France.
- First Emperor** (Shih Huang-di) The founder of the short-lived Qin Dynasty (221–205 BCE) and creator of China as an imperial state.
- First Estate** The Roman Catholic Church clergy in France during the *l'ancien regime*.
- First Five-Year Plan** Introduced in 1929 at Stalin's command to collectivize agriculture and industrialize the economy of the Soviet Union.
- First Industrial Revolution** The initial introduction of machine-powered production; began in late eighteenth-century Britain.
- First International** Title of original association of Marxists and other socialists in 1860s Europe.
- Five Great Relationships** Confucius's scheme of the five forms of hierarchical human relationships that govern family and community life.
- Five Pillars of Islam** Popular term for the basic tenets of Muslim faith. Includes the profession of faith (*shahada*), prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, and giving alms.
- floating world** A term for ordinary human affairs popularized by the novels and stories of eighteenth-century Japan.
- Folsom points** Small, highly notched spear heads used by Paleoindians for hunting.
- Forbidden City** The center of Ming and Qing government in Beijing; entry was forbidden to ordinary citizens.
- Four Corners region** Region located near the point where the contemporary American states of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona meet.
- "four little tigers"** Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong Kong in the 1960s–1980s economic upsurge.
- Four Noble Truths** The Buddha's doctrine on human fate.
- Fourteen Points** The outline for a just peace proposed by Woodrow Wilson in 1918.
- Franco-Prussian War** The 1870–1871 conflict between these two powers resulting in German unification under Prussian leadership.
- Frankfurt Assembly** A German parliament held in 1848 that was unsuccessful in working out a liberal constitution for a united German state.
- Frontier Wars** Territorial wars that resulted when Trekboers (q.v.) encountered Bantu-speaking peoples in the region of the Fish River in the late 1700s.
- Fujiwara clan** (foo-jee-WAH-rah) Daimyo noble clan controlling the shogunate in ninth- to twelfth-century Japan.
- Galileo Galilei** (1564–1642) One of the Scientific Revolution's most imposing figures, he was an important contributor to the development of the scientific method.
- Gandhi, Indira** Daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru who served as Prime Minister of India, 1966–1975 and 1980–1984. Assassinated by Sikh religious extremists.
- Gandhi, Mohandas** (GAHN-dee, moh-HAHN-dahs; 1869–1948) Advocate of nonviolent protest against British rule and one of the founders of the modern state of India.
- Gendarme of Europe** Name given by liberals to the Russian imperial government under Tsar Nicholas I (1825–1855).
- General Theory of Relativity** Einstein's theory that introduced the modern era of physics in 1916.
- Gentiles** All non-Jews.
- geocentric** "Earth centered"; theory of the cosmos that erroneously held the Earth to be its center.
- Ghana** (GAH-nah) The earliest of the extensive empires in the western Sudan; also a modern West African country formed from the colony of Gold Coast when it won independence from Great Britain in 1957.
- Ghazis** (GAH-zees) Muslim "crusaders," or holy warriors, who fought against unbelievers.
- ghetto** Italian name for the quarter restricted to Jews.
- Gilgamesh, Epic of** (GIHL-gah-mesh) One of the earliest epics in world literature, originating in prehistoric Mesopotamia.
- glasnost** (GLAS-nohnst) The Russian term for "openness"; along with perestroika, employed to describe the reforms instituted by Gorbachev in the late 1980s.
- global warming** The steady warming trend of the planet's temperature in the past century.
- Glorious Revolution of 1688** The English revolt against the unpopular Catholic king James II and the subsequent introduction of certain civil rights restricting monarchic powers.
- Golden Horde** The Russia-based segment of the Mongol world empire.
- golden mean** Greek concept of avoiding the extremes; "truth lies in the middle."
- Good Neighbor Policy** President Franklin D. Roosevelt's attempt to reform previous U.S. policy and honor Latin American sovereignty.
- Gorbachev, Mikhail** (b. 1931). Soviet leader at the time of the Revolution of 1989.
- Gothic style** An artistic style, found notably in architecture, that came into general European usage during the thirteenth century.
- Gracchi brothers** Roman noble brothers who unsuccessfully attempted reform as consuls in the late republican era.
- Grand Canal** Chinese canal whose construction began as early as the fifth century BCE. Its purpose was to link southern China with northern China, enabling the transport of rice into the agriculturally less-productive North.
- Grand Vizier** (vih-ZEER) Title of the Turkish prime minister during the Ottoman era.
- Great Depression of the 1930s** A depression that began in 1929 when the New York Stock Exchange collapsed, causing a

severe crisis for banks and securities firms that spread around the world and created high levels of unemployment.

Great Elector Frederick William of Prussia (1640–1688); one of the princes who elected the Holy Roman Emperor.

“Great Game,” The Refers to nineteenth- and twentieth-century competition by Britain and Russia for influence and control in western and southern Asia.

Great Houses Large multistoried structures associated with the Ancestral Puebloan civilization. Most were built c. 800–1150 CE and appear to have had a ceremonial function.

Great Indian Mutiny (1857) Sometimes shortened to the Great Mutiny. Mutiny of Indian soldiers (*sepoys*) of the East India Company army caused by cultural insensitivity of Company officers.

Great Leap Forward Mao Zedong’s misguided attempt in 1958–1960 to provide China with an instantaneous industrial base rivaling that of more advanced nations.

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution The period from 1966 to 1976 when Mao Zedong inspired Chinese youth to rebel against all authority except his own; caused great damage to the Chinese economy and culture.

Great Purge The arrest and banishment of millions of Soviet Communist Party members and ordinary citizens at Stalin’s orders in the mid-1930s for fictitious “crimes against the State and Party.”

Great Reforms (Russia) Decrees affecting several areas of life issued by Tsar Alexander II between 1859 and 1874.

Great Schism A division in the Roman Catholic Church between 1378 and 1417, when two (and for a brief period, three) popes competed for the allegiance of European Christians; a consequence of the Babylonian Captivity of the papacy in Avignon, southern France.

Great Trek The march of the Boers, beginning in 1836, into the northeastern interior of South Africa where they founded the so-called Boer Republics.

Great Zimbabwe (zim-BOB-way) The leading civilization of early southern Africa and exporter of gold to the East African coast.

Green Revolution The increased agricultural output in many Third World nations during the 1960s and 1970s that came from introducing high-yield crops and pesticides.

greenhouse gases Gases, such as carbon dioxide, that trap light radiation in the earth’s atmosphere and produce a warming, greenhouse-like effect on world temperatures.

gross domestic product (GDP) A measurement used by economists of the total wealth being produced by a country.

guilds Medieval urban organizations that controlled the production and sale prices of many goods and services.

Gupta Dynasty (GUHP-tah) The rulers of most of India in the 300–400s CE; the last native dynasty to unify the country. They ruled over a “golden age” in the cultural history of the subcontinent, when Hinduism was revived and Sanskrit literature thrived.

Habsburg Dynasty The family that controlled the Holy Roman Empire after the thirteenth century; based in Vienna, they ruled Austria until 1918.

hacienda (hah-SYEHN-dah) A Spanish-owned plantation in Latin America that used native or slave labor to produce export crops.

Hagia Sophia (HAH-gee-yah soh-FEE-yah) Greek name (“Holy Wisdom”) of the cathedral in Constantinople, later made into a mosque by Ottoman Turkish conquerors.

haiku (HEYE-koo) A type of Japanese poetry always three lines in length. The lines always have five, seven, and five syllables.

hajj (HAHJ) The pilgrimage to the sacred places of Islam.

Hammurabi (ham-moo-RAH-bee; c. 1810–1750 BCE) Sixth king of Babylon.

Hammurabi’s Law Code History’s first known law code, it was written by King Hammurabi in the eighteenth century BCE.

Han Dynasty The dynasty that ruled China from c. 200 BCE to 221 CE.

Han synthesis Ideology of the Han state that blended elements from Confucianism, Daoism, and Legalism.

Hangzhou (hahng-CHOH) Capital city of Song Dynasty in China and probably the largest town in the contemporary world.

Hanoverian Dynasty The dynasty of British monarchs after 1714; from the German duchy of Hanover.

harem Turkish name for the part of a dwelling reserved for women.

Harun al-Rashid (hah-ROON al-RAH-shihd) Abbasid caliph of Baghdad, 786–809 CE.

Hausa West African people found north of the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers in present-day Nigeria. Noted for their extensive trade networks and craft skills, they organized themselves in city-states.

Hebrews The followers of Abraham, Isaac, and Moses who settled in the land of Canaan and who were governed by God’s laws, the Tanakh. More commonly known as the Jews.

Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) Second most powerful man in Nazi Germany and the Black Shirts, or S.S.

heliocentrism Opposite of geocentrism; recognizes sun as center of solar system.

Hellenistic kingdoms Kingdoms carved out of the empire conquered by Alexander the Great. Blended Greek and Asiatic cultures; extant in the Mediterranean basin and Middle East between 300 BCE and c. 200 CE.

helots (HEE-lots) Messenian semi-slaves of Spartan overlords.

Henry VIII, King (1491–1547) King of England, 1509 until his death in 1547, Henry was a strong ruler and an important figure of the Protestant Reformation. He defied the pope by signing the Act of Supremacy, which established the monarch as the supreme head of the Church of England.

Henry the Navigator, Prince (1394–1460) The third son of King João (John) I of Portugal, Henry played an important part in the early Portuguese exploration of the eastern Atlantic and the West African coast.

heresies Wrong beliefs in religious doctrines.

hetairai High-class female entertainer-prostitutes in ancient Greece.

hieroglyphics (high-roh-GLIH-fiks) Egyptian pictographs, beginning as far back as 3000 BCE, that could convey either an idea or a phonetic sound.

Hijra (HIJ-rah) Literally, “flight”; Muhammad’s forced flight from Mecca in 622 CE; it marks the first year of the Muslim calendar.

Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) Prominent member of the NSDAP, or Nazi Party, and head of Hitler’s SS and the Gestapo.

Hinayana Buddhism (hih-nah-YAH-nah) A stricter monastic form of Buddhism, claiming closer link with the Buddha’s

- teaching; often called Theravada. Headquartered in Sri Lanka and strong in Southeast Asia.
- historiography** The writing of history so as to interpret it.
- history** Human actions in past time, as recorded and remembered.
- Hittites** (HIHT-tites) An Indo-European people who were prominent in the Near East around 1200 BCE.
- Hizbullah** Literally, “The Party of God,” a radical Shi’ite guerrilla organization that formed to resist Israel’s occupation of Lebanon; allied to Iran.
- Ho Chi Minh** (hoh chee MIHN; 1890–1969) Communist and nationalist leader in French Indochina who fought against the Japanese in World War II. One of the principal founders of the modern nation of Vietnam, he fought to free his country from French rule, then from American invasion.
- Hohenzollerns** (HOH-ehn-ZOH-leh-rihns) The dynasty that ruled Prussia-Germany until 1918.
- Hohokam** Native American civilization of the Sonora desert region, located in modern southern Arizona, c. 500–1300 CE.
- Homer** Legendary author of the two epic poems of ancient Greece, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.
- hominid** (HAH-mih-nihd) A humanlike creature.
- Homo ergaster** The earliest *Homo Sapiens*, dated to around 150,000 BCE.
- Homo sapiens** (HOH-moh SAY-pee-yehns) “Thinking man”; modern human beings.
- Hopewell Tradition or Civilization** Group of Native American societies of the Middle Woodlands period, identified as a “tradition” by archaeologists because of cultural traits they shared (burial practices, for example) and evidence of trade among them.
- Horus** (HOH-ruhs) The falcon-headed god whose earthly, visible form was the reigning pharaoh in ancient Egypt.
- hubris** (HYOO-brihs) An unjustified confidence in one’s abilities or powers, leading to a tragic end.
- Huguenots** (OO-geh-nohs) French Calvinists, many of whom were forced to emigrate in the seventeenth century.
- humanism** The intellectual movement that sees humans as the sole valid arbiter of their values and purpose.
- humanistic** An adjective meaning something that emphasizes human qualities.
- Hundred Schools Period** The period of cultural and intellectual creativity that occurred in the last centuries of the Zhou Dynasty in China, c. 550–221 BCE.
- Hungarian Revolution** The Hungarians’ attempt to free themselves from Soviet control in October 1956; crushed by the Soviets.
- Hussein, Saddam** Iraqi dictator; an American invasion of Iraq in 2003 led to the overthrow of his government and widespread chaos.
- Hyksos** (HIHK-sohs) A people who invaded the Nile Delta in Egypt and ruled it during the Second Intermediate Period (c. 1650–1570 BCE).
- Ibn Sina** (ih-bihn SEE-nah) Well-known Islamic philosopher and physician (980–1037).
- Ibn Taymiyya, Taqi al-Din** (ih-bihn tie-MEE-yah) (1263–1328) Ultra-conservative Hanbali legal scholar whose writings are the foundation of the fundamentalist Wahhabi movement.
- ideographs** Written signs conveying entire ideas and not related to the spoken language; used by the Chinese from earliest times.
- Ifè** West African forest kingdom of the Yoruba people whose date of origin is uncertain.
- Ignatius of Loyola** (1491–1556) Major figure of the Catholic Counter-Reformation who founded the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits.
- Il Khans** (il KHAHNS) One of the four major dynasties established from the empire of Chinghis Khan. Founded by Hulegu, Chinghis’s grandson, after he destroyed Abbasid rule in Baghdad.
- Iliad** The first of the two epics supposedly written by Homer in eighth-century Greece.
- Impressionists** Members of a Paris-centered school of nineteenth-century painting focusing on light and color.
- Inca** Title of the emperor of the Quechuan-speaking peoples of Peru before arrival of the Spanish.
- Indian National Congress** Political party formed in India in 1885. Eventually led the Indian Independence Movement.
- indirect rule** The British policy of governing their overseas colonies through native rulers.
- Indochina** See Indochina, Union of.
- Indochina, Union of** Official term for the French colonies in Indochina until their dissolution in the 1950s.
- Indo-European** A large family of languages that includes most of the modern languages of Europe, Iran (Persia), and India.
- inductive reasoning** Arriving at truth by reasoning from specific cases to a general law or proposition.
- Indus Valley civilization** Earliest known civilization of India; flourished c. 3000–1500 BCE. Largely known from archaeological discoveries at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa.
- infamia** (ihn-fah-MEE-yah) Roman term for immoral, but not illegal, acts.
- Informal Empire** The era in African history that lasted from the 1400s to about 1880, when Europeans remained content to restrict their dealings with Africa primarily to trade.
- Inquisition** Roman Catholic agency that was responsible for censorship of doctrines and books; mainly active in Iberian lands in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries.
- Institutes of the Christian Religion, The** John Calvin’s major work that established the theology and doctrine of the Calvinist churches; first published in 1536.
- intelligentsia** Russian term for a social group that actively influences the beliefs and actions of others, seeking reforms; generally connected with the professions and media.
- intendants** (ahn-tahn-DAHNTS) The traveling officials appointed originally by Cardinal Richelieu to monitor the honesty and efficiency of provincial French authorities.
- Investiture Controversy** A dispute between the Holy Roman Emperor and the pope in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries about which authority should appoint German bishops.
- Iranian Revolution** The fundamentalist and anti-Western movement led by the Ayatollah Khomeini that seized power from the shah of Iran through massive demonstrations in 1979.
- irredentism** The attempt by members of a nation living outside the national state to link themselves to it politically and/or territorially.
- Islamism** The modern, militant reassertion of basic Islamic values and principles by many Muslims.
- ius gentium** (YOOS GEHN-tee-yum) “Law of peoples”; Roman law governing relations between Romans and others.

- Ivan the Terrible** (Ivan IV: 1530–1584) The first ruler of Russia to assume the title of tsar. He overcame Mongol resistance to extend the Russian empire into Siberia.
- Jacobins** Radical revolutionaries during the French Revolution; organized in clubs headquartered in Paris.
- Jacquerie** (ZHAAH-cuh-ree) A French peasant rebellion against noble landlords during the fourteenth century.
- Janissaries** (JA-nih-sayrees) From Turkish *yeni cheri*, meaning “new troops”; an elite troop in the Ottoman army consisting of Christian boys from the Balkans.
- Jesuits** Members of the Society of Jesus, a Catholic religious order founded in 1547 to combat Protestantism.
- Jesus of Nazareth.** Jewish *rabbi* and prophet believed by his followers, the Christians, to have been the Messiah.
- Jewish War** A rebellion of Jewish Zealots against Rome in 66–70 CE.
- jiḥād** (jee-HAHD) Holy war on behalf of the Muslim faith.
- Jiḥād of Abd al-Qaḍir** (abd al-KAH-deer) Jiḥād led by the marabout, Abd al-Qadir, in the 1840s, against the French invasion of Algeria.
- Jiḥād of al-Hajj Umar** (al-HAHJ OO-mahr) Jiḥād of the 1840s–1870s that was led by the Sufi shaykh, al-Hajj Umar Tal.
- Jiḥād of Usman dan Fodio** (OOS-man dan FOH-dee-oh) Jiḥād that took place between 1804 and 1817 in the north of what is now Nigeria. It began as a revolt against the “heretical” practices of the Hausa kings but resulted in the establishment of a Muslim caliphate.
- Judea** One of the two Jewish kingdoms emerging after the death of Solomon when his kingdom was split in two; the other was Samaria.
- Julius Caesar** (100–44 BCE) Roman patrician who formed the First Triumvirate and who was the victor in Rome’s second civil war.
- July Monarchy** The reign of King Louis Philippe in France (1830–1848); so called because he came to power in July 1830.
- Junkers** (YOONG-kers) The landowning nobility of Prussia.
- justification by faith** Doctrine held by Martin Luther whereby Christian faith alone, and not good works, could be the path to heavenly bliss.
- ka** (kah) The immortal soul in the religion of ancient Egypt.
- Ka’ba** (KAH-bah) The original shrine of pagan Arabic religion in Mecca containing the Black Stone; now one of the holiest places of Islam.
- Kabuki** (kah-BOO-kee) A type of popular Japanese drama depicting heroic and romantic themes and stories.
- Kalidasa** (kah-lih-DAH-sah) Hindu philosopher and playwright of the Gupta period; influenced the development of Sanskrit literature.
- Kamakura shogunate** (kah-mah-KOO-rah) Government by members of a noble Japanese family from the late twelfth to the mid-fourteenth century in the name of the emperor, who was their puppet.
- kami** (KAH-mee) Shinto spirits in nature.
- Kampuchea** (kahm-poo-CHEE-yah) Native name of Cambodia, a state of Southeast Asia bordered by Thailand and Vietnam.
- Kanishka the Great** A powerful ruler who presided over the Kushan kingdom, ca. 78–125 CE. He expanded Kushan control over the western oases of the Silk Road trade routes and was notable for his religious tolerance and sponsorship of Mahayana Buddhism.
- Karlowitz, Treaty of** (1699) Treaty in which, for the first time, the Ottoman Empire had to cede territory in the Balkans to its Austrian opponent.
- karma** (KAHR-mah) In Hindu belief, the balance of good and evil done in a given incarnation.
- Karnak** (KAHR-nack) The site of a great temple complex along the Nile River in Egypt.
- Kashmir** (kazh-MEER) A province in northwestern India, largely populated by Muslims, that Pakistan also claims.
- Kellogg-Briand Pact** A formal disavowal of war by sixty nations in 1928.
- Kepler, Johannes** (1571–1630) A major contributor to the European Scientific Revolution. He discovered the three laws of celestial mechanics that governed planetary motion around the sun.
- Kerma** One of the earliest capitals of ancient Nubia, or Kush; located in northern Sudan.
- Keynes, John Maynard** (1883–1946) English economist who believed it was the duty of government to lessen the effects of the business cycle by pumping new money into the credit system in hard times.
- KGB** An abbreviation for the Soviet secret police; used after Cheka and NKVD had been discarded.
- Khanate of the Golden Horde** Sub-khanate of the Mongol Empire located in eastern and central Russia.
- khans** .Supreme rulers over the Turko-Mongolian tribes of Central Asia.
- Kharijites** (KHAH-rih-jites) Like Shi’ites, they are one of the two religious minorities in Islam. Basically, they reject the caliphate and believe that leadership of the Umma (q.v.) rightfully belongs to the most pious and that authority comes from the community itself.
- Khmers** (KAY-mers) The inhabitants of Cambodia; founders of a large empire in ancient Southeast Asia.
- Khameini, Ayatollah Ruholla** (1900–1989) Iranian Shi’ite cleric who led the 1979 Iranian revolt against the shah.
- Khrushchev, Nikita** Succeeded Stalin as First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, 1955–1964. Utterly convinced of the eventual triumph of communism in the world, he followed policies that generally were more conciliatory towards the West.
- Kilwa** (KILL-wah) A Swahili city-state that dominated the gold and ivory trade from East Africa, c. 1300–1450 CE.
- King of Kings** The title of the Persian emperor.
- kivas** (KEE-vahs) Underground ceremonial chambers among Puebloan Native Americans.
- kleptocracies.** Governments staffed by thieves.
- knights** Type of feudal noble who held title and landed domain only for his lifetime; generally based originally on military service to his overlord.
- Korean War** 1950–1953 war between United Nations (led by the United States) and North Korea; precipitated by the invasion of South Korea.
- Kubilai Khan** (KOOB-lay KHAHN) Mongol Great Khan and founder of the Yuan Dynasty of China.
- Kuomintang** (KMT) The political movement headed by Chiang Kai-shek during the 1930s and 1940s in China.
- Kush** (kuhsh) Kingdom in northeast Africa that had close relations with Egypt for several centuries in the pre-Christian epoch.
- Kushan kingdom** Originally, the Kushan were a tribal group that migrated from the east into the region that included

- much of northeastern India. By the second century CE, they succeeded in establishing control over a region that included much of today's Afghanistan, Pakistan, and northwestern India. Their rule preceded that of the Guptas.
- Kwame Nkrumah** (KWAH-may Ng-KROO-mah; 1909–1972) In 1957, led the Gold Coast—renamed Ghana—as the first nation among the colonial states of Africa to achieve independence. Fierce advocate of African socialism and Pan-Africanism.
- Kyoto** (KEE-oh-to) Ancient capital of the Japanese Empire and seat of the emperor.
- Labour Party** Political party founded in 1906 by British labor unions and others for representation of the working classes.
- l'ancien régime** (LAHN-syahn ray-ZHEEM) “The old government”; the pre-Revolutionary style of government and society in eighteenth-century France.
- Lao Zi** (lau-TSUH) Mythical author of the *Dao de Jing*, or *Book of Changes*, which has served as the text for various versions of Daoist folklore and philosophy for many centuries in China.
- Late Manzhou Restoration** An attempt by Chinese reformers in the 1870s to restore the power of the central government after the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion.
- League of Nations** An international organization founded after World War I to maintain peace and promote amity among nations; the United States did not join.
- Left** The reforming or revolutionary wing of the political spectrum; associated originally with the ideals of the radical French Revolution.
- Legalism** A Chinese philosophy of government emphasizing strong authority.
- Legislative Assembly** The second lawmaking body created during the French Revolution; dominated by the Jacobins, it gave way to the radical Convention.
- Legitimacy** A term adopted by the victors at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to explain the reimposition of former monarchs and regimes after the Napoleonic wars.
- Lenin, Vladimir I.** (1870–1924) Founder of the Bolshevik Party and leader of the October 1917 Revolution in Russia.
- Levantine Corridor** Region that included most of present-day Israel-Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and northern Iraq. Archaeologists have discovered the earliest evidence of agriculture here.
- levée en masse** (leh-VAY ahn-MAHS) General conscription for the army; first occurred in 1793 during the French Revolution.
- Leviathan** A book by Thomas Hobbes that supported the necessity of the state and, by inference, royal absolutism.
- liberum veto** (LEE-bay-rum) Latin for “free veto”; used by Polish nobles to nullify majority will in the Polish parliaments of the eighteenth century.
- Lin Zexu** (lihn-zeh-shoo) Chinese official appointed in 1840 by the Qing emperor as his imperial commissioner for trade to deal with the problem that the British importation of opium into China presented.
- lineage** (LIHN-ee-age) A technical term for family or clan association.
- Little Ice Age** A period of global cooling that lasted from the late thirteenth century to the seventeenth century.
- little red book** Contained the thoughts of Chairman Mao Zedong on various topics; used as a talisman during the Cultural Revolution by young Chinese.
- Livingstone, David** Medical missionary, explorer, and humanitarian who explored much of subequatorial Africa during the period of the 1840s–1860s. He especially advocated “legitimate trade” as a substitute for the slave trade in Africa.
- Locarno Pact** An agreement between France and Germany in 1925.
- Lollards** Name of unknown origin given to the English religious rebels of the 1380s who later protested against the privileges of the clergy and were vigorously persecuted.
- Long March** The 6,000-mile fighting retreat of the Chinese communists under Mao Zedong to Shensi province in 1934–1935.
- Louis XIV, King** King of France 1643–1715, famous as the leading Bourbon practitioner of royal absolutism and the builder of the royal *chateau* at Versailles.
- L'Ouverture, Toussaint** (1743–1803) Leader who led the struggle for the independence of African and Afro-Haitian slaves from French colonial rule.
- Luther, Martin** (1483–1546) Began the Protestant Reformation with his famous Ninety-Five Theses. Also noted for his translation of the Bible into German.
- lyric poetry** Poetry that celebrates the poet's emotions.
- Maastricht Treaty** (MAHS-trict) Signed in 1991 by members of the European Community; committed them to closer political-economic ties.
- Maat** (MAHT) Egyptian goddess of universal order and balance.
- Machtergreifung** “Seizure of power”; Nazi term for Hitler's rise to dictatorial powers in Germany.
- Machu Picchu** (MAH-choo PEE-choo) Incan city in the high Andes Mountains.
- Magellan, Ferdinand** (mah-JEL-lan) First man to sail completely around the world, 1519–1522.
- Maghrib or Maghreb** (mah-GREEB) Northwest Africa, north of the Atlas Mountains. Term usually includes Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.
- Mahabharata** (mah-hahb-hah-RAH-tah) A Hindu epic poem; a favorite in India.
- Mahayana Buddhism** (mah-hah-YAH-nah) A more liberal, looser form of Buddhism; originating soon after the Buddha's death, it deemphasized the monastic life and abstruse philosophy in favor of prayer to the eternal Buddha and the bodhisattvas who succeeded him.
- Mahdi, The** (MAH-dee) A charismatic Islamic mystic, Muhammad Ahmad, who led a serious rebellion against Egyptian rule in the Sudan, 1881–1885.
- Majapahit** (mah-JAH-pah-hit) The main town of a maritime empire in fourteenth-century Indonesia.
- Mali** (MAH-lee) The West African empire that was the successor to Ghana in the 1300s and 1400s.
- Manchester liberalism** The economic practice of exploiting the laboring poor in the name of the free market.
- Manchuria** Large province of northeastern China, seized in the nineteenth century by Russia and Japan before being retaken by the Maoist government.
- mandarins** (MAN-dah-rihns) Chinese scholar-officials who had been trained in Confucian principles. Usually associated with the landed elite.
- mandate of Heaven** A theory of rule originated by the Zhou Dynasty in China, emphasizing the connection between imperial government's rectitude and its right to govern.

- mandates** Britain and France governed several Asian and African peoples after World War I, supposedly as agents of the League of Nations.
- manor** An agricultural estate of varying size, normally owned by a noble or the clergy and worked by free and unfree peasants/serfs.
- Mansa Musa** (MAHN-sah MOO-sah) King of Mali, early fourteenth century.
- Manu** (MAH-noo) Legendary lawgiver in India.
- Manus** (MAH-nuhs) “Hand”; Latin term for the legal power of one person over another.
- Manzhou** (man-CHOO) Originally, nomadic tribes living in Manchuria who eventually overcame Ming resistance and established the Qing Dynasty in seventeenth-century China.
- Manzikert, Battle of** (MAN-zih-kert) Battle fought in 1071 that gave victory to the Seljuk Turks over the Byzantines. Made Turkish Muslim entry to Asia Minor possible.
- Mao Zedong** (mau tseh-duhng; 1893–1976) Joined the Communist Party in the 1920s and became its principal leader. Later defeated the Kuomintang, and, as Chairman of the CCP, ruled China until his death in 1976.
- marabout** (MAH-rah-boot) A leader of a radical Sufi brotherhood in North Africa and the Sahara Desert.
- Marathon** The battle in 490 BCE in which the Greeks defeated the Persians, ending the first Persian War.
- March on Rome** A fascist demonstration in 1922, orchestrated by Mussolini as a preliminary step to dictatorship in Italy.
- March Revolution of 1917** The abdication of Tsar Nicholas II and the establishment of the Provisional Government in Russia.
- Maritime Expeditions** (China’s) Early fifteenth-century explorations of the Indian and South Pacific oceans ordered by the Chinese emperor.
- Marshall Plan** A program proposed by U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall and implemented from 1947 to 1951 to aid Western Europe’s recovery from World War II.
- Marx, Karl** (1818–1883) Seminal early socialist historian, philosopher, and social theoretician who, in collaboration with Friedrich Engels, wrote *The Communist Manifesto* and *Das Kapital (Capital)* and founded the International movement.
- Massacre on Tienanmen Square** See Tienanmen Square, Massacre on.
- Masscult** The banal culture that some think replaced the traditional elite culture in the twentieth-century West.
- matriarchy** A society in which females are dominant socially and politically.
- matrilineal descent** Attribution of name and inheritance to children via the maternal line.
- Maya** The most advanced of the Amerindian peoples, who lived in southern Mexico and Guatemala and created a high urban civilization in the pre-Columbian era.
- May Fourth Movement** A reform movement of young Chinese students and intellectuals in the post–World War I era; Mao Zedong was a member prior to his conversion to Marxism.
- McMahon Letter** British correspondence in 1916 that promised support for the creation of an Arab state in the Middle East in exchange for an Arab alliance in driving Turkey out of the region.
- Medes** An early Indo-European people who, with the Persians, settled in Iran.
- Mehmed the Conqueror** (1432–1481) Also known as Mehmed II. Ottoman Sultan who besieged and conquered Constantinople in 1453, thereafter renaming it Istanbul.
- Meiji Restoration** (mei-JEE) The overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate and restoration of the emperor to nominal power in Japan in 1867.
- Mein Kampf** (mine KAHMF) “My Struggle”; Hitler’s credo, written while serving a prison term in 1924.
- mercantilism** A theory of national economics popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; aimed at establishing a favorable trade balance through government control of exports and imports as well as domestic industry.
- meritocracy** The rule of the meritorious (usually determined by examinations).
- Meroe** Last capital of the ancient African kingdom of Kush. Location of extensive iron smelting, c. 500 BCE.
- Mesopotamia** Literally, “the land between the rivers”; the fertile lands between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers where the earliest known civilizations appeared in the fourth millennium BCE.
- Messenian Wars** Conflicts between the neighbors Sparta and Messenia that resulted in Messenia’s conquest by Sparta in about 600 BCE.
- messiah** A savior-king who would someday lead the Jews to glory.
- mestizo** (mes-TEE-so) A person of mixed Amerindian and European blood.
- metaphor of the cave** Plato’s explanation of the difficulties encountered by those who seek philosophical truth and the necessity of a hierarchy of leadership.
- Mexica** (meh-SHEE- cah) Warlike nomadic Native Americans who invaded central Mexico around the eighth century CE. Some called Aztecs.
- Mexican Revolution** The armed struggle that occurred in Mexico between 1910 and 1920 to install a more socially progressive and populist government.
- Middle Kingdom** The period in Egyptian history from 2100 to 1600 BCE; followed the First Intermediate Period.
- Midway Island, Battle of** (1942) Naval victory won by the Americans that put them on the offensive in the Pacific war against the Japanese.
- Milan, Edict of** A decree issued by the emperor Constantine in 313 CE that legalized Christianity and made it the favored religion in the Roman Empire.
- Ming Dynasty** Ruling dynasty of China, 1368 to 1644.
- Minoan** (mih-NOH-wan) An ancient civilization that was centered on Crete between c. 2000 and c. 1400 BCE.
- missi dominici** (MEE-see doh-MEH-nih-chee) Agents of Charlemagne in the provinces of his empire.
- modernism** A philosophy of art of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that rejected classical models and values and sought new expressions and aesthetics.
- Mohenjo-Daro** (moh-HEHN-joh DAH-roh) Site of one of the two chief towns of the ancient Indus Valley civilization.
- moksha** (MOHK-shah) The final liberation from bodily existence and reincarnation in Hinduism.
- monarchy** Rule by a single individual, who often claims divine inspiration and protection.
- Mongol Yoke** A Russian term for the Mongol occupation of Russia, 1240–1480.

Mongols Name for collection of nomadic, savage warriors of central Asia who conquered most of Eurasia in the thirteenth century.

Monks Mound The largest of the earthen ceremonial mounds found at Cahokia.

monoculture Overreliance on one or two crops in a region; an economically precarious system.

monoeconomies Economies very narrowly based on just one commodity (or a very few) produced for export.

monotheism A religion having only one god.

Monroe Doctrine The announcement in 1823 by U.S. president James Monroe that no European interference in Latin America would be tolerated.

Mughals (MOO-guls) A corruption of “Mongol”; refers to the period of Muslim rule in India.

Muhammad (moo-HAH-mahd) The Prophet of Islam.

Muhammad Abduh (Muhammad AHB-doo) (1849–1905) Leading intellectual of the Salafiyya Islamic reform movement in Egypt.

Muhammad Ali Pasha (1769–1849) Viceroy of Egypt, 1803–1849, he introduced important reforms to reorganize Egypt and its army and navy along European lines.

Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (Muhammad RAY-zah PAH-lah-vee; 1919–1980) Son of Shah Reza Pahlavi, he was the shah of Iran from 1941 until his overthrow by the Iranian Revolution in 1979.

mulatto (muh-LOT-to) A person of mixed African and European blood.

Munich Agreements The 1938 meetings between Hitler and the British and French prime ministers that allowed Germany to take much of Czechoslovakia; the agreement confirmed Hitler’s belief that the democratic governments would not fight German aggression.

Munich putsch The failed attempt by Hitler to seize power by armed force in 1923.

municipia (myoo-nih-KIH-pee-yah) The basic unit of Roman local government; similar to a present-day municipality.

Muslim Brotherhood, the A militant association of Muslims formed during the British occupation of Egypt. Its goals were to drive out the “infidels” and to restore Egypt to a Muslim government. For many years, it engaged in attacks and assassinations, but more recently most members have become more moderate, preferring politics over violence.

Muslim Brotherhoods Associations of Islamic groups that have strong fundamentalist leanings and practice mutual aid among members.

Mussolini, Benito Fascist dictator of Italy during the 1920s and 1930s. One of the three Axis allies during World War II.

Mycenaean (meye-seh-NEE-yan) Referring to the history and culture of the earliest known Indo-European inhabitants of the Greek peninsula, between c. 1600 and c. 1100 BCE.

mystery religions Various Hellenistic cults promising immortal salvation of the individual.

Nantes, Edict of A law granting toleration to French Calvinists that was issued in 1598 by King Henry IV to end the religious civil war.

Napoleonic Settlement A collective name for the decrees and actions by Napoleon between 1800 and 1808 that legalized and systematized many elements of the French Revolution.

Nasser, Colonel Gamal Abdel (1918–1970) Egyptian nationalist leader who was the president of Egypt from 1952. Remembered best for seizing the Suez Canal from Anglo-French control in 1956.

National Assembly The first lawmaking body during the French Revolution; created a moderate constitutional monarchy.

nationalism A form of allegiance in which people owe their loyalty and devotion to the state or nation in which they live.

Natufians The earliest settlers of the Levantine Corridor, they founded the first known settled communities.

natural law The idea, originated by Romans, that all humans, by virtue of their humanity, possess certain rights and duties that all courts must recognize.

natural selection The Darwinian doctrine in biology that change in species derives from mechanistic changes induced by the environment.

Navigation Acts Laws regulating commerce with the British colonies in North America in favor of Britain.

nawab Provincial rulers of the Indian Mughal Empire and the *Raj*.

Nazism The German variant of fascism created by Hitler.

Neanderthal Man A species of *Homo sapiens* flourishing between 100,000 and 300,000 years ago that mysteriously died out; the name comes from the German valley where the first remains were found.

Negritude A literary term referring to the self-conscious awareness of African cultural values; popular in areas of Africa formerly under French control.

Nehru, Jawaharlal (NAY-roo) (1889–1964) Close associate of Mahatma Gandhi who became prime minister of India following Gandhi’s death and served in that office for fifteen years until his death in 1964.

neocolonialism Literally, “new” colonialism, meaning the control—primarily economic—that the former colonial powers continue to exert over their former colonies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Neo-Confucianism An eleventh- and twelfth-century CE revival of Confucian thought with special emphasis on love and responsibility toward others.

Neolithic Age The time when humans went from being nomadic food hunters and gatherers to producing food for themselves by domesticating wild plants and animals, c. 10,000–2,000 BCE.

New China Movement An intellectual reform movement in the 1890s that attempted to change and modernize China by modernizing the government.

New Economic Policy (NEP) A policy introduced at the conclusion of the civil war that allowed for limited capitalism and private enterprise in the Soviet Union.

New Imperialism, the The late nineteenth-century worldwide colonialism of European powers interested in strategic and market advantage.

New Kingdom or Empire The period from c. 1550 to 700 BCE in Egyptian history; followed the Second Intermediate Period. The period from 1550 to c. 1200 BCE was the Empire.

Newton, Isaac (1642–1727) Giant of the European Scientific Revolution and considered by many to have been the greatest scientific thinker of the last three centuries of world history. His most imposing work was the *Principia Mathematica*, in which he summarized his theories concerning the nature of matter, gravity, and motion.

Nicaea, Council of (neye-SEE-yah) A fourth-century conclave of bishops that defined essential doctrines of Christianity under the supervision of the emperor Constantine.

Niger River (NEYE-jer) The great river draining most of the African bulge.

Niger-Congo language family One of the four major language groups found in Africa. Originally found in woodlands north of the West African rain forest. Today, the Niger-Congo languages are spoken throughout most of subequatorial Africa.

Niger-Congo speakers People who speak one of the member languages of the Niger-Congo language family.

1001 Nights, The See *Arabian Nights, The*.

Nilo-Saharan language family One of the four major groups of languages spoken in Africa. Largely spoken throughout northern and eastern Africa.

Nilo-Saharan speakers People who speak one of the languages that are members of the Nilo-Saharan language family.

Ninety-Five Theses The challenge to church authority publicized by Martin Luther, October 31, 1517.

Nineveh (NIH-neh-vay) The main city and later capital of the Assyrian Empire.

nirvana (ner-VAH-nah) The Buddhist equivalent of the Hindu moksha; the final liberation from suffering and reincarnation.

NKVD An abbreviation for the Soviet secret police; used after Cheka but before KGB.

Nonaggression Pact of 1939 The treaty between Hitler and Stalin in which each agreed to maintain neutrality in any forthcoming war involving the other party.

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) An agreement signed by the United States, Canada, and Mexico in 1993 that provides for much liberalized trade among these nations.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) An organization founded in 1949 under U.S. aegis as a defense against threatened communist aggression in Europe.

Nubia Region of Africa south of Egypt, located roughly in today's Sudan. It was where the ancient African kingdoms of Kush and Meroe were found.

nuclear family Composed of parents and children only.

Nuclear Test Ban The voluntary cessation of aboveground testing of nuclear weapons by the United States and the Soviet Union; in existence from 1963 to the present.

Nuremberg Laws Laws defining racial identity that were aimed against Jews; adopted in 1935 by the German government.

Ōba King of the African state of Benin.

October Revolution of 1917 The Bolshevik coup d'état in St. Petersburg that ousted the Provisional Government and established a communist state in Russia.

Odyssey (AH-dehs-see) Second of the two Homeric epic poems, detailing the adventures of the homeward-bound Ulysses coming from the siege of Troy; see also *Iliad*.

Oedipus Rex (OY-dih-pus REHKS) Part of a triad of tragedies written by the classical Greek playwright Sophocles concerning the life and death of Oedipus and his daughter, Antigone.

oil boycott of 1973 The temporary withholding of oil exports by OPEC members to Western governments friendly to Israel; led to a massive rise in the price of oil and economic dislocation in many countries.

Old Kingdom The period of Egyptian history from 3100 to 2200 BCE.

Old Testament The first portion of the Judeo-Christian Bible; the holy books of the Jews.

oligarchy Rule by a few.

Olmec The earliest Amerindian civilization in Mexico.

Omani Arabs Imamate, and later sultanate, located in south-eastern Arabia.

Operation Barbarossa Code name for German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941.

Opium Wars Conflicts that occurred in 1840–1842 on the Chinese coast between the British and the Chinese over the importation of opium into China. The Chinese defeat began eighty years of subordination to foreigners.

Orange Free State One of the two political organisms founded after the Boer Great Trek in southern Africa.

Organization of African Unity (OAU) The association of sub-Saharan African nations founded in 1963 for mutual aid and, it was hoped, eventually the creation of a “United States of Africa.”

Organization of American States (OAS) An organization founded in 1948 under U.S. auspices to provide mutual defense and aid; now embraces all countries on the American continents except Cuba.

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) Oil cartel founded in 1961 by Arab governments and later expanded to include several Latin American and African members.

Origin of Species, The Charles Darwin's book that first enunciated the evolutionary theory in biology; published in 1859.

Osama bin Laden (oh-SAH-mah bihn LAH-dihn; 1957–present) Saudi-born Arab who organized the al-Qaida terrorist organization to wage Islamic jihad against the Western nations.

Osiris (oh-SEYE-rihs) A chief Egyptian god, ruler of the underworld.

Ostpolitik (OHST-poh-lih-tihk) German term for Chancellor Brandt's 1960s policy of pursuing normalized relations with West Germany's neighbors to the east.

ostracism (AH-strah-sihzm) In ancient Greece, the expulsion of a citizen from a polis for a given period.

Oyo West African kingdom of the Yoruba people. Considered to be one of the “daughter” states of Ifè.

Pagan Ancient capital of the Burmese Kingdom in southeastern Asia. Destroyed by the invading Mongol army in the thirteenth century CE.

Paleoindian Period 9500–8900 BCE in Native American history.

Paleolithic Age The period from the earliest appearance of *Homo sapiens* to c. 7000 BCE, though exact dates vary by area; the Old Stone Age.

paleontology The study of prehistoric things.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) An organization founded in the 1960s by Palestinians expelled from Israel; until 1994, it aimed at destruction of the state of Israel by any means. Superseded by the autonomous Palestinian Authority created in 1997.

Pan-Africanism Movement begun in the early twentieth century among African and Caribbean Americans to create unity among black people around the world. In the 1960s, became a movement to create a politically unified Africa.

Pan-Arabism A movement after World War I to assert supranational Arab unity, aimed eventually at securing a unified Arab state.

pantheism A belief that God exists in all things, living and inanimate.

Paragraph 231 of the Versailles Treaty The “war guilt” paragraph, imputing sole responsibility for reparation of all World War I damages to Germany.

pariah An outcast; a person having no acknowledged status.

Paris Commune A leftist revolt against the national government after France was defeated by Prussia in 1871; crushed by the conservatives with much bloodshed.

Parthenon The classic Greek temple to Athena on the Acropolis in Athens’s center.

pastoral nomadism A way of life prevalent in most steppe-lands. Characterized by nomadism and dependence on livestock breeding rather than on agriculture.

patents of nobility Royal documents conferring nobility.

patria potestas (PAH-tree-yah poh-TEHS-tahs) The power of the father over his family in ancient Rome.

patriarchy A society in which males have social and political dominance.

patricians (patres) The upper governing class in ancient Rome.

patrilineal descent Attribution of name and inheritance to children via the paternal line.

Pax Mongolica (PAHKS mon-GOH-lih-cah) The “Mongol peace”; between c. 1250 and c. 1350 in most of Eurasia.

Pax Romana (PAHKS roh-MAH-nah) The “Roman peace”; the era of Roman control over the Mediterranean basin and much of Europe between c. 31 BCE and 180 CE or later.

Peace of Augsburg Pact ending the German religious wars in 1555, dividing the country between Lutheran and Catholic hegemony.

peaceful coexistence The declared policy of Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in dealing with the capitalist West after 1956.

Peloponnesian War (pehl-luh-puh-NEE-zhan) The great civil war between Athens and Sparta and their respective allies in ancient Greece; fought between 429 and 404 BCE and eventually won by Sparta.

peonage (PEE-on-ihj) In Latin America, a type of serfdom that tied peasant workers to a hacienda through alleged debts owed to the employer.

perestroika (payr-rihs-TROY-kah) The Russian term for “restructuring,” which, with *glasnost*, was used to describe the reforms instituted by Gorbachev in the late 1980s USSR.

Pericles (PAYR-rih-clees) The Athenian democratic leader and spokesman who died in the midst of the Peloponnesian War in the fifth century BCE.

Persepolis (per-SEH-poh-lihs) With Ecbatana, one of the twin capitals of the Persian Empire in the 500s BCE; destroyed by Alexander the Great.

Persian Wars The conflict between the Greeks and the Persian Empire in the fifth century BCE, fought in two installments and ending with Greek victory.

Persians An early Indo-European tribe that, along with the Medes, settled in Iran.

Peter the Great, Ruler of Russia (1682–1725) Peter I is noteworthy for his absolutist style of rule and as a great innovator who tried to modernize his country along European lines.

Petrine Succession The doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church by which the pope, the bishop of Rome, is the direct successor of St. Peter.

pharaoh (FAYR-roh) The title of the god-king of ancient Egypt.

philosophes A French term used to refer to the writers and activist intellectuals during the Enlightenment.

philosophy A Greek term meaning “love of knowledge.”

phonetic alphabet A system of writing that matches signs with the sounds of the oral language.

Plassey, Battle of (1757) Battle fought between French-sponsored army of Siraj ad-Dawla and East India Company forces led by Robert Clive. Clive’s victory reduced French and Dutch influence in India.

plastic arts Those arts that have three dimensions.

Platea The land battle that, along with the naval battle of Salamis, ended the second Persian War with a Greek victory over the Persians.

Plato (427–347 BCE) Student of Socrates and teacher of Aristotle. Recorded Socrates’ dialogues. Wrote the *Metaphor of the Cave* and *The Republic*.

plebeians (plebs) The common people of ancient Rome.

pogrom (POH-grum) Mob violence against local Jews.

polis (PAH-lihs) The political and social community of citizens in ancient Greece.

Political Islam The assertion that Islam must serve both as a guide to life and as the basis of modern government in parts of the world where Muslims are the majority.

polytheism A religion having many gods.

pope, the The Bishop of Rome and the acknowledged pastoral head of the Roman Catholic Church.

Popular Front The coordinated policy of all antifascist parties; inspired by the Soviets in the mid-1930s against Hitler.

Porte, the A name for the Ottoman government in Istanbul.

post-Impressionist A term for late nineteenth-century painting that emphasizes color and line in a then-revolutionary fashion.

postmodernism Philosophy of the late twentieth century that emphasized the significance of language as text in signifying power relationships in societies.

Praetorian Guard (pree-TOH-ree-yan) The imperial bodyguard in the Roman Empire and the only armed force in Italy.

precedent What has previously been accepted in the application of law.

pre-Socratics The Greek philosophers of the seventh and sixth centuries who came before the Classical philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, who focused on the nature of the material world.

primary resistance A term applied by some historians for the initial, largely local form of resistance that usually followed soon after European occupation of territory in Africa.

primogeniture A system of inheritance in which the estate passes to the eldest legitimate son.

Princeps (PRIHN-keps) “The First” or “the Leader” in Latin; title taken by Augustus Caesar.

Principality of Kiev The first Russian state; flourished from c. 800 to 1240, when it fell to Mongols.

Principate The reign of Augustus Caesar from 27 BCE to 14 CE.

Principia Mathematica Newton’s seminal publication in which he summarized his revolutionary ideas about the nature of matter, gravity, and motion.

proconsuls Provincial governors and military commanders in ancient Rome.

proletariat Poverty-stricken people without skills; also, a Marxist term for the propertyless working classes.

Provisional Government A self-appointed parliamentary group exercising power in republican Russia from March to October 1917.

psychoanalysis A psychological technique that employs free associations in the attempt to determine the cause of mental illness.

Ptah (pu-TAH) Egyptian god of rebirth, renewal.

Ptolemaic Kingdom of Egypt (tah-luh-MAY-ihk) Egyptian state created by Ptolemy, one of Alexander the Great's generals, in the Hellenistic era.

Pueblo culture (PWEH-bloh) Name given to the Native American culture that has flourished in the Four Corners region of the United States, c. 400–present.

Punic Wars (PYOO-nihk) The three conflicts between Rome and Carthage that ended with the destruction of the Carthaginian Empire and the extension of Roman control throughout the western Mediterranean.

Punt To ancient Egyptians, the lands that probably included southwest Arabia and the Horn of Africa.

purdah (PURR-dah) The segregation of females in Hindu and Muslim society.

purgatory In Catholic belief, the place where the soul is purged after death for past sins and thus becomes fit for Heaven.

Puritans The English Calvinists who were dissatisfied by the theology of the Church of England and wished to “purify” it.

putsch A coup d’état, the overthrow of an existing government.

putting-out system An economic arrangement between individuals or small producers for production of handwork at home and payment by the piece; it was replaced by the factory beginning in late eighteenth-century Britain.

Pyramid of Khufu (Cheops) The largest pyramid; stands outside Cairo.

Qadis (KAA-dee) Islamic judges, learned in Islamic theology and law.

Qin Dynasty (221–202 BCE) Chinese dynasty (of only two rulers) founded in 221 BCE by Shih Huangdi, the “First Emperor.”

Qing Dynasty (ching) The last Chinese dynasty, which ruled from 1644 until 1911; established by Manzhou invaders after they defeated the Ming rulers.

Quadruple Alliance The diplomatic pact to maintain the peace established by the Big Four victors of the Napoleonic wars (Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia); lasted for a decade.

quanta (KWAHN-tah) A concept in physics indicating the expenditure of energy.

Quechua (KETCH-wah) The spoken language of the Incas of Peru.

Qur’an (koor-AHN) The holy scripture of Islam, thought to be (lit.) the word of God.

Raffles, Sir Thomas (1781–1826) British statesman known for his founding of Singapore. Also important for helping to drive French and Dutch from Java (Indonesia), contributing to the expansion of the British Empire into Southeast Asia.

raison d’état (RAY-zohn day-TAH) The idea that the welfare of the state should be supreme in government policy.

The Raj Shorthand for the British *Raj*, a term that refers to the period of British rule in India.

raja Turkish for “cattle”; used to refer to non-Muslims.

Ramadan One of the twelve months of the Muslim calendar, it is the month set aside for the ritual fasting.

Realpolitik (ree-AL-poh-lih-tik) Political policies that are based on practical considerations rather than on ideology.

Red Guards The youthful militants who carried out the Cultural Revolution in China during the 1960s.

Red International See Third International.

Reform Act of 1832 Brought about a reform of British parliamentary voting and representation that strengthened the middle class and the urbanites.

Reformation The sixteenth-century upheaval led by Martin Luther and John Calvin that modified or in some cases rejected altogether some Catholic doctrine and practices; led to the establishment of Protestant churches.

Reign of Terror The period (1793–1794) of extreme Jacobin radicalism during the French Revolution.

Renaissance The social, artistic, and cultural “rebirth” that arose in Europe in the fourteenth century.

reparations question Money and goods that Germany was to pay to the victorious Allies after World War I under the Versailles Treaty.

republican government A form of governing that imitates the Roman *res publica* in its rejection of monarchy.

Rerum novarum (REHR-rum noh-VAHR-rum) An encyclical issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1890 that committed the Roman Catholic Church to attempting to achieve social justice for the poor.

Restoration (English) The period of the 1660s–1680s when Charles II was called by Parliament to take his throne and was thus restored to power.

revanchism (ray-VAHNSH-ism) Wounded national pride and the desire to compensate for a loss in other ways.

revisionism (Marxism) The late-nineteenth-century adaptation of Marxist socialism that aimed to introduce basic reform through parliamentary acts rather than through revolution.

Revolution of 1989 The throwing out of the communist governments in Eastern Europe by popular demand and/or armed uprising.

Richelieu, Cardinal (1585–1642) Secretary of state to King Louis XIII and principal architect of royal absolutism in France that was created under the Bourbon monarchy.

Rigveda (rihg-VAY-dah) The most ancient of the four Vedas, or Hindi religious epics, brought into India by the Aryans.

Robespierre, Maximilien Leading theoretical thinker of the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution and member of the notorious Committee of Public Safety.

Romanesque style The style of European public and church architecture that was popular through the twelfth century. Characterized by rounded arches, thick walls, and relatively little glass in external walls.

Romanov Dynasty (ROH-mah-noff) Ruled Russia from 1613 until 1917.

Romantic movement The generic name for the trend in literature and the arts of early nineteenth-century Europe, away from rationalism and social improvement and toward a celebration of the emotions and individualistic views.

Rome, Treaty of The pact signed by six Western European nations in 1957 that is the founding document of the European Union.

Rose Chamber Rescript of 1839 A major component of the Tanzimat; it called for the full equality of all Ottoman subjects, regardless of religion or ethnicity.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–1778) *Philosophe* of the French Enlightenment noted for his liberal ideas concerning children's education.

Roy, Ram Mohun (1774–1833) One of the most important figures in the nineteenth-century Indian social reform movement known as the Bengal Renaissance.

Rubaiyat (roo-BAY-yaht) The verses attributed to the twelfth-century Persian poet Omar Khayyam.

Safavid Empire (SAH-fah-vihd) The dynasty of Shi'ite Muslims that ruled Persia from the 1500s to the 1700s.

Sahel The arid belt extending across Africa south of the Sahara; also called the Sudan.

Sayyid Sa'id (SAHY-yihd sah-EED) bin Sultan al-Busaidi (1797–1856) Prince of the ruling family of Oman, eastern Arabia. Became Sultan of Oman and Muscat in 1804, founded the Zanzibar Sultanate in East Africa in 1832, and relocated his capital to Zanzibar in East Africa in 1840.

sakoku (sah-KOH-koo) Japan's self-imposed isolation from the outer world that lasted two centuries, until 1854.

Salafi movement (SAH-lah-fee) Intellectual movement begun by Muhammad Abduh to try to modernize Islamic law. More recently, the term has come to be associated with Islamism and a repudiation of the West.

Salamis The naval battle that, with the battle of Platea, ended the second Persian War with a Greek victory.

Samaria One of the two kingdoms into which the Hebrew Kingdom was split after Solomon's death; the other was Judea.

samsara (sahm-SAH-rah) The recurrent reincarnation of the soul; a concept shared by Hinduism and Buddhism.

samurai (sa-muh-REYE) Japanese warrior-aristocrats of medieval and early modern times.

sanga or sangha A Buddhist monastery. *Sanghas* often served as havens for travelers, especially for those on a religious pilgrimage.

Sanhedrin (san-HEH-drihn) The Jewish governing council under the overlordship of Rome.

Sanskrit The sacred language of ancient India; came originally from the Aryans.

Sardinia-Piedmont The north Italian kingdom that led the unification of Italy in the mid-nineteenth century.

sati (sah-TEE) In India, the practice in which a widow committed ritual suicide at the death of her husband.

satrapy (SA-tra-pee) A province under a governor or *satrap* in the ancient Persian Empire.

savanna The semiarid grasslands where most African civilizations developed.

scientific method The method of observation and experiment by which the physical sciences proceed to new knowledge.

Scramble for Africa The sudden race for colonies in Africa among the major European nations that occurred between about 1882 and 1914.

secondary resistance A term some historians apply to the more delayed, regional, and supra-ethnic forms of armed resistance that occurred after European occupation of territories in Africa during the first few decades of the colonial era.

Second Estate The members of the French nobility during the *l'ancien regime*.

Second Front The reopening of a war front in the west against the Axis powers in World War II; eventually accomplished by the invasion of Normandy in June 1944.

Second Industrial Revolution The second phase of industrialization that occurred in the late 1800s after the introduction of electric power and the internal combustion engine.

Second International Association of socialist parties founded in 1889; after the Russian Revolution in 1917, the Second International split into democratic and communist segments.

secondary resistance A term some historians apply to the more delayed, regional, and supra-ethnic forms of armed resistance that occurred after European occupation of territories in Africa during the first few decades of the colonial era.

secret speech Premier Nikita Khrushchev of the USSR gave an account in February 1956 of the crimes of Joseph Stalin against his own people that was supposed to remain secret but was soon known internationally.

secularism The rejection of supernatural religion as the arbiter of earthly action; emphasis on worldly and humanistic affairs.

Seleucid Kingdom of Persia One of the three Hellenistic Kingdoms. The successor state to the empire of Alexander the Great in most of the Middle East.

Self-strengthening The late nineteenth-century attempt by Chinese officials to bring China into the modern world by instituting reforms; failed to achieve its goal.

Selim III, Sultan (seh-LEEM) Ottoman sultan, 1792–1807. He introduced the first reforms of the Ottoman Empire, which later became the Tanzimat.

Seljuks (sel-JUCKS) Turkish converts to Islam who seized the Baghdad government from the Abbasids in the eleventh century.

Semitic Adjective describing a person or language belonging to one of the most widespread of the western Asian groups; among many others, it embraces Hebrew and Arabic.

sepoys Term applied to rank-and-file Indian soldiers of the East Africa Company and British Indian Army.

serfdom Restriction of personal and economic freedoms associated with medieval-European agricultural society.

serfs A term for the peasant farmers who lived on rural manors and worked the land in various degrees and types of servitude throughout medieval Europe.

Seven Years' War Fought between France and England, with their allies, around the world, 1756–1763; won by England, with major accessions of territory to the British Empire.

Seventeen Point Constitution A list assembled by Prince Shotoku in 604 of the proper relationship between a government and its citizens.

Shah Abbas the Great (SHAH ahb-BAHS) Greatest of the Safavid shahs of Persia (r. 1587–1629). He extended the boundaries of the Safavid Empire to their greatest extent.

Shaka (SHAH-kah) King of the Zulu people of South Africa. During the 1810s, he united the Zulu into a powerful, militaristic state in the region of Natal.

Shang Dynasty The first historical rulers of China; ruled from c. 1500 to c. 1100 BCE.

Sharia (shah-REE-yah) The sacred law of Islam; based on the Qur'an and the oral traditions (Sunna) of the Prophet Muhammad.

shaykh (shake) An Arabic honorific form of address for a respected elder, leader, or a scholar.

Shaykh al-Islam (shake al-is-LAHM) Highest religious official of the Ottoman Empire.

Shi'ites (SHEE-ites) A minority sect of Islam; adherents believe that kinship with Muhammad is necessary to qualify for the caliphate.

shiki (SHEE-kee) Rights attached to parcels of land (*shoen*) in Japan.

Shinto (SHIHN-toh) Native Japanese animism.

Shiva (SHEE-vah) A member of the high trinity of Hindu gods; lord of destruction but also of procreation; often pictured dancing.

shoen (SHOH-ehn) Parcels of land in Japan with *shiki* (rights) attached to them; could take many forms and have various possessors.

shogunate (SHOH-guh-nate) The government of medieval Japan in which the shogun, a military and civil regent, served as the actual leader, while the emperor was the symbolic head of the state and religion.

Prince Shotoku A member of the Japanese royal family who assembled the Seventeen Point Constitution.

show trials First used for the staged trials of alleged traitors to the Soviet system in 1936–1937; generically, political trials in which the conviction of the accused is a foregone conclusion.

Siddhartha Gautama (sih-DAHR-thah gau-TAH-mah) The proper name of the Buddha.

Sikhs (SEEKS) Members of a cult founded in the sixteenth century CE who seek a middle way between Islam and Hindu belief; centered on the Punjab region in northern India.

Sino-Soviet conflict Differences in the interpretation of Marxism that were accentuated by conflict over proper policy vis-à-vis the United States in the 1950s and 1960s in Moscow and Beijing.

Sino-Tibetan languages The family of languages spoken by the Chinese and Tibetan peoples.

Six-Day War 1967 war briefly fought in six days, during which Israel occupied the Golan Heights (in southwest Syria), Jerusalem, the Left Bank, the Golan strip, and the entire Sinai Peninsula to the Suez Canal.

Smith, Adam (1723–1790) Enlightenment-era author of the *Wealth of Nations*, in which he theorized about the need for free trade and free markets.

Social Darwinism The adaptation of Darwinian biology to apply to human society in simplistic terms.

Social Democrats Noncommunist socialists who refused to join the Third International and founded independent parties.

Socrates (470–399 BCE) First of the three great philosophers of the Greek Classical Age. Questioned the nature of knowledge and ethical conduct. Athenian court tried and executed him for “corrupting” the youth of the city.

Solidarity The umbrella organization founded by Lech Walesa and other anticommunist Poles in 1981 to recover Polish freedom; triumphed with new government in 1989.

Song Dynasty (sung) The dynasty that ruled China from c. 1127 until 1279, when the last ruler was overthrown by the Mongol invaders.

Songhay Empire (song-GEYE) A West African state, centered on the bend of the Niger River, which reached its fullest extent in the sixteenth century before collapsing.

spinning jenny A fundamental mechanical improvement over hand spinning of cotton thread, developed by an English engineer in the 1780s.

Spirit of the Laws One of the basic tracts of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, written by Baron Montesquieu and adopted by many reformers of government throughout Europe.

Springtime of the Peoples The spring and summer of 1848 when popular revolutions in Europe temporarily succeeded.

Stalin, Joseph (1879–1953) Minor figure in the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, but followed Lenin as the chairman of the Communist Party. Soviet dictator from 1928 until his death in 1953.

Stalingrad The battle in 1942 that marked the turning point of World War II in Europe.

Stalinist economy Involved the transformation of a retarded agrarian economy to an industrialized one through massive reallocation of human and material resources directed by a central plan; imposed on the Soviet Union and then, in the first years after World War II, on Eastern Europe.

Stamp Act of 1765 A law enacted by the British Parliament in 1765 that imposed a fee on legal documents of all types and on all books and newspapers sold in the American colonies.

state The term for a territorial, sovereign entity of government.

steppes In physical geography, steppes generally are characterized by relatively low levels of rainfall and growth of short grasses. Usually suitable only for livestock.

sternpost rudder Ship's rudder mounted on a post on or behind the poop deck.

Stoicism A Hellenistic philosophy that emphasized human brotherhood and natural law as guiding principles.

Storm Troopers/SA The street-fighting “bully boys” of the Nazi Party; suppressed after 1934 by Hitler's orders.

Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) Programs designed by the World Bank to achieve economic improvement in developing countries; frequently failures.

Sublime Porte A term that came to be applied to the Chancery and diplomatic corps of the Ottoman bureaucracy.

Successor states Usual term for the several eastern European states that emerged from the Paris treaties of 1919 as successors to the Russian, German, and Austro-Hungarian Empires.

Sudan (soo-DAN) Literally, Arabic for “blacks,” from the Bilad al-Sudan, the “Land of the Blacks,” in the arid belt extending across Africa south of the Sahara.

Sudanic kingship A form of ritual kingship that evolved in the Saharan-Sudanic region of precolonial Africa, in which the king plays a crucial role in the spiritual and material well-being of his country.

Sufi (SOO-fee) Arabic term for a popular form of Islam that emphasizes emotional union with God and mystical powers.

Sui Dynasty (soo-wee) Ruled China from c. 580 to c. 620 CE; ended the disintegration of central government that had existed for the previous 130 years.

sui juris (SOO-wee JOO-rihs) “Of his own law”; Roman term for an individual, especially a female, who was not restricted by the usual laws or customs.

Suleiman the Magnificent (SOO-lay-man) Ottoman sultan, 1520–1566 CE. Greatest of the Ottoman sultans, his long reign was the high-water mark of the Ottoman Empire.

Sumeria The earliest known civilization, based on city-states located in southern Iraq along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.

Sumerians The creators of Mesopotamian urban civilization.

- Sun Yat-sen** (soon yaht-sehn; 1866–1925) Educated in Western schools, Sun helped overthrow the Qing monarchy and became one of the founders of the Kuomintang Party and of the Chinese Republic.
- Sunna** (SOO-nah) Literally, the “way” or example set by the Prophet Muhammad. It is the oral tradition that Muslim legal scholars rely upon to supplement the Qur’an as another source of the Sharia.
- Sunnis** (SOO-nees) The majority group in Islam; adherents believe that the caliphate should go to the most qualified individual and should not necessarily pass to the kin of Muhammad.
- Supremacy, Act of** A law enacted in 1534 by the English Parliament that made the monarch the head of the Church of England.
- suzerain** The superior of a vassal to whom the vassal owed feudal duties.
- Swahili** (swah-HEE-lee) A hybrid language based on Bantu and Arabic; used extensively in East Africa. Often used to refer to the people and civilization of the East African coast.
- syncretism** The intermeshing of two different things, for example two different religions.
- syndicalism** A doctrine of government that advocates a society organized on the basis of syndicates or unions.
- Taiping** Anti-Manzhou rebels in China in the 1860s.
- Taj Mahal** (TAHJ mah-HAL) The beautiful tomb built by the seventeenth-century Mughal emperor Jahan for his wife.
- takfiri** A radically Islamist doctrine that declares all moderate Muslims who refuse to engage in jihad against the West to be themselves unbelievers and therefore under a sentence of death.
- Tale of Genji** (GEHN-jee) First known novel in Asian, if not world, history; authored by a female courtier about life in the Japanese medieval court.
- Taliban** (students) Islamic fundamentalist militants who came to power in Afghanistan in 1995 and were expelled from the country a few years later by American and native forces.
- Tamarlane** (TAA-mahr-lane) Turco-Mongolian conqueror and founder of the short-lived Timurid state in the Middle and Near East during the late fourteenth century.
- Tanakh** The Hebrew Bible, or Old Testament, as it is known to Christians.
- Tang Dynasty** Ruled China from c. 620 to c. 900 CE and began the great age of Chinese artistic and technical advances.
- Tanzimat reforms** (TAN-zih-maht) Literally, “New Order” in Turkish. The state-directed reforms of the Ottoman Empire that lasted from 1839 to 1876.
- tariqa** (tah-REE-kah) Muslim Sufi (popular mystic) brotherhoods, generally all-male.
- Tartars** (TAR-tars) Russian name for the Mongols.
- Tel el Amarna** The site of great temple complexes along the Nile River in Egypt.
- Temujin** The birth name of Chinghis Khan.
- Tenochtitlán** (teh-noch-tiht-LAHN) Chief city of the Aztec civilization. It was probably built c. 1325 and was conquered by Cortés in 1521. It was renamed Mexico City and served as the capital of colonial Mexico.
- Teotihuacan** (TAY-oh-tee-WAH-kahn) One of the Classical Native American civilizations of Mexico, dated 300 BCE to 800 CE.
- Test Act** Seventeenth-century English law barring non-Anglican Church members from government and university positions.
- Tetrarchy** “Rule of four”; a system of monarchic rule established by Roman emperor Diocletian at the end of the third century CE; failed to achieve its goals.
- theocracy** The rule by gods or their priests.
- Theravada Buddhism** (thayr-rah-VAH-dah) A strict monastic form of Buddhism entrenched in Southeast Asia; same as Hinayana Buddhism.
- Thermidorean reaction** The conservative reaction to the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution.
- Third Estate** The great majority of Frenchmen: those neither clerical nor noble.
- Third International** An association of Marxist parties in many nations; inspired by Russian communists and headquartered in Moscow until its dissolution in 1943.
- Third Republic of France** The government of France after the exile of Emperor Napoleon III; lasted from 1871 until 1940.
- Third Rome** A Russian myth that Moscow was ordained to succeed Rome and Constantinople as the center of true Christianity.
- Third World** A term in use after World War II to denote countries and peoples in underdeveloped, formerly colonial areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; the First World was the West under U.S. leadership, and the Second World was the communist states under Soviet leadership.
- Tian** The Chinese name for a heavenly force that governed the entire universe.
- Tienanmen Square, Massacre on** The shooting down of perhaps thousands of Chinese who were peacefully demonstrating for relaxation of political censorship by the communist leaders; occurred in 1989 in Beijing.
- Tilsit, Treaty of** A treaty concluded in 1807 after the French under Napoleon had defeated the Russians; divided Europe/Asia into French and Russian spheres.
- timar** (tih-MAR) An Ottoman feudal estate held by a member of the Ottoman cavalry.
- Timbuktu** (tim-buck-TOO) City located on the Niger River in West Africa. One of the principal staging centers of the trans-Saharan caravan trade in the Middle Ages.
- Time of Troubles** A fifteen-year period at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Russia when the state was nearly destroyed by revolts and wars.
- Titoism** The policy of neutrality in foreign policy combined with continued dedication to socialism in domestic policy that was followed by Yugoslav Marxist leader Tito after his expulsion from the Soviet camp in 1948.
- Tokugawa Ieyasu** (toh-koo-GAH-wah ee-eh-YAH-soo) Founded the Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan, 1603–1616.
- Toltec** (TOHL-tehc) An Amerindian civilization centered in the Valley of Mexico; succeeded by the Aztecs.
- Torah** (TOH-rah) The first five books of the Old Testament; the Jews’ fundamental law code.
- Tories** A nickname for British nineteenth-century conservatives; opposite of Whigs.
- total war** The modern form of warfare that first appeared in the twentieth century that involved the recruitment of entire civilian populations, in addition to the troops in the field, in support of the war effort.

- totalitarianism** The attempt by a dictatorial government to achieve total control over a society's life and ideas.
- Trafalgar, Battle of** Naval battle in which the English fleet, under Admiral Lord Nelson, defeated the combined French and Spanish fleets in 1805, permanently forestalling French plans to invade England.
- trans-Saharan trade** Ancient trade between Mediterranean and Red Sea regions and sub-Saharan regions of Africa; primarily linked the Maghrib with the western and central Sudan.
- Transvaal** (trans-VAWL) Second of the two independent states set up by the Boer Great Trek in the early nineteenth century in South Africa.
- Trekboers** (TREHK-bohrs) South African Boer "pioneers" who trekked away from Cape Colony and British rule to settle deep inland on the South African frontier. Eventually founded the two Boer republics: the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.
- tribunes** The chief representatives of the plebeians during the Roman republic.
- Triple Alliance** A pact concluded in 1882 that united Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy against possible attackers; the members were called the Central Powers.
- Triumvirate** "Three-man rule"; the First Triumvirate existed during the 50s BCE and the Second in the 30s BCE, during the last decades of the Roman Republic.
- Trotsky, Leon** (1879–1940) V. I. Lenin's coconspirator and primary instrument in planning and executing the October 1917 communist revolution in Russia. Succeeded as commissar of the Red Army during the Soviet civil war (1918–1923) and was the chief planner of the New Economic Policy.
- Truman Doctrine** The commitment of the U.S. government in 1947 to defend any noncommunist state against attempted communist takeover; proposed by President Harry Truman.
- Tula** (TOO-lah) Chief city of the Toltec civilization, built around 800 CE and located to the northeast of today's Mexico City.
- Tumen** A unit of 10,000 in the Mongol armies.
- Tupac Amaru** Also known as *Tupac Amaru II*. A descendant of the Inca emperor of the same name, he led a rebellion against Spanish rule in the 1780s.
- Tutankamen** (too-TAHNK-ah-men) Boy pharaoh who ruled Egypt 1347–1339 BCE.
- Twelve Tables** The first written Roman law code; established c. 450 BCE.
- ulama** (oo-lah-MAH) Muslim religious scholars, usually specialists in Holy Law (see Sharia); sometimes called "mullahs."
- Umayyad Dynasty** (oo-MAHY-yad) The caliphs resident in Damascus from 661 to 750 CE.
- Umma** (OO-mah) The entire Muslim community, meaning something like the Christian concept of the "Church."
- Uncertainty Principle** The modern theory in physics that denies absolute causal relationships of matter and, hence, predictability.
- unequal treaties** Chinese name for the diplomatic and territorial arrangements foisted on the weak Qing Dynasty by European powers in the nineteenth century; also, the commercial treaties forced on just-opened Japan by the same powers and the United States.
- Union of Indochina** Sometimes referred to simply as *Indochina*. This was the official French name for their colony that included Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.
- Upanishads** (oo-PAH-ni-shads) The ancient Hindu holy epics dealing with morals and philosophy.
- urban migration** A term for the widespread demographic event beginning in Europe in the early nineteenth century that saw millions of people moving into the towns and cities from the countryside.
- Utopia** "Nowhere"; Greek term used to denote an ideal place or society.
- Utopian socialism** The dismissive label given by Marx to previous theories that aimed at establishing a more just and benevolent society.
- Utrecht, Treaty of** Treaty signed in 1713 that ended the War of the Spanish Succession. A defeat for King Louis XIV of France, it gave Britain access to the valuable trade of the Spanish Caribbean Islands.
- vassal** In medieval Europe, a person, usually a noble, who owed feudal duties to a superior, called a *suzerain*.
- Vedas (VAY-dahs)** The four oral epics of the Aryans brought into ancient India.
- Vedic Age** The period in Indian history when the Vedas were being recorded—roughly 1500 to 500 BCE.
- Verdun, Treaty of** A treaty concluded in 843 that divided Charlemagne's empire among his three grandsons; established what became the permanent dividing lines between the French and the Germans.
- vernacular** The native oral language of a given people.
- Vespucci, Amerigo** (vehs-POO-chee, ah-meh-REE-goh) Italian geographer who helped map the early discoveries in the New World and after whom it was named ("America").
- villa** The country estate of a Roman patrician or other wealthy Roman.
- Vishnu** (VISH-noo) One of the high Hindu trinity of gods, the god who preserves the universe and karma.
- vizier** (vih-ZEER) An official of Muslim government, especially a high Turkish official equivalent to prime minister.
- Wahhabism** (wah-HAHB-ism) Movement begun by Muhammad Abd al-Wahhab in the mid-1700s to impose a fundamentalist Islamic law on Arabia. It became the foundation of Saudi Arabia as well as contemporary, radical—and sometimes violent—Islamic fundamentalism.
- Wandering of the Peoples** A term referring to the migrations of various Germanic and Asiatic tribes in the third and fourth centuries CE that brought them into conflict with Rome.
- Wannsee Conference** The 1942 meeting of Nazi leaders that determined the "final solution" for the Jews.
- waqf** (WAHK-f) An Islamic trust established by the devout to benefit a particular group of people or institution (a mosque, for example). Usually, the ulama administer these foundations much as lawyers oversee trusts.
- Warsaw Pact** An organization of the Soviet satellite states in Europe; founded under Russian aegis in 1954 to serve as a counterweight to NATO.
- Wars of the Austrian Succession** Two 1740s wars between Prussia and Austria that resulted in important advantages to Prussia and its king, Frederick the Great.
- Wars of the Roses** An English civil war between noble factions over the succession to the throne in the fifteenth century.

Waterloo The final defeat of Napoleon in 1815 after his return from Elban exile.

Wealth of Nations, The The short title of the path-breaking work on national economy by Adam Smith; published in 1776.

weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) Deadly nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons.

Weimar Republic (VEYE-mahr) The popular name for Germany's democratic government between 1919 and the Nazi takeover.

wergeld (VAYR-gehld) Under early Germanic law, a fine paid to an injured party or his or her family or lord that was equivalent to the value of the injured individual.

Westphalia, Treaty of The treaty that ended the Thirty Years' War in 1648; the first modern peace treaty, in that it established strategic and territorial gains as more important than religious or dynastic ones.

Whigs A nickname for British nineteenth-century liberals; opposite of Tories.

white man's burden A phrase coined by Rudyard Kipling to refer to what he considered the necessity of bringing European civilization to non-Europeans.

white settler colonies African colonies that experienced relatively large amounts of white European immigration during the colonial period—primarily Algeria, Kenya, (Southern) Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa.

women's liberation Movement, begun in the 1960s, to improve the economic and social status of women.

Woodland civilizations A collection of closely-related Native American civilizations that thrived east of the Mississippi River, c. 1000 BCE to 1000 CE.

World Bank A monetary institution founded after World War II by Western nations to assist in the recovery effort and to aid the Third World's economic development.

Yalta Conference Conference in 1945 in southern Prussia where Franklin D. Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin, and Winston Churchill (the "Big Three") met to attempt to settle postwar questions, particularly those affecting the future of Europe.

Yamato state (yah-MAH-toh) The earliest known government of Japan; divided into feudal subdivisions ruled by clans and headed by the Yamato family.

yin/yang East Asian philosophical distinction between the male and female characters in terms of active versus passive, warm versus cold, and the like.

Yom Kippur War (YAHM kih-POOR) A name for the 1973 conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Young Ottomans A group of Western-educated Turkish intellectuals and journalists who, in the 1870s, supported the transformation of the Ottoman sultanate into a constitutional monarchy.

Yuan Dynasty (YOO-an) Official term for the Mongol dynasty of the Great Khans in China, 1279–1368.

yurts (yerts) Tent-like Mongol dwellings usually made of felt.

zaibatsu Japanese corporate entities established during the Meiji Restoration to help control the economy.

Zama, Battle of Decisive battle of the Second Punic War; Roman victory in 202 was followed by absorption of most of the Carthaginian Empire in the Mediterranean.

zambo (SAHM-bo) Term for mulattos in Brazil; in colonial Spanish America, offspring of Spanish and Indian.

Zanzibar Sultanate Sultanate (Arab government) established in 1832 on the East African island of Zanzibar by the former sultan of Oman, Sayyid Said bin Sultan al-Busaidi.

Zarathustra (ZAY-rah-THROOS-trah) The mythical founder and chief prophet of the ancient Persian religion known as Zoroastrianism, which influenced Jewish and later Christian belief.

Zealots (ZEH-luhts) Jewish religious extremists at the time of Jesus who opposed Roman occupation and used guerilla methods and assassination against them to drive them out of Israel and Judea.

Zhou Dynasty (choh) The second historical Chinese dynasty; ruled from c. 1100 to c. 400 BCE.

ziggurat (ZIHG-goo-raht) The stepped and elevated temple structures that the ancient Mesopotamian civilization erected in honor of its gods.

Zionism (ZEYE-yuh-nism) A movement founded by Theodor Herzl in 1896 to establish a Jewish national homeland and to revive the study of Hebrew as a spoken language.

Zulu War South African war fought in 1879 between Britain and the Zulu people. Its cause was Afrikaner expansion during the Great Trek and a British desire to defeat Africans who stood in the way of white settlement.

Zwingli, Ulrich (1484–1531) Theologian of the early Protestant Reformation who was influential in establishing Protestantism in his native Switzerland.

Answers to Test Your Knowledge

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